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Three Silens from Olympia and 'The International Style' in Late Archaic Greek Bronze Statuettes

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Abstract

This paper aims to demonstrate that the many contradictory attributions of late archaic bronze statuettes in modern scholarship originate in a failure to comprehend the tendency at this time (starting around 530 BC) for such statuettes to become absorbed into what has been called 'the international style' in marble sculpture. The different archaic schools slowly loose their own character in favour of a style which seems to be more or less neutral and therefore causes problems to those scholars who want to continue to recognize local schools, not only in marble sculpture, but also in bronze statuettes. The emerging school of Attic bronze workers at about the same time (ca 530 BC) contributes to the confusion. As a result in many cases it becomes almost impossible to distinguish between the characteristic features of the Attic and the older leading schools of Sparta and Corinth. An escape from the deadlock is offered by the recognition of our own shortcomings and the acceptance of the phenomenon of the 'international' conflation.

THREE SILENS FROM OLYMPIA, A TEST CASE.

The three bronze silens from Olympia, which are chosen here as the starting point for an inquiry of wider consequence, came to light in Olympia in 1959-1960 (*figs. 1-3*).[1] They will be taken here as a test case for the problem of the attribution of Greek bronze statuettes dating from the second half of the 6th century BC.[2] Characteristic for the problem are two different opinions expressed by two prominent scholars, both of them involved in the German excavations at Olympia. The first, Emil Kunze, who discovered the three silens and published them, advocated an attribution to a Laconian workshop.[3] The second, Werner Gauer, author of the fundamental publication *Die Bronzegefässe von Olympia* I, would attribute our silens, by contrast, to a Corinthian workshop.[4] On first sight, the problem might seem to be of little interest, but in fact our understanding of the history of Greek art in the late archaic period is at stake.

Let us look briefly at the arguments. Kunze says: We have to rely on general stylistic criteria. Some of these are characteristic of the Laconian bronze art, such as the big eyes framed by heavy eyelids; the engraved line which accentuates the eyebrows (visible only with B 4232 = here no 1 and B 4200 = here no 2); the short cut beard of B 4700 = here no 3;[5] the long hair, which, in a period in which short hair was in vogue, would belong to a Laconian tradition.[6] Also the schematic division of the hair into vertical notched braids (with B 4200 = here no 2 and the piece in Zürich = here no 4, *fig. 4*) can be observed with Laconian bronzes.[7] So does the virtually similar, but more lively plastic rendering of the hair with deeper concave cuttings of B 4700 = here no 3.[8] Finally there is the precious-splendid pearl-like hair ('das kostbarglanzvolle Perlenhaar') of B 4232 = here no 1, which shows how the scheme can be changed by the hand of a master bronze worker. Kunze has not much to say about the pubic hair.[9] He concludes with the following statement: 'the muscular, slender bodies with their tight and tensed contours fit into the late-archaic Spartan human image'.[10] Finally, his review of comparable Laconian silens is important, and we shall return on that later.

Gauer, in his turn, says: 'the artistic quality of the three (four) Silens is so unequal as to exclude an attribution to one and the same hand.' After having extolled abundantly the masterpiece B 4232 (= no 1),[11] Gauer proceeds by introducing as the only close parallel the kriophoros from Arcadia kept in Boston (no 30), usually attributed to Sikyon or Arcadia.[12] Moreover, in a footnote, the Zeus from mount Lykaion (no 40, *fig. 16*), another well-known statuette generally considered to be Corinthian, is mentioned as a piece to compare.[13] For the silen no 4 Gauer adduces two other pieces for comparison: the kriophoros in the Stathatos collection (no 32, *fig. 10*)[14] and the dancing satyr from Dodona (no 16).[15] For the silen B 4700 (= no 3) he accepts an attribution to Taranto as suggested by H.-V. Herrmann. The obvious problem of how such a faraway product could have been

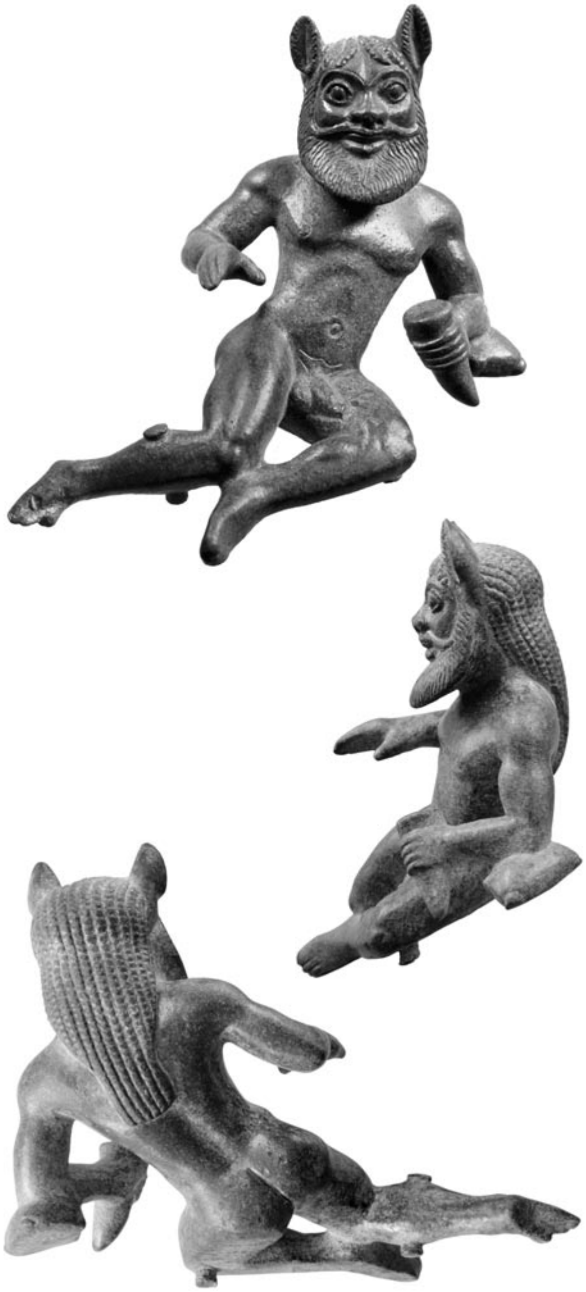


Fig. 1a-c. Reclining silen. Olympia, Museum B 4232, from Olympia. Photos DAI Athens.

combined with two others from Corinth on the same vessel is explained by referring to the find place Olympia, where artists from all regions could have worked together.[16] A (non-stylistic) argument in favour of a Corinthian origin can be deduced, according to Gauer, from the shape of the vessel on which the silens would have been applied: that is on the shoulder of a Corinthian column krater. This supposition is based on a comparison with a fragmentary clay crater of Corinthian shape kept in Copenhagen, on which two reclining silens on either side of the neck are found (the columns being replaced by four horse protomes).[17]

How can we account for the curious fact that two such prominent scholars belonging to the same 'school' have expressed such different views? As an answer I suggest that the different styles of the Laconian and Corinthian bronze-workshops, in the course of the second half of the 6th century, are fused to such a degree that it becomes almost impossible, on stylistic grounds alone, to recognize their origin. An additional problem originates from the fact that from about 530 BC also other production centres, in the first place Athens or Attica, start to imitate the mixed style of the Laconian-Corinthian bronze workshops, giving new, for the modern art-historian confusing, accents to their products. In the following pages I shall try to explain this alternative view.

It has been clear from the outset that the four silens, which once adorned the shoulder of one and the same bronze vessel dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia (our nos 1-4), were made by four different artisans working together from the same model. This working process has been observed more often and may even be called normal for the archaic period.[18] Also unchallenged is the observation that only one of the four, our no 1, can be called a masterpiece, the other three being of a more ordinary artistic level. However, as soon as we start to look at the details the confusion begins. The Laconian features which Kunze has brought forward are rightly accepted by Gauer, but at the same time he introduces some important pieces for comparison which clearly point to another, a Corinthian origin. This seems to be a paradox, but cannot be rejected straight away, because of the mixed style which we have mentioned above. Gauer himself did not try to explain his contradiction.[19] So we have to look into the problem more closely on our own account.[20]

SILENS AND SATYRS

Before we enter into the problem of attribution of the three silens from Olympia, we should clarify what we assume to be a silen and what a satyr. We can distinguish two main types among the male followers of the god Dionysos: satyrs, being at home in Athens, and silens, being at home in Sparta. This is a simplified picture, but suits our

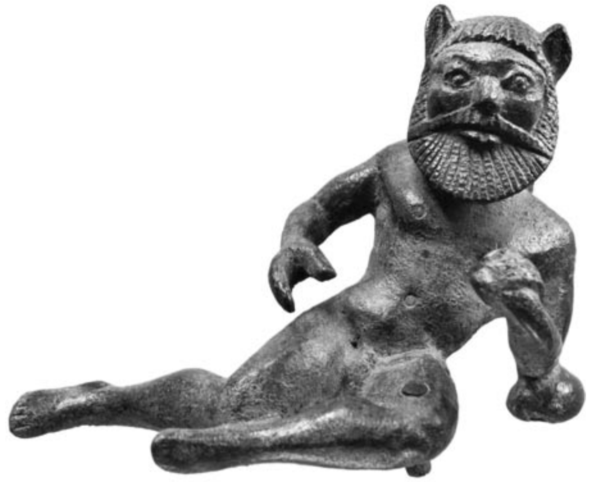


Fig. 2. Reclining silen, Olympia, Museum B 4200, from Olympia. Photo DAI Athens.

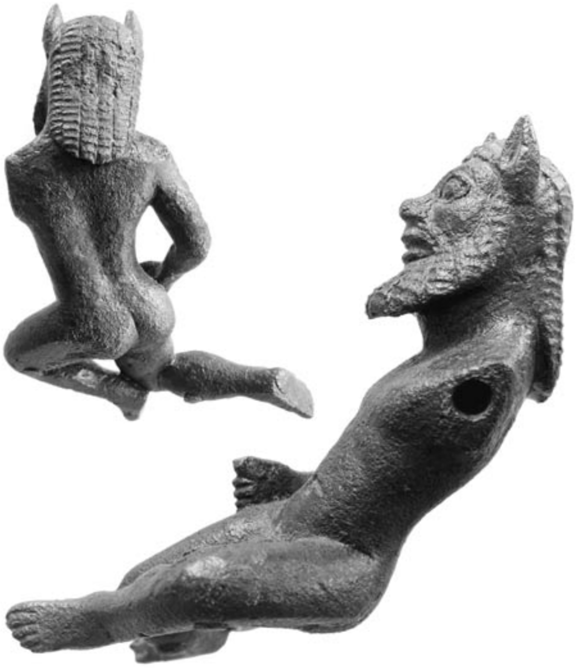


Fig. 3a-b. Reclining silen, Olympia, Museum B 4700, from Olympia. Photos DAI Athens.

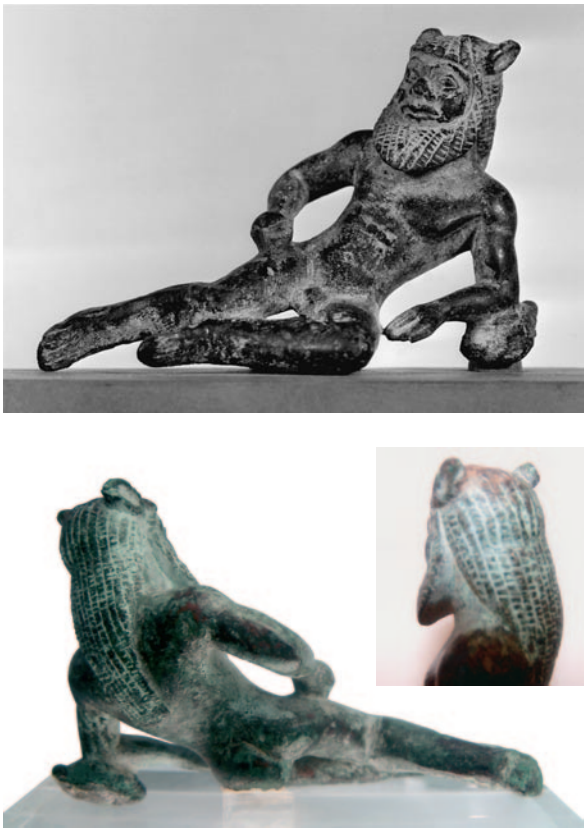


Fig. 4a-c. Reclining silen, Zürich, Private Collection, from Olympia. Photos owners (a) and author (b-c).

purpose, to define clearly what we mean.[21] Characteristic features of the Attic satyrs are the hoofs, the tail and the ears of a horse. By contrast Laconian silens have human feet, no tail, and animal ears, not necessarilly of a horse. Satyrs and silens have in common a human, sometimes hairy, body and a big head with a face that expresses its bestiality (turned-up nose, bulging eyes, enormous beard) and they are often ithyphallic. They are 'conceived as representing the opposite of the Greek ideal of youthful, straight-nosed, masculine beauty, just as their behaviour was considered the antithesis of *sophrosyne*, the ideal standard of restraint, moderation, and sober self-control'.[22] Even if the reality is not so clear-cut as presented above (there are e.g. Attic satyrs with human feet), the two variants of the same motif are still valid and useful for the purpose of our inquiry into the iconography of the late Archaic Greek bronze statuettes.

THE THREE SILENS FROM OLYMPIA AND THE LACONIAN COMPARANDA

According to our definition, just mentioned, the three silens from Olympia and the fourth in Zürich belong clearly to the Laconian stock, having human feet, no tail and animal ears (which may be recognized as horse-ears). What distinguishes them as followers of Dionysos are the shaping of their heads, and their reclining attitude, combined with the drinking horns in their left hands (missing with

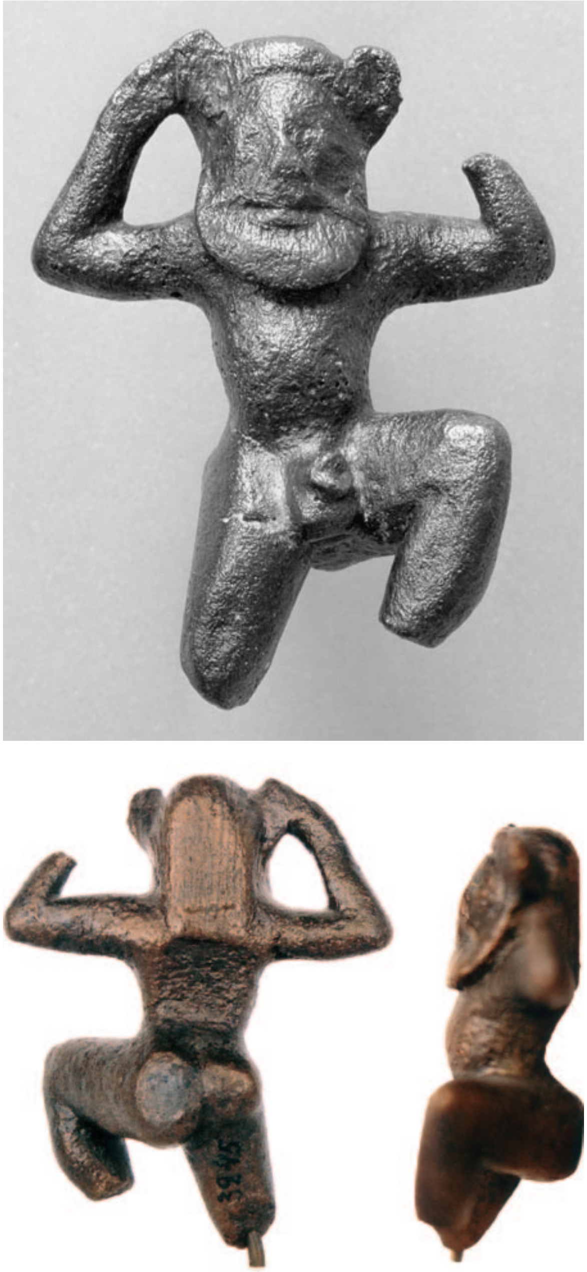


Fig. 5a-c. Silen looking around, Sparta, Museum 3245, from Sparta. Photos DAI Athens (a), author (b-c).

no 2 and no 4). We have one instance from Laconia, in low relief on a clay base, perhaps a perirrhanterion,[23] of the god Dionysos reclining on a mattress under a vine branch with a row of grapes, holding in his extended right a kantharos, in his left hand a drinking cup (cat. no 5).[24] In front of the god an authentic Laconian ithyphallic silen, with human feet, no tail, but an impressive bearded head, is dancing, his head turned back, to the music of a flute player clad in a short chiton standing behind him. The scene is repeated on the other side. As I have argued elsewhere, the dating of the piece should depend on a comparison with similar symposion-scenes in Laconian vase painting from the second quarter of the 6th century and on the old-fashioned 'Etagenperücke' of Dionysos.[25] Therefore the perirrhanterion was probably produced earlier than our silens, that is before 530 BC.

Alongside the unique document of the clay base from Amyklai, which combines a reclining and a dancing figure, both showing the familiarity of the Spartans with the realm of Dionysos, we have some isolated Laconian and Laconizing bronzes, which can be associated with the same iconography. First there is a small 'dancing' silen from the acropolis of Sparta, which has recently been recognized as belonging to the figured neck-frieze of a volute krater (cat. no 6, *fig. 5a-c*).[26] Kunze has already pointed out the close stilistic relationship of this silen with the three from Olympia.[27] The surface is worn, but the traces of excellent workmanship are still visible, not only in the composition as such, but also in the rendering of the beard with fine incised lines and the type of hair at the back, which resembles those of the Olympic silens in length and design.[28] A reclining silen in Karlsruhe, allegedly from southern Italy (no 7), has been assigned to a Tarantine workshop.[29] It could be very well, however, an import from Laconia.[30] It has the same design of long hair at the back and is even more typically Laconian than the Olympic parallels by the fact that one long tress on each side of the face falls down on the breast.[31] The head is of the common Laconian silen type, except that the ears are more horse-like. In his left hand the silen holds a kantharos such as the Dionysos on no 5. Only the feet are more stiffly rendered, in the manner of the common bronze statuettes of banqueters, to which it should be compared.[32] A dating not long after the Olympic silens seems to be appropriate.[33]

A genuine Laconian bronze silen was found, interestingly, in Spain (no 8, *fig. 6a-b*). Apart from hinting at the wide range of countries to which Laconian bronzes were exported in the 6th century BC, this silen offers some remarkable points for comparison with the silens from Olympia, even though his attitude is different: he is just dancing. He has the refined musculature and the incised shape of the pubic hair of no 1, the rounded ears of nos 2 and 6, the profile of no 3 and the shape of beard, converging toward the tip, of no 4.

Comparable with this masterpiece from Spain is another silen in the Louvre (no 9, *fig. 7a-b*), this time in the looking around (*aposkopeuon*) attitude, as no 6. Beard and hairdress (long hair at the back) are rather close to no 8, but other features, like the modelling of the flesh and the attachment of a tail (*fig. 7b*), point in another direction. Ines Jucker may be right in attributing this piece to an Attic workshop and dating it down into the beginning of the 5th century.[34] Nevertheless Laconian influence is not difficult to detect.

Next to the silens the centaurs are worth looking at, not only because they illustrate the manifold output of the Laconian bronze workshops of the period, but also the closeness of the centaurs, being equally wild creatures, to the silens, of course as far as their human foreparts are concerned. A Laconian centaur found on the acropolis of Athens (no 10)[35] is striding to the right, but could equally well be called 'dancing', when freed from the horse-body attached to his back as if it were a foreign element. This wonderful centaur retains the wild character of the myth, the modelling of his body being full of life and his head with the beard and the long hair at the back styled in the Laconian manner with scaled courses and tresses. The centaur has been dated a little earlier than the silens from Olympia, that is ca 540-530. Another Laconian centaur, also found on the acropolis of Athens (no 11) is of a still earlier date, because of the simpler modelling of the human body.[36] Again this is a small masterpiece betraying its Laconian origin by the characteristic hair falling in scaled courses on the forehead and in long scaled tresses on his back, by his big eyes with offset eyebrows, the broad beard (as with the silens) and the lively movement of his body. By contrast to all the other bronzes hitherto considered the centaur no 11 has no moustache. This significant detail may be due to his being produced even earlier than no 10, that is in the decade 560-550.[37]

Still within the Laconian orbit, but clearly the product of a rather independant workshop, perhaps located outside the capital, is a silen from the Amyklaion, 5 km south of Sparta (no 12). The artist has tried to characterize the silen by a wild expression of its face, especially the big mouth with its down pointing corners, the long ears, the oversized beard and the raised phallos. The modelling of the body, without any indication of muscle, looks rather primitive and old-fashioned. The real date of production, however, can be grasped from the plastically emphasized hips, which point to a dating around 540-530, already proposed by Herfort-Koch 1986, 117 (no K 152). If we reduce the shaping of the face to the proportions of a normal male head, we arrive at the faces of a set of three banqueters formerly in the Fleischman collection in New York (no 13). Here the typical qualities of the hand of the bronzeworker reappear in another, but related Dionysic iconography. We recognize the 'primitive' shaping of the arms and bodies almost without muscles, the lively gestures, the lengthy shape of the head with a quasi straight upper skull, the big oblique eyes, the indication of the hair with short straight carved lines and the long typical Laconian notched tresses at the back.[38] These banqueters have been erroneously attributed to a northern Greek workshop because of a similar banqueter which was found in Dodona, no 14. This man turns out to be another product of the Laconian workshop of the silen from the Amyklaion. A striking detail, which is of course missing from the silen because he is naked, are the wavy lines indicating folds on the long himatia of all four banqueters (nos 13 and 14). Such wavy lines are found, exceptionally, with two or three other bronze statuettes: the Zeus from the Lykaion, no 40, generally considered to be a Corinthian product (mentioned above), but showing quite a few Laconian features on which we shall return later; a palladion from Messene[39] and, to a lesser degree (the folds being less wavy), a menad from Tetovo.[40]

THE THREE SILENS FROM OLYMPIA AND THE NON-LACONIAN COMPARANDA

We should start with a small satyr of excellent quality in an American private collection (no 15, *fig. 8a-b*), which has been compared with good reasons (the proportions of the face and the treatment of the beard) to the three (or four) silens from Olympia.[41] The horse-hoofs, the horse-ears and the horse-tail (broken off), however, identify this figure clearly as belonging to the Attic stock. The way this satyr keeps his right hand on his belly can be compared with a similar gesture of the banqueter no 13c, but look at his left hand, how it neatly follows the rounding of the knee: such a detail rendered with such a refinement seems to be a new phenomenon, which suits very well, as will be shown below by other examples, the qualities of the Attic school. So does every other detail as well as the composition of the whole, that is the squatting position, which is foreign to the Laconian tradition.[42] The over-all perfection is one of the qualities of the Attic school. This school of bronzeworkers comes into being after 530.[43] The satyr in

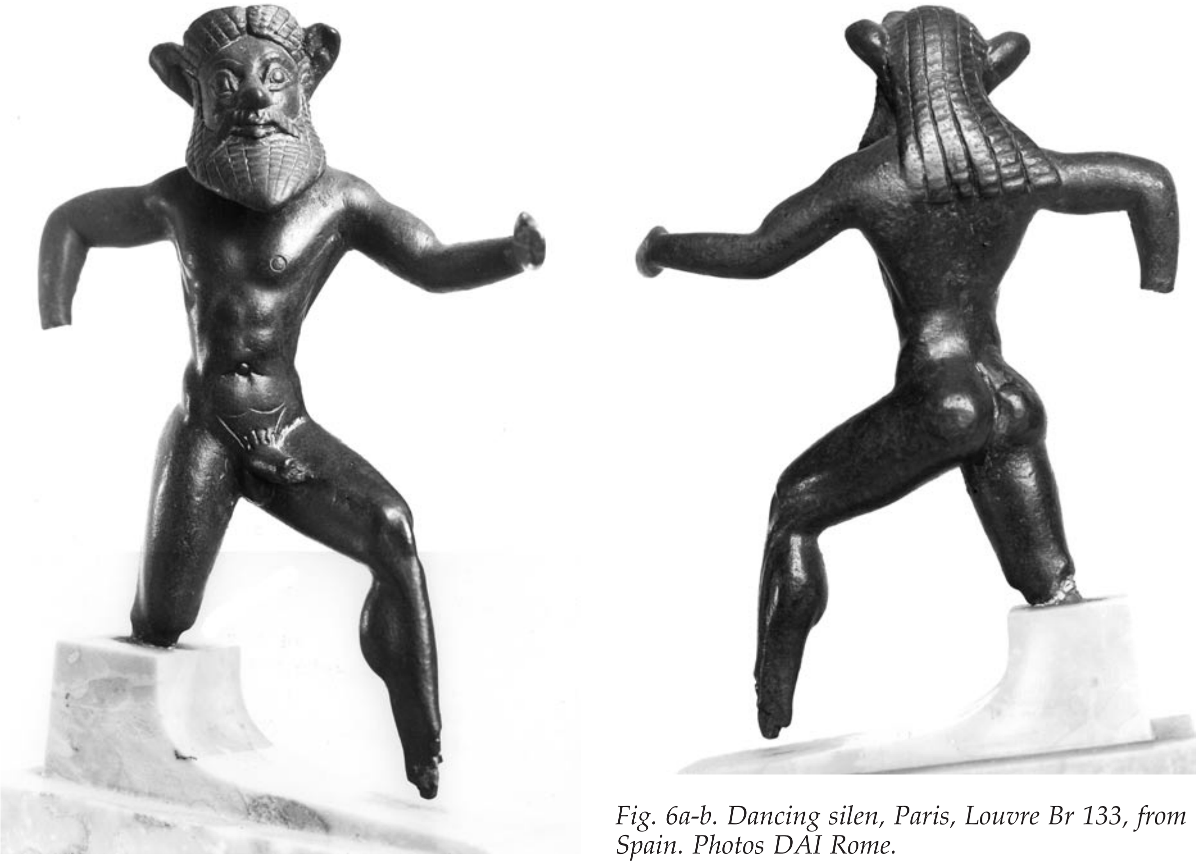


Fig. 6a-b. Dancing silen, Paris, Louvre Br 133, from Spain. Photos DAI Rome.

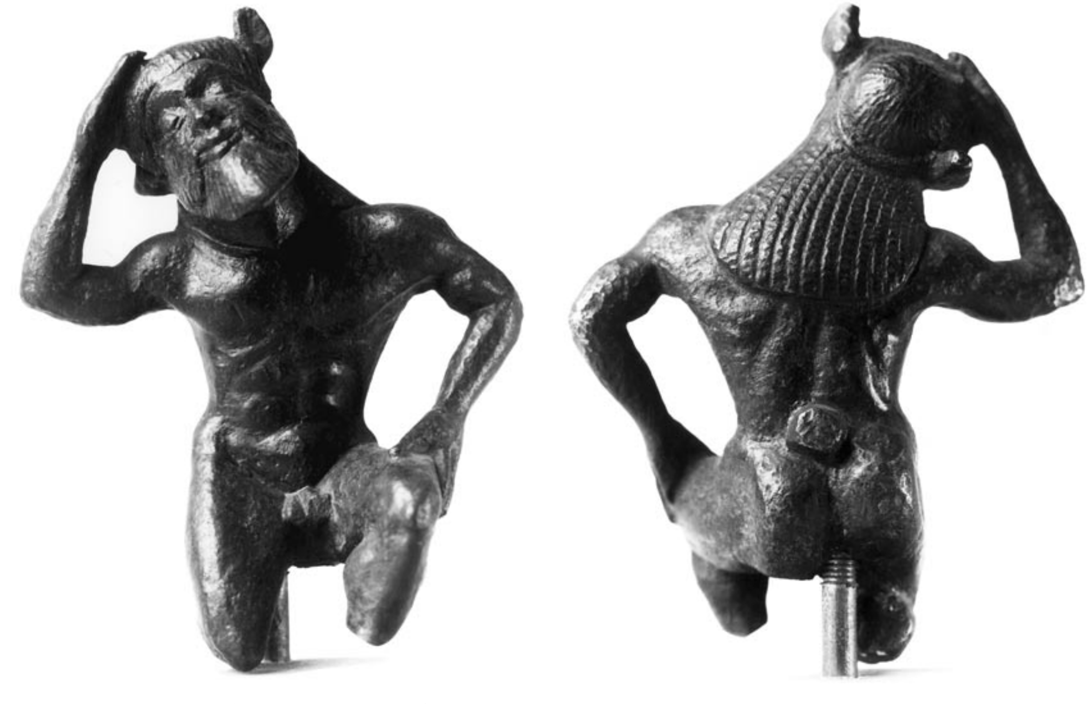


Fig. 7a-b. Looking around silen. Paris, Louvre Br 134. Photos DAI Rome.

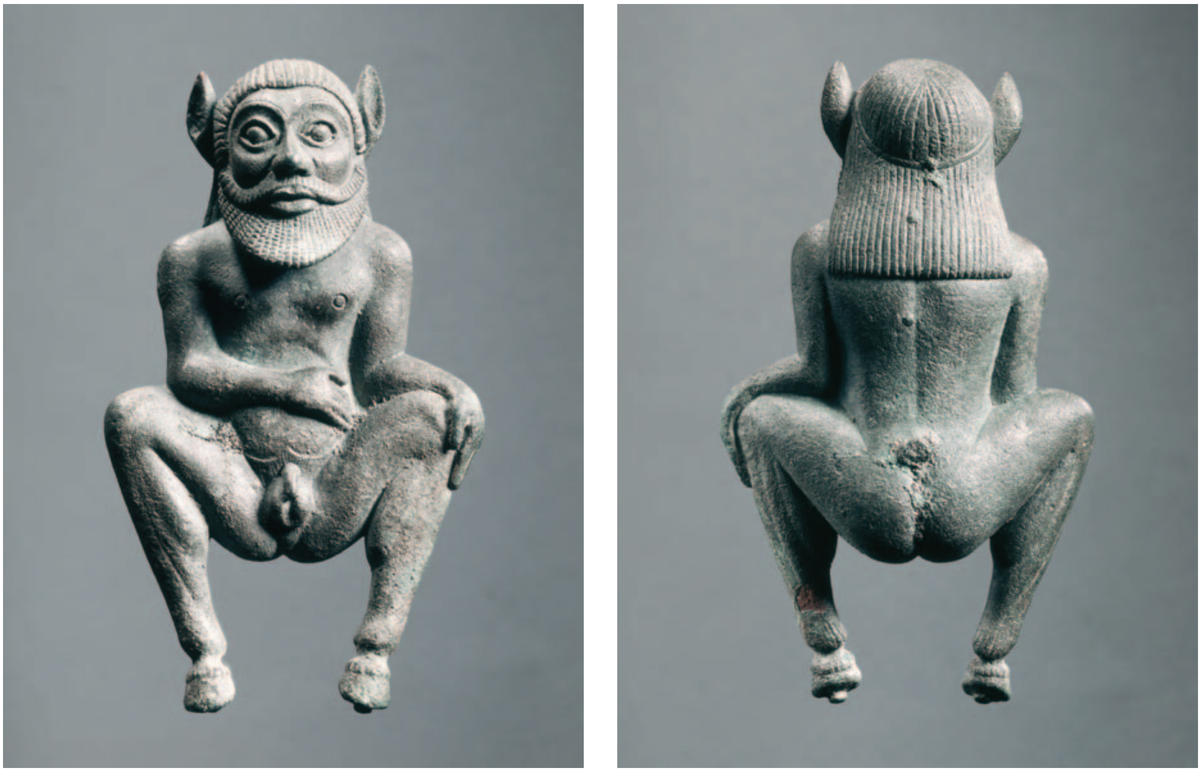


Fig. 8a-b. Squatting satyr. New York, Private Collection. Photos owners.

New York may be one of the first achievements of that school, still showing the influence of the Laconian predecessors.

Another satyr, this time in a dancing attitude, was found in Dodona (no 16), but joins no 15 as a product of the Attic school, not only because of the iconography (the ears, the tail and the hoofs!), but also for its plastic perfection, which still shows, in the rendering of the head and the coiffure, Laconian influence.[44] This satyr has been used, as stated above, for comparison especially with the silen no 4 (*fig. 4a-c*) in Zürich.[45] Most scholars would attribute the piece, however, to a Corinthian workshop.[46] Into the merits of this attribution we shall look later.

Next to these two examples of excellent quality there are many local imitations of the different types of silens and satyrs, not only from the Greek mainland, but also from the Greek colonies, from Etruria and even from such faraway export area's as Spain. Most of them are of inferior quality, their interest being mainly to show that there is always something like a background music of local imitations, running parallel (or with some delay in case of faraway provinces) with the production of the leading centres. A satyr looking around, allegedly from Sparta, no 17 (*fig. 9*) shows not only a poor plastic quality, but also the stump of a tail (the feet or hoofs are missing), which would make him a satyr and a foreigner in Sparta.[47] Two small running silens, allegedly found in Elis (valley of the Alpheios), one dancing (no 18) and one looking around and most ithyphallic (no 19) are of the Laconian type, but could be very well local imitations.[48] No 20, from Olympia, is an interesting piece for several reasons, one of them being the attempt of the bronzeworker to indicate the hairy skin of the demonic creature. Such skins are unusual with bronzes, but more often found with silens and satyrs in vase-painting.[49] There is a strong resemblance of the head of this satyr (which has been aptly published by Kunze)[50] with one of the satyrs on the neck of the well-known Corinthian clay krater in Copenhagen (no 21), already mentioned above, and with a reclining bronze silen in Athens (no 22)[51]: they show the same deeply-set mass of hair above the forehead and the same pointed beard as the satyr from Olympia.[52] Our conclusion must be that all three satyrs were made by Corinthian artists. This is confirmed by the fact that at least two of them (one in Copenhagen and the one in Athens) have human feet. The iconographic mixture and unorthodox styling are typical features for Corinth, as we shall see later too.[53] They should all be dated around the middle of the second half of the 6th century BC.[54]

From Olympia we jump to Apollonia, the Corcyraean-Corinthian colony on the Adriatic coast (in present day Albania), where a bronze satyr, now in the Louvre (no 23), came to light. This satyr holds his left hand at his hip, just as nos 16 and 20 do with their right hand. This is a dancing attitude,[55] but in other respects the artist makes him walk, because his heavy hoofs remain close to each other on the ground. The robust muscular body shows a rather simple modelling, the hair at the back is cut short and deeply offset above the forehead in the Corinthian way. So are the heavy straight horse ears. The whole thing is not more than a local product under Corinthian influence.[56] It clearly does not reach the level of the satyr from Dodona (no 20) to whom he has been compared.[57]

An '*aposkopeuon*' satyr of unknown provenance in a Swiss private collection, no 24, has been called 'a singularly indecent Silen', because of its huge phallos.[58] The creature has a tail, but human feet, a mixture of qualities which points to a provincial origin. So does the primitive modelling of the body and the shaping of the head with its even for a satyr exaggerated details. The style would suite a colonial Greek origin.[59] The same can be said about two reclining silens in an American private collection, nos 25 and 26. They are very similar in size and style and most probably belong to the decoration of a lebes, like our nos 1-4. They keep their human feet one above the other, like no 7. 'One plays the pipes and has an askos (wineskin) slung around his right shoulder with a carrying strap. His right leg is slightly bent and pulled in, as if beating time to music. The other holds a drinking horn in his left hand; his right rests on his leg' (von Bothmer). Their iconographic closeness to no 7, which we have suggested to be a Laconian original (note their reclining attitude, the drinking horn of no 26, their having human feet and no tails), but different style and unusual other details (the pipes and the askos of no 25) point to a colonial Greek origin.[60]

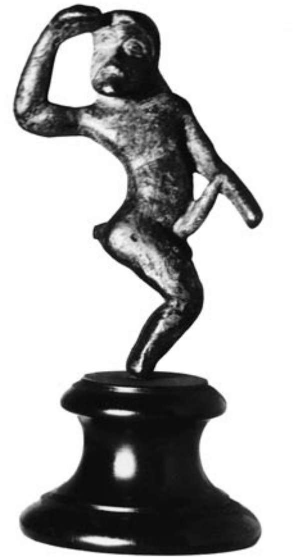


Fig. 9. Satyr looking around. Once Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2610. Photo museum.

How Etruscans transformed the Greek originals we can deduce from quite a few preserved examples, one of them even showing their adjustment to the rim of a coal basin. These are charming lively creatures which only recall the Greek originals on which they depend from a distance: they dance, so to speak, while reclining, their bodies are tall and nicely shaped but without muscles, their hands and necks are too long, their heads have the Corinthian type of hairdress and much too big ears (like monkeys).[61] Less extravagant, but unusual tall, is a silen from Mallorca, no 27, who even betrays influence of the Laconians from Olympia, but still should be regarded as a locally made imitation.[62] This silen has again the dancing attitude (right hand at his upper right leg) while at the same time he is looking around, keeping his left hand near his head.[63] Even more to the east, in Spain itself, a local bronzeworker found it worth his while to imitate the type of the dancing silen, no 28. The result was a most convincing but primitive figure, with almost no bones nor muscles (as often happens with local products) but really dancing, with a Greek horn in his right hand and the big wide ears of a cow.[64] Interesting for comparison is a bronze centaur from Royos (Spain), no 29, which combines in a similar way a Greek iconography with a local style. The dating of these creatures is not easy, because their style often seems to be older than he really is. The nos 28 and 29 should date at least from the second half of the 6th century BC.

THE THREE SILENS FROM OLYMPIA AND SOME STYLISTIC COMPARANDA

It is about time to look a bit closer into the comparanda which have been cited in connection with our silens for stylistic reasons only (not fot their iconography). This is going to be a rather surprising collection of well-known and lesser well-known bronze statuettes, which, at any rate, should be more or less contemporary with our silens. We start with the kriophoroi which were brought into the discussion by Gauer in favour of his attribution of our silens to a Corinthian workshop. Afterwards some more bronzes will be added.

Kriophoroi

The first is a Hermes Kriophoros in Boston, no 30, which Gauer compares with our no 1 as being the only close parallel. He is probably referring to the way the hair above the forehead is divided in two symmetric halfs, the shape of the head and the beard, the big eyes and the incised eyebrows. The design of the beard of no 30, however, and his long hair at the back, are of the common Laconian (not Corinthian) type, with scaled braids. So are the eyebrows.[65] The hair on the forehead of no 1, moreover, has much more in common with the corkscrew curls seen on the forehead of a Laconian sphinx from Olympia[66] than with those of the Hermes Kriophoros, which are of the spiral curl type. Such spiral curls were en vogue at the time in several Greek art centres.[67] As has been pointed out already earlier, the type and the style of the incised eyebrows and spiral curls above the forehead of no 30, return with surprising similarity, with two gorgoneia serving as the lower attachments of the vertical handles of bronze hydriae.[68] They belong to a group which has been tentatively assigned to Corinth, notwithstanding the many Laconian features.[69] For the rest Gauer stands alone in his attribution of no 30 to Corinth, unless we are ready to accept, that Corinth and Sikyon (to which Langlotz, Kunze and Rolley would attribute no 30) in fact should be seen as a single production area. But others (Comstock/Vermeule and Neugebauer) think our Hermes should have been the work of an Arcadian artist. In short, there is an interesting stalemate.[70] Let us keep in mind that Gauer's comparison with our silen no 1 is not very convincing, that there is a clear Laconian influence in the hair-style and that the iconography of the shepherd points to an Arcadian environment.[71]

Another kriophoros, no 31 (*fig. 10*), has also been cited by Gauer as a close parallel, this time to our silen no 4, in Zürich. For the shaping of the beard, with its concentric notched courses, the comparison seems to fit, but the hair on the back, albeit having a similar outline, shows only simple straight lines, for which a comparison with the satyr from Dodona (no 16), also proposed by Gauer, would do better. But here a general question must be raised: is the isolated hair-style sufficient for an attribution? Is there in fact any reason, apart from the hair-style, to compare the silen no 4 with our kriophoros no 31? No, not at all. Again, Gauer stands alone in his attribution of no 31 to Corinth, but he may share the opinion of Rolley and others, who attribute our kriophoros to Sikyon, near Corinth.

Perhaps we can resolve the deadlock in wich we have found ourselves by looking at some more kriophoroi. The history of the type in bronze goes back, as far as we know today, to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.[72] The oldest in the series is a fine appliqué in an American private collection (no 32, *figs. 11a-b*). This most probably belongs to the decoration on the neck of a Laconian volute krater. It has been dated 560-550.[73] The simple but powerful movement and execution of head and body (the small ram in his left arm is lost) combined with the typical Laconian hairstyle (note the pairs of notched braids falling on both sides of his face down on the chest and the similar braids at the back), do not leave any doubt about his origin and dating.

Of the more recent kriophoroi the one in Boston (no 33, *figs. 12a-c*), which is said to come from Sparta, in many respects resembles his Laconian predecessor. He has the same long tresses falling on his breast (not one of the other kriophoroi, except the primitive no 39, has this Laconian feature),[74] the same positioning of the arms and the same carriage of the ram, the same short chiton and a similar, if less striding, movement of the legs. Of course all the details of the styling, especially of the chiton, point to a later date, but the Laconian tradition is otherwise clearly present. This does not automatically mean that our kriophoros is Laconian in origin....[75] 'Cast and finished with unprecedented perfection, this product of a master craftsman marks the end of a long period of artistic development with appropriate acknowledgement of all that had been accomplished.' The author of these words would date our kriophoros 'closer to 500 BC, even in the first decade of the 5th century BC.'[76] This seems exaggerated. A date close to the common dating of the Zeus from the Lykaion (no 40, *fig. 16*), that is ca 540-530, does better justice to the still strong Laconian tradition, mentioned above, and to the similarities in refinement with the Zeus statuette.[77] The problem of the attribution has again ended in a stalemate. Nobody would call the statuette Laconian, despite its alleged findplace, because 'it does not fit comfortably into the series of Laconian bronzes' (M. True).[78] Quite a few voices would claim Sikyon as the place of origin (after Langlotz, also Kunze, Schefold, Fuchs), but Corinth has also been proposed (Herfort-Koch, even after it had been

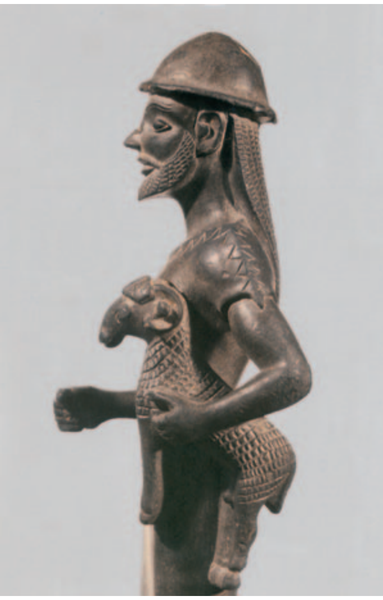


Fig. 10. Hermes Kriophoros, Athens, National Arch. Museum, coll. Stathatos 328. Photo museum.

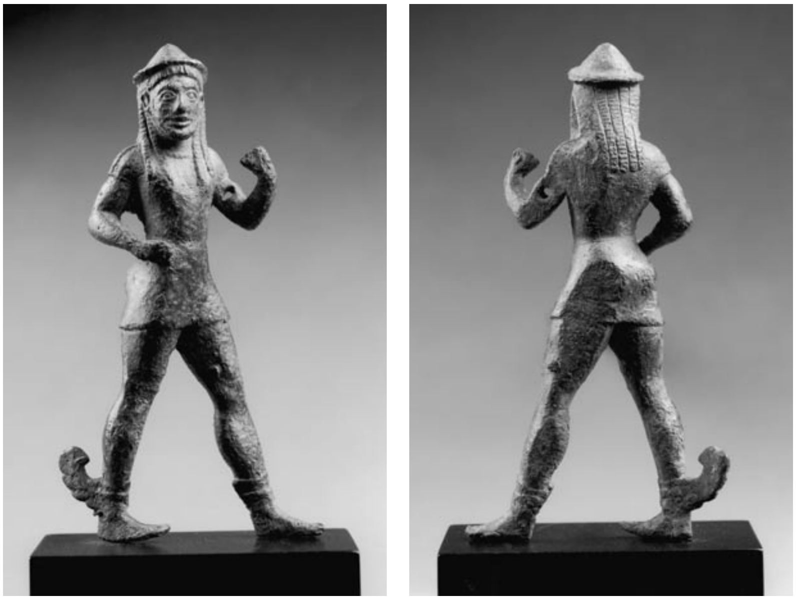


Fig. 11a-b. Hermes Kriophoros, New York, Private Collection. Photos owners.

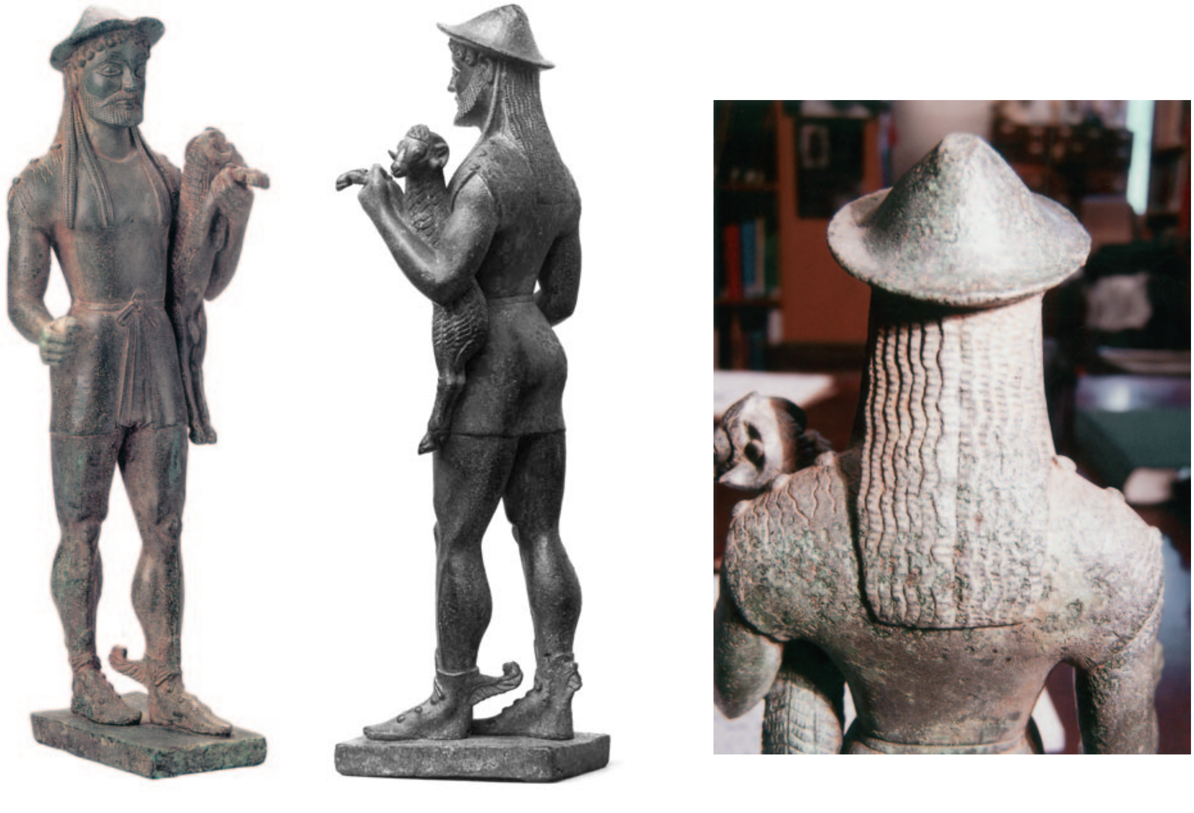
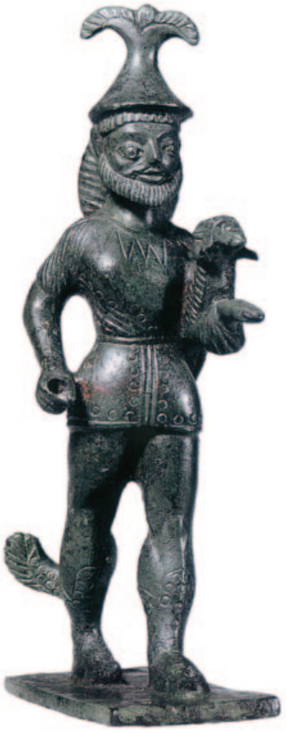


Fig. 12a-c. Hermes Kriophoros, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99. 489, from Sparta. Photos museum (a), DAI Rome (b) and author (c).

rejected as such by Wallenstein). Some would be of much the same opinion, but say 'north-east Peloponnese' (Vokotopoulou, True). Still others would think not of an Archaic Greek original at all, but rather of an archaistic imitation, because of the naturalistic treatment of the musculature of the left upper arm, the noticeable lack of vitality and its academic frigidity - so it would be a work of the 1st century BC (Lamb, Eckstein, Young, Morrow).[79] This radical solution has been rejected, however, with good reasons (Neugebauer, True). Despite all this discussion, what we should really bear in mind is that our kriophoros is such an exceptional piece that, even when compared with its closest parallels (especially no 30), a separate, more penetrating study and analysis is required (see the Appendix).

Most interesting for comparison is another rather sophisticated kriophoros (no 34, *fig. 13*), which has even a trustworthy provenance: Andritsaina, in the central Peloponnese.[80] As for its general iconography it clearly derives from the same protoype as the others (the mace in his right is again missing). Most picturesque, however, is the helmet on his head, for which already Perdrizet 1903, 301 found an adequate description: ('... elle n'a pas de bords et elle est surmonté d'un panache emplumé; on dirait d'une queue fourchue de coq de bruyère') but no explanation.[81] The big eyes with heavy eyelids are of the common type, but the broad shape of the head and the hairstyle betray Corinthian influence (for the first time with the kriophoroi). The hair above the forehead consists of short and plain (no notched) vertical bars,[82] whereas the front view of the back hair (above the shoulders) shows a broad rounded contour (rather than a straight one) and is horizontally layered, as is usual with Corinthian statuettes[83] (instead of the Laconian vertical tresses with horizontal notching, as we have noticed with the other kriophoroi). The chiton is stil of the short, early type, but its decoration with small punched circles along the offset borders seem to represent a typical Arcadian feature: the same or similar are found with nos 36 and 39, and with a Palladion from Tegea.[84] So this statuette adds significantly to our knowledge of the different stylistic possibilities within the circle of the kriophoroi and, no less important, it gives us a hint, by its findplace, where to look for the origin of the whole group.



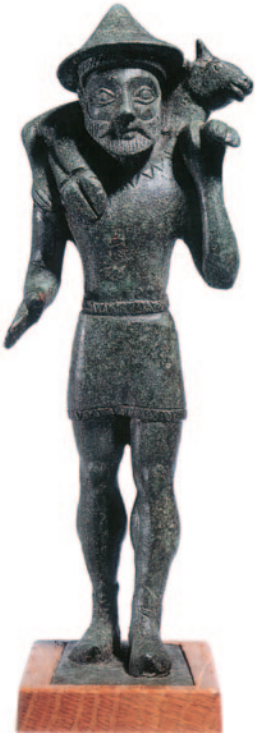


Fig. 13. Hermes Kriophoros, Athens, National Arch. Museum X 12347, from Andritsaina. Photo museum.
Fig. 14. Moschophoros, Athens, National Arch. Museum X 13053, from Berekla. Photo museum.

At the end of the group of higher quality kriophoroi we add a moschophoros (no 35, *fig. 14*), which has a trustworthy findplace not far from that of no 34: Berekla, in Arcadia. This important statuette has the same short chiton as nos 32-34, but this time it is of the very simple type which corresponds with the dress of the oldest, genuine Laconian kriophoros (no 32, *fig. 11a-b*). Even the face, which is less worn than with the Laconian one, seems to have a very similar design. Only the braids on the chest are missing and the body looks more schematically rendered. A common prototype for the two statuettes may be surmised, no 35 being of a slightly later date.[85]

There are quite a few kriophoroi of smaller size and primitive quality, which, as a phenomenon, can be compared with the silens and satyrs of provincial make, which we have discussed above. The difference is that the kriophoroi were not exported or produced outside the Peloponnese. They are important for their provenances, which are better known than with the high quality series. Apparently they belong to a restricted area and probably to only one or two sanctuaries, in which the cult of Hermes Kriophoros must have been popular. Two of them, nos 36 and 37, now in Berlin, were found on mount Lykaion, in a sanctuary near the village of Haghios Sostis, a third, no 38, also in Berlin, has only a general indication of its provenance: 'Arcadia'. A fourth, no 39, in Athens, comes from Mount Ithome, in Messenia.[86]

The sanctuary of Pan on Mount Lykaion was identified, with the help of inscriptions which came to light there, back at the beginning of the 20th century, near the villages of Berekla and Haghios Sostis both belonging to the region of the bigger village of Andritsaina, in north-west Arcadia.[87] So instead of four provenances we may propose a single findplace: the sanctuary of Pan on Mount Lykaion.[88] Thus our nos 30 ('allegedly Arcadia'), 34 ('Andritsaina'), 35 ('Berekla'), 36 ('Haghios Sostis'), 37 ('Haghios Sostis') and 38 ('Arcadia'), that is six out of nine, were probably found in one and the same sanctuary. The importance of this sanctuary of Pan is confirmed by other bronze finds which came to light there: e.g. the statuette of a kouros with a huge wreath on his head and a cock in his left hand and the statuette of a peplophore, both labelled 'Laconian', and others.[89] The question of why so many statuettes of Hermes Kriophoros were dedicated at the sanctuary of Pan can be answered by the observation that Hermes, as the god of the shepherds, is closely related to Pan, and at several places in Arcadia was considered to be his father.[90]

As a provisional conclusion about the group of statuettes representing Hermes Kriophoros we may state that there is a deadlock among scholars on attribution because of the style of most of the high quality kriophoroi, which shows the following features: Laconian or Corinthian influence, refinement in details, in some cases even a kind of abstract lifelessness and a possible or proven provenance from Arcadian shrines, especially from the neighbouring shrines of Pan and Zeus on Mount Lykaion. The relationship of the three silens from Olympia with some of the kriophoroi does not work in detail, but in a general sense Gauer's attribution of the silens to Corinth can be understood (not accepted) in the context of the problems which we are discussing.

VARIOUS STATUETTES

In order to have at hand as much material as possible to envisage the problems of attribution, we shall now look at some more bronze statuettes of high quality of the same period, which represent various iconographic themes.

First there is the well-know statuette (H. 9.8 cm) of an enthroned Zeus (no 40, *fig. 16*).[91] This was found on Mount Lykaion, probably in the sanctuary of Zeus. The generally accepted dating is 540-530 and the normal attribution is to Corinth. No problems? If one looks at the vehement arguments of Wallenstein in favour of an attribution to Corinth, and against an attribution to Laconia, which no-one has proposed, the suspicion arises that something is wrong with Corinth.[92] And indeed, one cannot overlook the Laconian features, especially in the coiffure and the rendering of the eyes and eyebrows.[93] But this seems to be no more than the usual Laconian influence, which we have encountered more often with the silens, the satyrs and the kriophoroi. More observations can be made, however, e.g. the incised wavy lines, which seem to indicate the wool of the long chiton and at the same time its folds (which becomes apparent at the upper arms, where they follow different directions). These folds recall the similar wavy lines on the shoulders of the Hermes Kriophoros in Boston (no 33, *fig. 12a-c*)[94] and on the himatia of the three banqueters in Malibu, no 13. Perhaps this was a favorite design of a single, influential artist.[95] Anyway there is no compelling reason to attribute no 40 to either a Laconian or a Corinthian workshop. Perhaps the findplace and the iconography can contribute the find a solution for the problem.

The enthroned Zeus from Mount Lykaion has been compared with a taller standing Zeus (H. 18.6 cm, with its base) in Munich, no 41, having no known provenance.[96] The figure is naked, but keeps the same stylised types of thunderbolts in his hands as no 40. Also the shaping of the hair above the forehead is of the same 'curtain'-type, whereas the hair on the back follows a trend of the years 530-520: the long notched braids of Laconian type being taken together by an additional horizontal band at the lower part.[97] Typical Laconian are the long double notched braids falling on the chest (not found with no 40),[98] but their rendering, with deeply and sharply edged scales, is totally foreign to the Laconian, much softer and therefore more natural practice.[99] A marked difference is seen in the shaping of the eyes: on no 41 they are much smaller, showing almost no articulated eyelids and -brows. This type of eyes is found with Corinthian heads of about the same period.[100] The plain beard is also remarkable. Kopcke has compared the Zeus in Munich with the satyr from Dodona, here no 16, which would share the same masterly level of the plastic shaping.[101] As a conclusion we may state that again there is a mixture of influences (Laconian, Corinthian and perhaps even Attic) which interfere with a straightforward attribution. Accordingly the statuette has been called at times Corinthian, north-east peloponnesian or

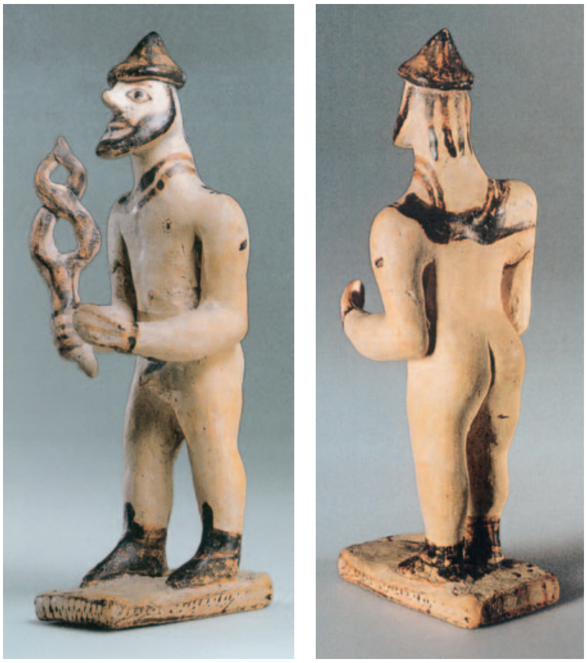


Fig. 15a-b. Terrakotta statuette of Hermes, Art Market, Basel. Photos owner.

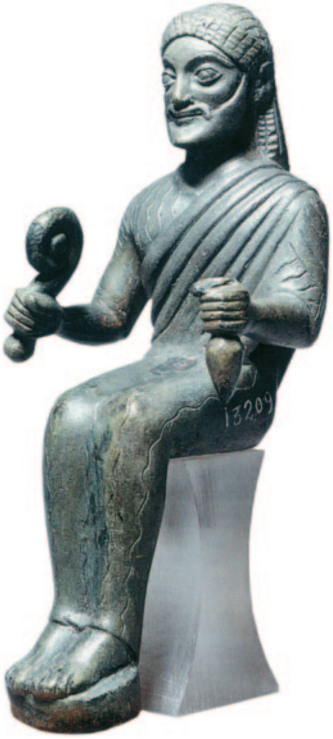


Fig. 16. Enthroned Zeus, Athens, National Arch. Museum X 13209, from Mount Lykaion. Photo museum.

Tarantine, all understandable but none really satisfying.[102]

A beardless warrior in a Swiss private collection, no 42, looks like a younger brother of the Hermes Kriophoros from Sparta (no 33, *figs. 12a-c*), but he is naked, apart from an impressive helmet with a high crest on his head and from high boots, which recall those of the Hermes. The design of his eyes, eyelids and eyebrows is similar and the long (this time single) tresses of Laconian type falling on his chest are divided in two vertical halfs in the same way as with the Hermes. At the back the straight mass of hair shows seven notched braids in the Laconian manner. The pubes has about the the same shape as with the Herakles from Mantinea (see below no 43), but there is an incised contour line around the chiselled dots, which indicate the hair. All parts of the body are skillfully rendered on about the same artistic level as with the Zeus in Munich (no 41). A dating in the decennium 530-520 therefore causes no problem, but the attribution has once again ended up in a deadlock: 'Sicyonian' would be one solution, with 'Lakonian' or 'Attic' as alternatives.[103]

In a similar iconographic scheme as the Zeus in Munich, a Herakles, said to be from Mantinea in New York, no 43, stands with his club (rather than the thunderbolt) in his raised right hand. This exceptional statuette attracts our attention for several reasons. Firstly its findplace which takes us to Arcadia again; secondly his excellent quality in both respects: the able exaggeration of the musculature and the refinement of the details; thirdly his being contemporary with most of the bronzes here discussed: ca 530-520.[104] The shape and details of his face can very well be compared with those of the kriophoroi from Sparta (no 33, *fig. 12a-c*) and from Andritsaina (no 34, *fig. 13*), as well as with the moschophoros from Berekla (no 35, *fig. 14*). The unusual wavy incised lines of the beard, however, recall the same with the silen from Olympia (no 1, *fig. 1a-c*). Also exceptional is the type of the six snake-curls above the forehead, which, by their ashtonishing crude workmanship, seem to be archaising, that is copied from much older Laconian predecessors.[105] By contrast, the pubic hair has been executed in the most refined way, with only chiseled dots (no contour-line).[106]

As a conclusion we may state that the Herakles from Mantinea provides a good example of what a local workshop in the time of the three silens from Olympia was able to produce: an original statuette which combines crude and refined features. At the same time it absorbes influence from different quarters.

Another case of much interest is a centaur in the Art Museum at Princeton, alas without a known provenance (no 44, *fig. 17*). This masterpiece has been attributed, because of its special qualities, to an Attic workshop and dated in the years 530-520, precisely the period most relevant to our discussion. By contrast to the Laconian centaurs (see nos 10 and 11) this centaur has no human forepart detached, so to say, from the rest, but the human body arises from the horse's body in a more satisfying way. This iconographic solution can be called typical Attic, even if there are some exceptions on both sides.[107] In addition to the iconographic aspect there are also stylistic arguments which make us believe that this is one of the first signs of an Attic bronzeworker entering the much-contested bronze market of the day.[108] What confronts us most here is the fact, that there are no provincial Peloponnesian elements in the lucid style of the horse's and the human bodies and that the details of the head and the hairdress show a mixture of styles which nevertheless form an original ensemble. How this original approach of the subject has developped in Attica in de following decades can be shown by the galloping centaur, no 45, which has been in the centre of much dispute.[109] Given the closeness in style of its head to a well-known statuette of Zeus from Olympia, no 46, mostly dated at the end of the 6th century, centaur no 45 should be dated also around 510-500 BC.[110]

As we started our survey with a genuine Laconian masterpiece, a reclining silen (no 1), so we will finish with a genuine Corinthian masterpiece, a reclining bearded man (no 47), who represents his citystate and the period (530-520) in an authentic way. This time there is no discussion about the attribution. The extreme precision and sharpness of the details are characteristic for its Corinthian workmanship.[111] As with the Laconian silen no 1, so too with no 45 have several parallels of lesser quality been identified, though these most probably did not belong to the decoration of the same vessel or useful implement: no 48, now in a Swiss private collection, and no 49, which came to light in northern Greece.

CONCLUSIONS

When we come to draw conclusions from the material presented here, we should first and foremost state that our conclusions can only be of a provisional and tentative character, given the lacunae in our knowledge and the shortcomings in our perceptions. However, the progress made during the last hunderd years in our understanding of the specific aspects and the development of the archaic Greek bronze production, together with an amazing increase in material, allow for an optimistic approach, even if the problems of interpretation which remain to overcome are still immense.

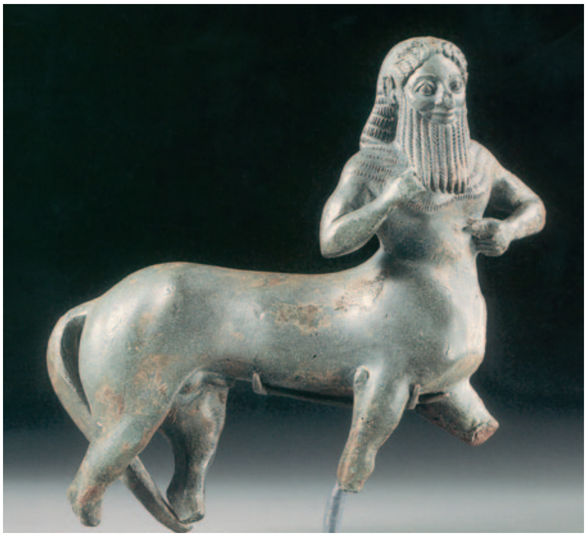


Fig. 17. Centaur, Princeton, University Art Museum 1997, 36. Photo museum.

The discussion of the three (or four) silens from Olympia (nos 1-4) was put forward here as a test case. That the whole group is Laconian, even if one of them (no 1) is far superior in style to the rest, cannot be denied. We have to accept, that the superiority of no 1 is a phenomenon which accords well with the general picture of the contemporary production of bronze statuettes, where high quality achievements are often accompanied or paralleled by low or lower quality products.[112] This can be explained by the organisation of the workshops (a master and his assistents) and the requirements of the market (rich and poor clients) or other circumstances. Gauer's attribution to Corinth has to be rejected in any case because his arguments are in themselves inconclusive; they have the merit, however, of opening up a whole field of problems and controversies, which we have subsequently surveyed.

In the group of Laconian comparanda (nos 5-14) we have assembled one clay perirrhanterion (no 5), five silens (nos 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12, of which no 9 is probably Attic), two centaurs (nos 10 and 11) and four banqueters (nos 13-14). This material should be sufficient to show that the Dionysic sphere, to which they all belong, was not at all foreign to the

Spartans.[113] The four silens from Olympia (nos 1-4) enter into that world without problems, even if we have so far no exact iconographic parallels from Laconia itself.

Within the group of non-Laconian comparanda (nos 15-29) two satyrs are considered to be Attic (nos 15 and 16), one satyr and three silens to be Corinthian (nos 20-22, of which no 21 is a clay krater decorated with two silens), four silens (nos 18, 19, 27, 28) and two satyrs (nos 17 and 23) to be provincial (locally made) and two to be colonial Greek (nos 24 and 25). This group shows clearly the different levels of quality and the popularity of the two types: the Laconian silens and the Attic satyrs and how their characteristic features could be mixed outside their homes.

The group of stylistic (= non iconographic) comparanda has been subdivided into two parts: the kriophoroi and the varia. Among the kriophoroi are listed: six high quality statuettes (nos 30-35, of which no 35 is a moschophoros) and four primitive examples (nos 36-39). The last are selected from a greater number because of their known findplaces. In marked contrast to the silens, satyrs and their relatives, the findplaces of the kriophoroi are limited to the Peloponnese, with Arcadia clearly preponderant and within Arcadia the sanctuaries on Mount Lykaion. This picture may also be valid for the high quality pieces (nos 30-34), of which at least nos 34 and 35 have trustworthy provenances: Andritsaina and Berekla respectively, both near Mount Lykaion. The alleged provenance 'Sparta' of that most remarkable kriophoros no 33 could be comparable to 'Andritsaina' and 'Berekla', in as far as Sparta has been the place where the statuette was bought in the 19th century, not being necessarily the findplace. So the findplace could even be sought in Arcadia.[114] But another, more convincing, solution of the problem of the attribution of this exceptional piece is also concievable (see Appendix 1). It should be remembered, moreover, that three out of the six high quality pieces (nos 30, 31 and 33) are honoured by Langlotz 1927 with an attribution to Sikyon. This attribution has been followed since then by many scholars. We return to this below.

Our second subgroup consists of various high quality statuettes which give us a good impression of the achievements of the Greek bronzeworkers around 530-520 BC. Three of them (nos 40-43) are difficult to assign to any production centre at all, three (nos 44-46) are supposed to be Attic and three (nos 47-49) to be Corinthian. The three categories of attribution, Attic, Corinthian and 'unclear', together with the Laconian record, show us the limits within which the special stage in the development of Greek bronze art of the period can be understood.

The claim of Sikyon

In his fundamental and still influential work *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (1927) Ernst Langlotz has tried to connect quite a few bronzes with the school of Sikyon, most of them dating to a later period, but some also of direct interest to our subject, as has been stated above (with nos 30, 31 and 33).[115] In fact, these three statuettes constitute the nucleus of the whole group of high quality kriophoroi. Many scholars have followed Langlotz' attribution, up to the present day. But, even at an early stage of the discussion, another, no less influential German scholar, Karl Anton Neugebauer, has criticized Langlotz ideas. Neugebauer does not accept Langlotz attributions, because not only superficial details such as the dressing up, but also basic sculptural features, such as proportions and shaping of the faces, show that the Arcadian bronzes are closely related to eachother. Moreover, it is quite often possible to detect on one and the same piece decisive influences from different schools.[116] This is exactly what has been noticed above on several occasions and especially with the high quality kriophoroi. Neugebauer and after him further scholars would extend those observations, regarding a recognizable style also to the smaller, more primitive Arcadian statuettes.[117]

So, after all, is there still any reason to take Sikyon seriously as a possible candidate for the production of at least the high quality kriophoroi? There are no finds from the spot, which could corroborate such an assumption.[118] But the literary sources give us a relatively clear picture of Sikyon as an important city of art in general.[119] They tell us that the technique of bronze casting was introduced there by the brothers Aristokles and Kanachos, that is, at some time in the later 6th century.[120] On grounds of principle, therefore, we cannot exclude, that some idiosyncratic features of the group of the kriophoroi and of the Zeus from the Lykaion - perhaps even that 'academic' taste which has been recognized e.g. with the kriophoros from Sparta (no 33, *fig. 12a-c*) - are due to the school of Sikyon. This would not automatically mean that they are produced at Sikyon, but that they could have been influenced from there in the wider context of the international style, to which we return below. In short, Sikyon is a great name to us without much substance, at least in the period of our interest. It can be compared, in a way, with Taras, the Spartan colony in southern Italy, to which many bronzes are attributed, but where nothing of the kind has been found.

The claim of Arcadia

The bulk of the 'primitive' bronze statuettes, which includes many more pieces and types than the five kriophoroi which we have listed here (nos 35-39), has been generally accepted today as belonging to an authentic Arcadian production.[121] Since for many of them a provenance from one of the modern villages in the neighbourhood of the Zeus and Pan sanctuaries on Mount Lykaion has been attested, there can be little doubt that they all were dedicated and found there. This observation is, perhaps to a lesser degree, also valid for the high quality statuettes, including in any case the enthroned Zeus (no 40, *fig. 16*). [122]

The sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion was one of the oldest and the most important of Arcadia.[123] It was considered to be the birthplace of Zeus and the home of Pan (Pausanias 8.38.2-6). Zeus had an altar on the highest, the southern summit, within a precinct which no man was allowed to enter. Two columns on which golden eagles stood, marked the entrance. On a plateau between two summits, at a height of ca 1200 m, are extensive remains of an Hellenistic hippodrome, a stadium, a stoa and other buildings for the use of the worshippers. Not very far from here a hieron of Pan has been identified.[124] This was an environment, in a way comparable to the Zeus sanctuaries of Olympia and Dodona, in which a bronzeworker could establish a workshop in order to serve his clients on the spot.[125] The hypothesis seems to be justified, that many of the 'primitive' and most of the high quality bronzes nos 30-32, 34-40, were produced by one or more of such workshops operating in about the same period (530-520) in or next to the sanctuaries of Zeus and Pan. This would explain their special style and character, their uniformity and their differentiation. The strong Laconian influence, which we have noticed with most of them, can be explained also by their geographical closeness to that leading production centre. I even would go so far as to suppose that the statuette of a youth with an unmistakable Laconian wreath, which was found on Mount Lykaion, in fact was also produced there (and not in Laconia itself). Stylistically he has always been a *corpus alienum* within the series of Laconian kouroi,[126] whereas he would do very well as a brother of the kriophoroi.[127]

The international style

The label 'international style' is somewhat misleading, because it has been used for a style which is found in the later second half of the 6th century within the Greek, but not in the outside world. 'Interregional style' might have been better, perhaps, but since the former label has found its way into the handbooks, it is retained here.[128] A second difficulty may be that it is introduced to characterize a phenomenon in the field of the life size marble sculpture, not of the small bronzes; the latter is a different field of research and therefore has its own rules. Anyway the term will be used here as a means of describing a sort of koine-style first seen in the archaic Greek bronze production around 530-520 BC. We have touched upon the phenomenon already above.

The fact is that around 530-520 in Greece a style emerges which is not specific for a certain production centre, but for a whole group of centres, including Sparta, Corinth, Athens and, as we have seen, even Sikyon and Arcadia. This new style slowly infiltrates the traditional centres and makes their products look rather uniform. In fact, after 530-520 it is of no or little use and sometimes even impossible to attribute single bronzes to single production centres. Those, however, who want to continue to do so may turn their attention more to non-stylistic arguments, such as the iconography and the findplaces, as has been put into practice already above with the silens and the kriophoroi.

The 'international style' then, with the bronzes, could be defined as follows. A stage of general perfection in technique and style had been reached. This new perfection is on one hand admirable; on the other there is a (danger of) over-styling which tends to be academic in effect. In comparison with the foregoing periods clear progress has been made, but, at the same time, there is a loss of character. It was their specific character which made it formerly possible to distinguish more clearly the styles of individual production centres, workshops or even artists. Characteristic for the international style is, moreover, a mixture of elements which derive from the different schools, mainly the Laconian, the Corinthian and the East Greek. These schools lose now their leading role. For the Laconian school the years around 530-520 certainly foreshadowed the end of a century of unparalleled flourishing. On the other hand, the Athenians for the first time, now enter the bronze market with great vigour. Making use of the achievements of the other centres, they start afresh and seem to conquer the market in a short time.

As our first example of the international style, let us consider the high quality silen from Olympia, no 1. Here we have the interesting situation of a masterpiece surrounded by three similar works (nos 2-4) of average Laconian level. It would be wrong to attribute the masterpiece to a non-Laconian bronzeworker, as we have seen. It would be equally wrong to interprete it as an isolated achievement. We now know that this piece belongs to the much wider context of the international style which was developping in those years (530-520) all over Greece. Among the silens and the satyrs two high quality satyrs have been attributed here to Attic workshops (nos 15, *fig. 8a-b* and 16). Their perfect modelling and almost neutral style (combined with a typical Attic iconography) make them equaly representative of the international style. Among the group of the bronzes belonging to the Arcadian school, we have foremost the two kriophoroi nos 30 and 33, both in Boston, which Langlotz considered to be works 'possibly of one master'.[129] Here we meet, especially with no 33, that 'academic' flavour, which may be considered as a negative side of the international style. It is also met with no 31 (*fig.10*) and with some further works, such as the gorgoneia of two hydria-handles in Boston, cited above.[130] These certainly belong to the international style, even if those who attribute them to a Corinthian workshop are right. In fact, the attribution is no longer of much interest. The same can also be said of the most prominent finds from Mount Lykaion, the enthroned Zeus (no 40, *fig. 16*). Who would care whether this is of Arcadian, Corinthian or Laconian make, since a clear and final decision has become impossible in any case? It is simply a perfect creation and a worthy member of the group of statuettes belonging to the international style. Even if the dry and sharp execution of the locks and the style of the eyes point to a Corinthian origin for the masterly Zeus in Munich, no 41, again this statuette derives its interest for its being a member of the group of the international style. The same can be said about the Herakles from Mantinea, no 42, which certainly has an Arcadian background and probably demonstrates another capability of the workshop, which was also responsible for some kriophoroi and the moschophoros (no 35, *fig. 14*). It is very regrettable that the findplace of centaur, no 44 (*fig. 17*), is unknown. It would have helped us to establish the origin of this important contribution to the first generation of the international style. From its superior technique and iconographic qualities the centaur offers a testimony of the emerging Attic bronze workshops. The Pierpont Morgan centaur, no 45, being of a lesser sculptural quality, shows us the vitality and freedom which was achieved in Athens towards the end of the century

APPENDIX

A Hermes Kriophoros

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H.L. Pierce Fund, 99.489. Provenance: Sparta. No 33, fig. 12a-c.

With its height of 26.5 cm this statuette surpasses all his counterparts known today.[131] He surpasses them also in the loftiness of his appearance. Every trace of a rustic and awkward parentage, so characteristic for the other kriophoroi, even when they are supposed to represent, with their winged boots, the god of the shepherds himself, is missing. We really get here, and only here, the impression of a godlike statue. This impression is based on the balance and harmony of his general appearance and no less on every single detail. His body, his head, his dress and the ram hold in his left arm, they all contribute to that most astonishing ensemble. This is not only a masterwork in itself; it also could be understood as the copy of a life size cult statue.[132]

The shape of the head, covered by a brimmed petasos (slightly indented at the front by a damage) looks squarish (not oval) and more lengthy than broad. The face, above the forehead, is framed by a curved row of ten snake-curls showing slightly raised centres, neatly arranged in two groups of five antithetic curls (*fig. 12a*). Similarly shaped curls are found with the gorgons at the handles of two kraters from Trebenishte and with two gorgons at two hydria-handles bought in Athens, now in Boston.[133] In fact they are also present with the other Hermes Kriophoros in Boston, no 30, but these make the impression of being more coarse imitations. We return later to these pieces of comparison. Anyway this type of curles betrays a more careful treatment and a more sophisticated spirit than the so-called curtain-type arrangement which we encounter at about the same time with many other statuettes, e.g. with the two statuettes of Zeus from Mount Lykaion (no 40, *fig. 16*) and in Munich (no 41).

From behind the ears four notched tresses, two on each side of the head, fall down low on the breast, each single tress being divided up again in two vertical halves. This kind of double-braiding is seldom found: they are characteristic, as far as we know today, of the work of one single Laconian master, who specialized in the production of bronze oinochoai equipped with handle-kouroi, around the middle of the 6th century BC.[134] There is no reason, however, to think of more than some kind of influence from that quarter. The hair at the back (*fig. 12c*) is no less exceptional: it shows the normal Laconian long notched braids, but arranged in wavy courses on both sides of a straight central dividing line. Here we catch the artist in his most individual predelection: the wavy lining. This preference recurs nearby: on the shoulders of the god, where three buttons on each side constitute the starting points for six wavy lines at each button. They suggest in a schematic way the 18 short folds of the chiton emerging from those buttons on each shoulder. They recall the exceptional wavy lines on chitons of several other statuettes which must have been created in about the same period during which we should date our Hermes.[135]

The slightly bulging eyes are neither too big nor too small (as often is the case) and framed by strong eyelids beneath raised brows accentuated by dubbel incised lines. Beard and moustache are set off in a natural way,[136] the beard showing the usual Laconian notched courses, the moustache only vertical incisions. Relatively broad shoulders suggest an inward contour line of the upper body ending up in a relatively narrow waist, in accord with the taste of the period around 530-520.[137] The upper body seems to be rather compact and short if compared with the lower body, down from the hips and passing into the long legs. This may remind us of the fact that the Spartans in general were known for their long legs.[138] Neither the arms nor legs, as far as they are visible, show an advanced rendering of the muscles: they are modelled in a sober way and suggest a dating even before 530-520.[139] So does the plain costume with its stiff and schematic folds centred at the front of the skirt, in the same way as found with many striding gorgons dating to the third quarter of the 6th century.[140] Perfectly in style with the rest, especially with the refinement of the hairdress, are the knotting of the belt in a stylized bow and the boots (endromides) 'with their high, rounded tongues, raised lacing eyes, and the large bows of their laces corresponding to the bow of the waist'.[141] Similar boots are found with the other statuettes of Hermes Kriophoros (nos 30, 32, 34, 38, 39), and with the 'warrior' no 42, albeit less well-finished.[142]

The ram held by the left arm of the god does not look straight forward, as with the other kriophoroi, but to its left side. This attitude recalls the many recumbant rams at the lower attachments of the handles of bronze hydriae and oinochoae, which they have turned their head towards the viewer. Not only the shape of the neck and head, which is rather tiny, but also the design of the fleece of our ram can be compared with those of the rams of bronze vessels. The curls on its forehead are incised with a crosshatched pattern, while the incised pattern of the fleece shows oblique, squarrish notched flocks between lines running over the whole length of the body and finishing under the arm of the god in a prismlike tapering (*fig. 12b*). This kind of rendering the flocks of rams can be dated in the late third quarter of the 6th century.[143]

A word should finally be said about a negative aspect of the Hermes Kriophoros which accompanies, at least in modern eyes, the perfection of his workmanship. The following quotations may suffice to illustrate what I mean. 'Yet, for all its sophisticated refinements, this statuette has lost the intensity and liveliness of the other version' (no 30). '... there is clearly more emphasis on precision than expression.' 'Even the figure of the animal held on the left arm like a teatrical prop is appropriately enervated.' The statuette was not accepted as Corinthian by Wallenstein, but 'set apart on the basis of its lifelessness'. '...the noticable lack of vitality and its academic frigidity have long provoked questions about the accuracy of dating to the Archaic period.' This is, as it ware, the constant background music to just one description of our Hermes in a catalogue.[144] There is a basic mistake in these exaggerated judgements, and that is the comparison made, right in the beginning, with the other, less perfect and therefore, at least to a modern eye, more appealing Hermes Kriophoros no 30.

It would be much more productive to ask, why this statuette, which has the same iconography as all the other kriophoroi catalogued here, is so different in its workmanship. Perhaps a way out of the deadlock can be found by looking a bit closer into the question of its provenance. The statuette was bought in 1899 from a dealer who told the first owner, E.P. Warren, that it came from Sparta. A parallel case is the hollow cast head of a youth, which was bought in 1886 from the same dealer and was also said to come from Sparta.[145] A third bronze, the fragmentary handle of a hydria in the shape of a youth, having the same origin, also ended up, like the two others, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[146] The latter two are certainly Laconian and add significantly to our knowledge of the Laconian bronze production in general. Add the fact that hitherto no imported bronzes have been found in Sparta or Laconia, and we

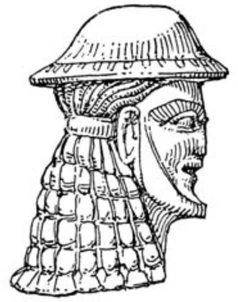


Fig. 18. Ivory head, Sparta, Museum. Drawing after AO pl. 178, 1.

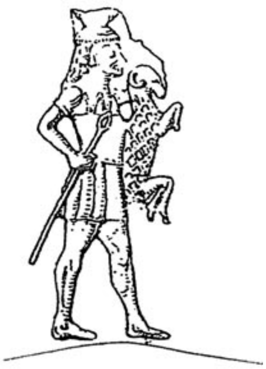


Fig. 19. Lead figurine, Sparta, Museum. Drawing after AO pl. 127c.v

will conclude that the Hermes Kriophoros may have been produced there just like the other two.[147] As we have seen above, the iconography and the style of the statuette, both being at home in Sparta, do not contradict this possibility.

So, after all, if we accept the idea that our Hermes Kriophoros was produced by a Laconian master bronzeworker, than we have to look into a few more arguments and consequences. Firstly: the above cited observation 'it does not fit comfortably into the Laconian series',[148] loses its value of one considers the 'international style', which in those years, 530-520, pervades all the production centres of the Greek mainland alike, as we have seen. In Sparta itself the singularity of the piece has a (later) parallel in a kouros which, by its equally high, but more developped sculptural quality, remains isolated, dated in the beginning of the 5th century; it was found in Laconia and is certainly of Laconian make.[149] We have to take into account, moreover, the very restricted character of our knowledge of the material. As an indication of the fact that the type of our kriophoros was not unknown in Laconia we may consider finally the very fine ivory head of a bearded man wearing a pilos in a similar way (*fig. 18*)[150] and a lead figurine, also from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, representing a complete Hermes Kriophoros, seen in profile and equipped with a kerykeion (*fig. 19*), such as our Hermes no 33 probably once also kept in his right hand.[151]

Secondly: the dating. Our iconographic and stylistic analysis has resulted in a dating in the third quarter of the 6th century. After all, the Hermes Kriophoros from Sparta, because of its exceptional quality, could join very well the other bronzes of about the same artistic level which have been grouped together above as belonging to the phenomenon of the quasi neutral 'international style' of the years 530-520. Such a dating contrasts rather sharply with the commonly later dating by modern scholars, the earliest being 520-510 (Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 25 no.23), but seems to accord better with most of the aspects of this fascinating bronze statuette.

CATALOGUE

The entries in the catalogue are numbered according to the order in which they are discussed in the text. The catalogue is therefore of no chronological value. **Bold** print means: this object is considered an 'international style' piece.

1 **Olympia, Museum B 4232. Provenance: Olympia ('StN, H3 Westhälfte, in Sandfüllung des zweiten Walls'). Reclining silen. H. 5.1 cm; L. 7.7 cm. Here *fig. 1a-c*.**
E. Kunze, in *Olympiabericht* VII, 1967, 236-250, Pl. 115, 3-4, 116,1-3. Vokotopoulou 1975, 144-145, 187 fig. 516. *Les Bronzes Grecques* (1983) 105, 233 no 244. Boll 1985, 110. Herfort-Koch 1986, 120 no K 148 (bibl.), pl. 21, 1-3. Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no 183, Fig. 99. Gauer 1991, 91-92, 255 no M 29 (bibl.). *LIMC* VIII, 1 (1997) 1131 no 227 (Erika Simon). Förtsch 2001, 178. Bieg 2002, 141-142, fig. 199a, 178 no Sl 3 (bibl.).

2 Olympia, Museum B 4200. Provenance: Olympia ('StN, H3 Osthälfte, in Sandfülling des zweiten Walls'). Reclining silen. H. 5.1 cm; L. 7.4. cm. Here *fig. 2*.
E. Kunze, in *Olympiabericht* VII, 1967, 236-250, Pl. 116, 4. Boll 1985, 110. Herfort-Koch 1986, 120 no K 148, pl. 21, 4. Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no 182, Fig. 98. Gauer 1991, 91-92, 255 no M 30 (bibl.). Vokotopoulou 1997, 75 fig. 46. Förtsch 2001, 178. Bieg 2002, 141-142, fig 199b, 178 no Sl 2 (bibl.).

3 Olympia, Museum B 4700. Provenance: Olympia ('StN, G 4, in Sandfüllung des zweiten Walls'). Reclining silen. H. 5.1 cm; L. 6.4 cm. Here *fig. 3a-c*.
E. Kunze, in *Olympiabericht* VII, 1967, 236-250, Pl. 116, 4. 117. Boll 1985, 110. Herfort-Koch 1986, 120 no K 149, Pl. 21, 5-6. Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no 181, Fig. 97. Gauer 1991, 91-92, 255 no M 31 (bibl.). Förtsch 2001, 178. Bieg 2002, 141-142, fig. 199c, 179 no Sl 4 (bibl.).

4 Zürich, Private collection, formerly collection Emil Bührle. Provenance: allegedly Olympia.

Reclining silen. H. 5.5 cm; L. 8.0 cm. Here *fig. 4a-c*. H. Jucker, *Sammlung E.G. Bührle*. Ausstellung Zürich 1958, 37 no 7, Fig. 7; 170 Fig. 2. R. Lullies, *Griechische Plastik, Vasen und Kleinkunst (Leihgaben aus Privatbesitz)*, Ausstellung der staatlichen Kunstsammlung Kassel, 27.5-27.9, 1964, Nr. 17 (with Fig.). E. Kunze, *Olympiabericht* VII, 1967, 240. H. Jucker, Zechender Silen, *Museum Helveticum* 27 (1970) 117-119. Fehr 1971, 125, 182 no. 549. Boll 1985, 110. Herfort-Koch 1986, 120 no. K 150 (bibl.). Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no. 184. Gauer 1991, 91-92., 255-256 (bibl.). Förtsch 2001, 178. Bieg 2002, 141-142, fig. 200, 179 no Sl 5 (bibl.).

5 Sparta, Museum 6248. Provenance: Amyklai, heroon of Agamemnon and Kasandra. Clay base with symposion scene. H. of scene 13.0 cm.
Chr. Christou, *Praktika* 1960, 230 pl. 170. G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961) 687 fig. 5. Fehr 1971, 118, no 48, 124. M. Iozzo, *Xenia* 13 (1987) 6 n. 7, 11 fig. 6. Pipili 1987, 53-54, fig. 79, 116 no 148. Stibbe 1991, 24 fig. 27 a-b, 33-34. Förtsch 2001, 220, figs. 348, 349.

6 Sparta, Museum 3245. Provenance: Sparta, acropolis. H. 4,5 cm. Silen, looking around. Here *fig. 5a-c*.
Lamb 1926, 85 no 5 (not illustrated). Kunze 1967, 244, Fig. 91. Herfort-Koch 1986, 60, 120 no K 151 (bibl.), Pl. 21, 9. Pipili 1987, 67-68, 117 no 187, Fig. 100. Förtsch 2001, 223, fig. 366.

7 Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1004. Provenance: 'aus Unteritalien'. Reclining silen. H. 5.0 cm. L. 11.0 cm.
K. Schuhmacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen der Grosssherzöglichen Vereinigten Sammlungen zu Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe 1890, no 474. Jantzen 1937, 27 nr. 18, 40-41, pl. 15, fig. 59, 60. Fehr 1971, 125, 182 no 549. Pipili 1987, 67 n. 662. Bieg 2002, 143, fig. 201, 178 no Sl 1 (bibl.).

8 Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 133. Provenance: Spain (Llano de la Consolatión, near Montealegre del Castillo, province of Albacete). Dancing silen. H. 9.2 cm; est. H. 10.0 cm. Here *fig. 6a-b*.
De Ridder 1913, 26 no 133, pl. 15. D.K. Hill, *Gnomon* 27 (1955) 34. Vokotopoulou 1975, 183 no 13. B.B. Shefton, in H.G. Niemeyer, *Die Phoenizer im Westen*, Mainz 1982, 362. Herfort-Koch 1986, 61, 66, 121 no K 153, pl. 21, 8. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 28 fig. 23, 24, 157.

9 Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 134. Provenance: unknown (ex Grivaud de la Vincelle). Silen, looking around. H. 6.3 cm. Here *fig. 7a-b*.
De Ridder 1913, 26 no 134, pl. 15. Jucker 1956, 45-46.

10 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles 514. Provenance: Athens, acropolis; ex Oppermann. Centaur. H 10.0 cm; L. 9.5 cm.
Babelon/Blanchet 1895, 219 no 514. Baur 1912, 98 no 237. Babelon 1929, no 29, pl. 22. Lamb 1929, 101, pl. 39a. Niemeyer 1964, 11, pl. 32a. Rolley 1969, 132. Schiffler 1976, 154, 320 cat. V 16. Herfort-Koch 1986, 61, 69, 121 no K 154. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003), 155-158, illustrated in colour and black and white (C.M. Stibbe).

11 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6680. Provenance: Athens, acropolis. Centaur. H. 6.9 cm. L. 6.5 cm.
De Ridder 1896, no 430. Baur 1912, 98 no 236. Lamb 1929, 101. Niemeyer 1964, 11, 29-30 pl. 27. Schiffler 1976, 154-155, 320 no V 15. Rolley 1984, 110 fig. 90. Herfort-Koch 1986, 61, 62, 68, 121 no K 155. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 11-12, fig. 6, 157.

12 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7544. Provenance: Amyklaion. Dancing silen. H. 9.5 cm.
De Ridder 1894, no 846, pl. 3.1. Kunze 1967, 244. Thomas 1981, 156 n. 758. Herfort-Koch 1986, 61, 69, 120 no K 152, pl. 21.7. Pipili 1987, 68, 117 no 189.

13 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Provenance: unknown, ex Fleischman. Three banqueters. A, H. 3.6 cm, L. 7.7 cm; B, H. 3.7 cm, L. 7.2 cm; C, H. 3.5 cm, L. 7.1 cm.
Cat. *A Passion for Antiquities* (1994) 56-58, no 17 with ill. in colour. Bieg 2002, 134-136, fig. 184, 177 no SY 20.

14 Berlin, formerly in the Antiquarium, now lost. Provenance: Dodona, Banqueter, H. 3.5 cm, L. 7.3 cm.
K.A. Neugebauer, *AA* 1922, 74-75 no 19 with ill. Neugebauer 1931, 111-112 no. 217 pl. 36. Fehr 1971, no 583. Dentzer 1982, 216 B 10. Fuchs/Floren 1987, 322 n. 14. Bieg 2002, 134-136, fig. 183, 175 no SY 7 (bibl.).

***15* New York, Private collection Michael and Judy Steinhardt. Provenance: unknown. Squatting satyr. H. 9.45 cm. Here *fig. 8a-b*.**
Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 243-245, no 56,

with ill. in colour (Jasper Gaunt).

***16* Athens, National Archaeological Museum, coll. Carapanos no 32. Provenance: Dodona. Dancing satyr. H. 20.0 cm.**
K.A. Neugebauer, *RM* 51 (1936) 205. E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze*, Munich 1943, 39, fig. 37. Gjodesen 1963, 344. Kunze 1967, 246 n. 74, fig. 94. Vokotopoulou 1975, 144-145, 155-156, 187, pl. 51a-b. Walter-Karydi 1981, 28-29, 31 fig. 29-30. Gauer 1991, 92. Vokotopoulou 1997, 74 fig. 45, 229.

17 Once Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 2610, now lost. Provenance: allegedly Sparta. Looking around satyr. H. 5, 4 cm. Here *fig. 9*.
AA 1892, 49 no 66. F. Brommer, *Satyroi,* Würzburg 1937, 56 n. 26, no 9. Pipili 1987, 68, 117 no 188.

18 Geneva, private collection George Ortiz. Provenance: allegedly from the valley of the Alpheios (Elis). Dancing silen. H. 5.7 cm.
Cat. *Faszination der Antike*, no 113 (bibl.), fig. in colours. Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no 185.

19 Geneva, private collection George Ortiz. Provenance: allegedly from the upper valley of the Alpheios (Elis). Looking around silen. H. 5.2 cm.
Cat. *Faszination der Antike* no 114 (bibl.) with fig. in colours. Pipili 1987, 67, 117 no 186.

20 Olympia, Museum B 5555. Provenance: Olympia ('östlich des Nerohauses, 6. März 1964'). Dancing satyr. H. 13.00 cm.
Kunze 1967, 245-250, pl. 118-119, fig. 92-93. H.-V. Herrmann, *Funde aus Olympia*, Athens 1980, 127.

21 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr.VIII 940. Provenance: Athens. Fragmentary clay crater. H. 41.9 cm, Dm. rim 43.3 cm.
CVA Copenhagen p. 103, pl. 125, 1a-c. J.D. Beazley, *JHS* 49 (1929) 110. Wallenstein 1971, 76, 150 no VII/A.

22 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6604. Provenance: Athens, Acropolis. Reclining satyr. H. 3.5 cm.
De Ridder 1896, no 763. Gjodesen 1963, 344 n. 97, pl. 78 fig. 38

23 Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 131. Provenance: Apollonia (Albania). Dancing satyr. H. 12.6 cm (without the struts under his feet).
De Ridder 1913, 26 no 131. Charbonneaux 1958, 82. Rolley 1967, 8 no 74.

24 Switzerland, private collection. Provenance: unknown, ex Arndt. Looking around satyr H. 9.0 cm.
Jucker, 1956, 45, figs. 15-17 (bibl.). Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 85 no 81.

25 New York, private collection Walter C. Baker. Reclining silen. H. 2-1/16 inch.
F. Eckstein, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 641. D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York private collections*, New York 1961, 38 no 147 (bibl.).

26 New York, private collection Walter C. Baker, Reclining silen. H. 2-1/16 inch.
F. Eckstein, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 641. D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York private collections*, New York 1961, 38 no 138 (bibl.).

27 Palma di Mallorca, private collection Conde de España. Provenance: Lluchmayor (Mallorca). Looking around silen. H. 19.0 cm.
A. García y Bellido, *Hispania Graeca* 2 (1948) 112-113 no 27 (bibl.), pl. 45. P.J. Riis, *ActArch* 30 (1959) 43. B.B. Shefton, in H.G. Niemeyer, *Die Phoenizier im Westen*, Mainz 1982, 362 n. 70.

28 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 71145/1. Provenance: Capilla at the river Guadiana. Province of Badajoz. Dancing silen. H. 11.0 cm.
R. Olmos Romera, *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 34 (1977) 371-382 (with a commentary by M. Almagro-Gorbea). R. Olmos Romea, *MM* 20 (1979) 189, pl. 30a. M. Almagro-Gorbea, *El Bronce Final y el Período Orientalizante en Extramadura*, Madrid 1977, 252-253 pl. 54, 1-2. B.B. Shefton, in H.G. Niemeyer, *Die Phoenizier im Westen*, Mainz 1982, 383, n. 71. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 162 with n. 4.

29 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 18536. Provenance: Rollos, near Caravaca, province of Murcia. Centaur striding to right. H. 11.2 cm, L. 10.8 cm.
Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 162-163, ill. in colours (with bibl.).

***30* Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H.L. Pierce Fund 04.6. Provenance: allegedly Arcadia. Hermes Kriophoros. H. 16.7 cm.**
B.H. Hill, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, *Annual Report* 1904, 57. *AJA* 9 (1905) 369. *AA* 1906, col. 262. K.A. Neugebauer, Erwerbungen der Anti-

kensammlungen in Deutschland, Berlin, _AA_ 1922, col. 72. Lamb 1925, 137 no 4. Langlotz 1927, 31, pl. 20a. Neugebauer 1931, 68, n. 1. Kunze 1953, 9-10, figs. 1, 2. D.K. Hill, _Gnomon_ 27 (1955) 34. G.M.A. Richter, _AJA_ 62 (1958) 236. H. Sichtermann, Hermes, in _EAA_ IV (1961) 2, 4, 7, fig. 3. Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 24, no. 22. Morrow 1985, 39, 192 n. 50. M. True, in Cat. _The Gods Delight_ (1989) 77-81. Mattusch 1990, 130, fig. 6. _LIMC_ V, 1, 311 no. 264b. Gauer 1991, 92.

_31_ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, coll. Stathatos 328. Provenance: unknown. Hermes Kriophoros. H. 16.0 cm. Here _fig. 10_.
Kunze 1953, 7-13, fig. 1-2. Rolley 1967, 5 no 52. Rolley 1983, 95 fig. 72. _LIMC_ V,1, 311 no 264a with fig. Gauer 1991, 92.

32 New York, private collection Shelby White and Leon Levy. Provenance: unknown. Hermes Kriophoros shaped as an appliqué. H. 12.8 cm. Here *fig. 11a-b*.
Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 121-127, figs. 80-82.

_33_ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H.L. Pierce Fund, 99.489. Provenance: Sparta. Hermes Kriophoros. H. 26.5 cm. Here _fig. 12a-c_.
E. Robinson, _Annual Report of the MFA_ 1899, 36-37. Lamb 1925, 137 n. 1. Lamb 1929, 223. K.A. Neugebauer, _Gnomon_ 2 (1930) 269. K. Schefold, _Meisterwerke_ (1960) 38, 61, 178, 181 no 180. J.H. Young, _AJA_ 64 (1960) 293. F. Eckstein, _Gnomon_ 33 (1961) 404. Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 25-26, no 23 (bibl.). Wallenstein 1971, 191 n. 410. W. Fuchs, _Die Skulptur der Griechen_, Darmstadt 1979, 42-43, figs. 27-28. Morrow 1985, 41, fig. 34. Herfort-Koch 1986, 53 n. 193. Walter-Karydi 1987, 23, fig. 17, 95. M. True, in Cat. _The Gods Delight_ (1989) 81-86 (bibl.). _LIMC_ V,1 (1990) 311 no 260. C.C. Mattusch, _Classical Bronzes_, Ithaka and London 1996, 10, fig. 1,8. Vokotopoulou 1997, no 54 (ill. in colour).

_34_ Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 12347. Provenance: Andritsaina. Hermes Kriophoros. H. 12.0 cm. Here _fig. 13_.
P. Perdrizet, Hermès Criophore, _BCH_ 27 (1903) 300-313. Lamb 1927, 92. Kunze 1953, 6. _LIMC_ V (1990) 311 no 262. Hübinger 1992, 192, Figs. 4-6. Vokotopoulou 1997, 87 fig. 65 (in colours), 134. Stibbe, _The Sons of Hephaistos,_ 126.

_35_ Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 13053. Provenance: Berekla. Moschophoros. H. 11.4 cm. Here _fig. 14_.
Lamb 1925, 138 no. 8, pl. 24. Lamb 1927, 92. Hübinger 1992, 198, figs. 9-11. Vokotopoulou 1997, 87 fig. 64, ill. in colour, 234.

36 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 10781. Provenance: Haghios Sostis. Shepherd. H. 9.8 cm.
Neugebauer 1922, 71-72 no. 16, with fig. Lamb 1925, 136 no 3 with fig. Langlotz 1927, 31 no 25, 42. Neugebauer 1931, 68 no 166, pl. 24. Eckstein 1959, 641. Rolley 1994, 292, fig. 295.

37 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 10782. Provenance: Haghios Sostis. Naked shepherd. H. 9.6 cm.
Neugebauer 1922, 68-69, no 11 with fig. Lamb 1925, 137 no 6. Langlotz 1927, 65 no 22. Lamb 1929, 92 n. 3. Neugebauer 1931, 69 no 167, pl. 24. N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin/New York 1990, 39, fig. 8.

38 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 30552. Provenance: Arcadia. Shepherd. H. 9.4 cm.
Neugebauer 1922, 70-71 no 15. Lamb 1925, 137 no 5, pl. 24. Lamb 1929, 92 n. 3, pl. 29b. Neugebauer 1931, 67 no 164, pl. 28. *LIMC* V, 1, 311 no 263 with ill.

39 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7539. Provenance: Mount Ithome (Messenia). Shepherd. H. 9.7 cm.
De Ridder 1894, no 832. Lamb 1927, 92 n. 1, pl. 29a. Neugebauer 1931, 68 no 166. *LIMC* V,1, 311 no 266a.

_40_ Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 13209. Provenance: Mount Lykaion. Enthroned Zeus. H. 9.8 cm. Here _fig. 16_.
K. Kourouniotis, _EA_ 1904, 185-194, figs. 12-14. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965, 129 n. 17. Rolley 1967, 5 no 48. Rolley 1969, 132 fig. 49-50. Wallenstein 1971, 75, VII 8 16, pl. 22,3. Vokotopoulou 1975, 142-143, 187. Kopcke 1976, 11-12. Herfort-Koch 1986, 40 n. 150. Vokotopoulou 1997, 228 no 43.

_41_ Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4339. Provenance: unknown. Standing Zeus brandishing a thunderbolt. H. 18.5 cm.
M. Ohly, _MüJb_ 24 (1973) 240 no 2 fig. 3. Kopcke 1976, 7-28. Maass 1979, 18-19 no. 6. Rolley 1983, 92. Mattusch 1988, 68-69. Vokotopoulou 1997, 93, 236 no 74 with ill. in colour.

_42_ Geneva, private collection George Ortiz.

Provenance: allegedly from Greece. Youth in helmet and boots. H. 19.6 cm.
J. Charbonneaux, *Les bronzes grecques*, Paris 1958, 69, 141 pl. 8.1. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke*, Basel 1960, 34, 176, no 173. Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 55 no 38. Herfort-Koch 1987, 58 n. 206. M. True, in Cat. *The Gods Delight* (1988) 84, 86. G. Ortiz, in Cat. *In Pursuit of the Absolute* (1994) no 112 (bibl.), with ill. in colour.

***43* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 28.77. Provenance: allegedly Mantinea. Herakles, keeping his club aloof in his right hand. H. 12.8 cm.**
Langlotz 1927, 55 pl. 27. G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven/London 1970, 40. Kopcke 1976, 11, 26 n. 52. J.R. Mertens, Greek Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *BMetrMus* 43, 2, 1985, 26-27, no 14. Vokotopoulou 1997, 234 no 66.

44* Princeton University Art Museum 1997.36. Provenance: unknown. Gift of Damon Mezzacappa. Centaur. H. 11.1 cm, L. 11.9 cm. Here *fig. 17.
***Apollo*, Dec. 1997, 13. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 158-161 no 24 with ill. in colour.**

45 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17. 190. 2070. Provenance: unknown (ex J. Pierpont Morgan). Galopping centaur. H. 11.3 cm, L.14.3 cm.
G.M.A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, New York 1953, 51, pl. 36g. Gjodesen 1963, 334. E. Homann-Wedeking, *Das archaische Griechenland*, Baden-Baden 1966, 143-144. D. von Bothmer, The Case of the Morgan Centaur, *Archaeology* 20 (1967) 221-222. H. Jucker, in *AntK Beiheft* 9, Basel 1973, 46 n. 35. Schiffler 1976, 321 no. V 18. Walter-Karydi 1981, 29-30, fig. 28. Vokotopoulou 1997, no 47. Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 164 no 26 (bibl.) with ill. in colour.

46 Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 6163. Provenance: Olympia. Standing Zeus. H. 29.0 cm.
A. Furtwängler. *Olympia* IV, 17 no 40, pl. 7. Langlotz 1927, 80 no 15. Lamb 1929, 88-89 pl. 28 c. Rolley 1967, 5 no 50.c. Rolley, *FdD* V, Paris 1969, 131, figs. 46-48. Vokotopoulou 1997, 76, 229-230, fig. 48.

47 London, British Museum 1954.10-18.1. Provenance: allegedly Dodona. Banqueter. L. 10.0 cm.
M. Gjodesen, *Meddelelser* 5 (1948) 16-17 fig. 8, 9. D. Haynes, *BrMQu* 20 (1955-1956) 36-37 pl. 12. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965, 133. Wallenstein 1971, 75-76 156 no VII/B 25, pl. 22, 1-2. Walter-Karydi 1981, 20, 30 no 20. Cat. *In Pursuit of the Absolute* (1994) no 116.

48 Geneva, private collection George Ortiz. Provenance: allegedly Greece. Banqueter. H. 6.78. L. 11.5 cm.
Cat. *In Pursuit of the Absolute* (1994) no 116 with ill. in colour.

49 Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum? Provenance: Mount Grammos, top Alebitsa, district of Kastoria (northern Greece). Banqueter. H. ca. 5.0 cm.
H.G. Tsoungaris, *To Archeologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thrakia* 13 (1999) 614-617, 620, 622 fig. 11.

NOTES

[1] See the catalogue nos 1-3. One ought to add a fourth in a Swiss private collection (Cat. No. 4), which has generally been accepted as belonging to the same set.

[2] For their dating and for their once being adjusted to the shoulder of a lebes or 'stamnos', see Kunze 1967, 240-241. Gauer 1991, 91-92 would prefer to put them on the shoulder of a Corinthian krater.

[3] Kunze 1967, 243-244.

[4] Gauer 1991, 91-92.

[5] Kunze 1967, 243 refers to the rider B 777 (Olympiabericht III, 144-145, Pl. 65 ('ohne Bart aber mit einem Haarkranz in quergekerbte, schindelförmig abgetreppte Streifen') and to the two older standing figures B 25 and B 5000 (*OB* VII, 171-175, Pl. 74-77). For a more extensive treatment of the Laconian hair-mode see Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 270-271.

[6] Only B 4700 would be an exception; Kunze 1967, 243 n. 67 refers for comparison to quite a few male and female examples.

[7] Kunze 1967, 243 n. 68.

[8] Kunze 1967, 243 n. 69.

[9] Kunze 1967, 244 with n. 70. Kunze refers here to the examples mentioned before (here notes 6-8). Only B 4332 has the pubic hair incised with hatching (like the rider appliqué from Dodona in Athens in the Carapanos Collection; Stibbe, *Agalmata* 283-284, 296 no. E11), the other three just plain.

[10] Kunze 1967, 244: 'Zum spätarchaischen spartanischen Menschenbild passen auch „die sehnigen, schlanken Körper mit den straffen und spannungsreichen Konturen".'

[11] Gauer 1991, 92: 'Aber weder in Lakonien noch in Unteritalien ist mir eine Figur von der sprühenden Lebhaftigkeit, der Anmut und Leichtigkeit dieses Meistersilens begegnet (die Zechgenossen sind seinem kultivierten Witz schwerlich gewachsen). Er verbindet mit einer ebenso knappen wie kraftvollen Modellierung eine Schmuckfreude von zimelienhafter Präzision' (I refrain from translation this text).

[12] For the problem of the attribution, see p. 16.

[13] See p. 12 and the catalogue no 40.

[14] Gauer 1991, 92 n. 220.

[15] Gauer 1991, 92 n. 220.

[16] H.-V. Herrmann, in Cat. *Die Funde aus Olympia* (1980) 131.

[17] See the catalogue, no 21.

[18] See Bol 1985, 110-111.

[19] Probably he did not want to contradict his master too emphatically.

[20] I refrain from another description of the three silens from Olympia (for which the reader is referred to Kunze 1967, passim). The more important details will become clear in the following discussion.

[21] Among writers of the Archaic and Classical Periods, satyrs (*satyroi*) and *silenoi* were interchangeable terms, referring to the same half-human, half-horse creatures. See Padgett, next note, p. 29.

[22] Michael Padgett, in Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 27 with further references.

[23] Pipili 1987, 53 thinks of a small altar or a perirrhantherion of a type which is better preserved elsewhere. Cf. S. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 109-130, especially 119 with pl. 27, c. For the different kinds of use of such perirrhanteria see the references in Stibbe 1991, 33 n. 100.

[24] Pipili 1987, 53, calls this a phiale, but the vase seems to have an inward curving body, an offset rim and horizontal handles; so a drinking cup on a low foot would be more probable.

[25] See Stibbe 1991, 34 n. 111. Pipili 1987, 53 considers the scene to be dependent on Attic predecessors and accordingly dates it later.

[26] See my publication in the proceedings of the conference *Sparta and Lakonia from Prehistory to Premodern* (forthcoming). I have argued there that the silen is not dancing, as commonly has been thought, but should be understood as a 'looking around' (*aposkopeuon*) creature.

[27] Kunze 1967, 244.

[28] Particulary close with no 4, *fig 4a-c*.

[29] By Jantzen 1937, 27, 40-41.

[30] In fact there is no proof for the existence of a bronze workshop of any relevance at Taranto at all. Jantzen's list (Jantzen 1937, 26-28 with 36 entries) has to be revised.

[31] Cf. Bieg 2002, 143.

[32] The present stage of our knowledge has been usefully summarized by Bieg 2002, 130-140.

[33] Jantzen 1937, 41 dates the silen around 525. Bieg 2002, 178 no Sl 1, at the end of the 6th century, Fehr 1971, 233 n. 796 would choose the 5th. There seems to be a widespread misunderstanding about the dating of the type of the reclining banquetters in general. Bieg 2002, 141-144, following the *communis opinio*, dates the whole group in the second half of the 6th century, because the type would be dependent on the Samian Geneleos statuary, dated around 550. On the other hand the three bronze banquetters on the upper ring of the tripod from Trebenishte, which, for other reasons, can be dated around 570 (see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 82-83), make a difference of twenty years for the first plastic elaboration of the type in Laconia. Bieg 2002, 152 no ST 41 (with fig. 45a-b and 180) dates the tripod ca 550, because he cannot go beyond the limit of the *communis opinio*, notwithstanding the fact that he (p. 35 with fig. 19a) calls 'hocharchaisch' a palmette on a rod from Olympia, which is close in style to those on the tripod from Trebenishte. As happens more often, a misleading old concept lays at the base of the wrong dating procedure.

[34] Jucker 1956, 131.

[35] There are quite a few Laconian bronzes from that remarkable findplace. See e.g. Stibbe/Vasić 2002, 91-92, n. 8.

[36] Cf. e.g. the similar bodies of the Laconian handle-kouroi of the first generation, Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 31, cat no 4, fig. 19; 34, cat no 6, fig. 21.

[37] On the shaving of the moustache in Sparta see Plutarch, *Life of Cleomenes* 9.2. In general: G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, Munich 1926, 685 n. 1.

[38] For more details see the description by Marion True in the Cat. *A Passion for Antquities* (1994) 56-57. In addition, the punched circles for the nipples, which all three have in common with the silen from the Amyklaion and the single long spiraling lock hanging down, in the Laconian manner, over the front of each shoulder with the banqueter C, should be emphasized.

[39] Musée Royal de Mariemont B 31. Pipili 1987, 45, 117 no 142 ; cf. Stibbe 2000b, 73 n. 54.

[40] For the menad from Tetovo see Stibbe/Vasić 2002, 97, fig. 68. Cf. also the banqueters in Bieg 2002, 135 figs. 185b and c.

[41] Jasper Gaunt in the Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 245 with further references.

[42] The squatting position is found e.g. with a satyr from Dodona which serves as a decoration at the upper attachment of the handle of a 'Schnabelkanne': Berlin, Antikensammlung 10583. Neugebauer 1923, 351-352, Fig. 4. At the lower attachment of this handle there is, by the way, a squatting ('hockend') boy in relief holding his left hand on his right knee, which recalls the similar gesture of our no 15. See also Neugebauer 1936, 204, Fig. 14.

[43] See Niemeyer 1964 passim.

[44] The long hair at the back is of the Laconian type, but rendered plainly, without notching, in thin courses as with no 15, fig. 8a-b.

[45] Gauer 1991, 92: 'in den Details von Haar und Bart ausserordentlich nahe'.

[46] Neugebauer, Buschor, Gjodesen, Kunze, Vokotopoulou and Gauer (see the catalogue no 16).

[47] K. Gschwantler informed me in 2002 that the satyr was stolen from the museum already in the seventies and never turned up again. The photograph, published here, I owe to the kindness of Dr. Gschwantler. No photograph of the back is available, but in the short description in *AA* 1892, 49 no 66 something like a tail ('... ein kurzes Schwänzchen an dem Kreuzbein') and a broad mass of hair ('Bärtig; das Haar in breiter Masse den Nacken bedeckend') are mentioned.

[48] Pipili 1987, 67 thinks both to be genuine Laconian.

[49] Laconian examples are listed by Pipili 1987, 65, nos 179, fig. 95 and 180 fig. 96.

[50] Kunze 1967, 245-250 with pls. 118-119 and figs. 92-93.

[51] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6604, here no 22.

[52] For a good photograph of the satyr on the shoulder of the clay krater see Gjodesen 1963, pl. 78 fig. 44.

[53] Also Kunze 1967, 248 noticed the strange mixture of provincial and high quality features with the satyr no 20, but he did not see the stylistic relation with the other Corinthian pieces. H.-V. Herrmann, in Cat. *Die Funde aus Olympia*, no 87 was more decidedly inclined to attribute no 20 to a Corinthian workshop.

[54] Kunze would date the satyr no 20 near the middle of the 6th century because of the impression that he is older than the satyr from Dodona (no 16). But the comparison is misleading, since no 16 is not a Corinthian,

but an Attic work, as I have mentioned above (see also p. 17).

[55] As explained by Gjødesen 1963, 344.

[56] There is no reason to suppose a Tarantine product, as Rolley 1967, 8 no 74 does: the Laconian influence on this piece is at the best a secundary one, whereas the Corinthian is more direct in the iconography and the style.

[57] See Neugebauer 1936, 205-208: 'mit seinem Trinkhorn stramm ausschreitende Silen aus Apollonia ... am nächsten steht'.

[58] Gjødesen 1963, 347 n. 100.

[59] In Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 85 no 81 our satyr is called 'Boeotian?' and dated c. 500-475, which seems to be rather late. I would vote for a date nearer to our Olympic silens, that is near to 530-520.

[60] Von Bothmer calls them 'probably Etruscan' and dates them in the second half of the 6th century. But for real Etruscan satyrs, see p. 8.

[61] See Neugebauer 1936, 181-211, pl. 24, 1; 25, 26, 26, 2. The Etruscan silens recall in their turn the later (early 5th century) terracotta silens from Boiotia (see H. Hoffmann, Some unpublished Boeotian Satyr Terracottas, *AntK* 7 (1964) 67-71).

[62] The silen has been attributed to an Italic or Etruscan workshop (García y Bellido) or a Campanian one (Riis and Shefton, see the catalogue).

[63] Ines Jucker, who seems not to know about this silen, but looking at the similar attitude of our no 24, calls the attitude '... ein eigenartiges Mittelding zwischen Kauern und Laufen ..., indem er mit gebogenen Knien zugleich auf den Fussspitzen balanciert' (Jucker 1956, 45).

[64] Olma Romea 1977 (see the catalogue) calls the silen first Italic, later (1979) local and Shefton has it as 'non-Greek'.

[65] For the beard with its 'lines converging to the tip' see D.K. Hill, *Gnomon*, 27 (1955) 34; she compares the silen from Spain, here no 8, *fig. 6a-b*. For the type of the eyebrows ('double bounded, plastic, diagonally hatched') she refers to some contemporary gorgoneia attributed to Corinth (see below n. 69). The type is, however, at home in Sparta from 625 onwards (see Stibbe 1995, 76) and may be called therefore 'archaising' in our case.

[66] See Cat. *Die Funde aus Olympia* (1980) 132 no 92 pl. 92. This sphinx may be, on account of its refined style and exceptional hair-cut, a product of the same bronzeworker who made the silen no 1. Stibbe 2001, 11-12, fig. 16.

[67] We return to this on p. 17, with no 43.

[68] Cf. D.K. Hill, *Gnomon* 27 (1955) 34. Cf. Stibbe 1992, 41 nos I 4 and I 5, figs. 52, 53.

[69] See Stibbe 1992, 38-42 ('Group I') with figs. 52 and 53.

[70] About the dating, the following datings have been expressed: 530-520 (Marion True 1989), 520-510 (Kunze 1967, Comstock/Vermeule 1971).

[71] See Jost 1975, 340-341, who thinks that all kriophoroi should be explained in connection with a local cult in Arcadia. See also P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 27 (1903) 300-313, pl. VII (on the Hermes from Andritsaina), Thomas 1992, 64.

[72] For the general type see *LIMC* V1 (1990) 311-314, nos 260-267 and V2 (1990) 222-223.

[73] See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 121-127, figs. 80-82.

[74] The subdivision of each tress in two oblong halfs is not new; it is already present on some handle-kouroi, which I have attributed to one and the same bronzeworker; see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 30-31 no 3, fig. 18 and id., *Agalmata*, 286-287 no B1, fig. 39.

[75] The description of the museum's inventory, which I obtained a copy of during my visit to the MFA in 2004, says: 'We think that it probably came from Sparta, but that it was not necessarely found there.' It was interesting to read that the known 'hohlguss bronze head' in the MFA (inv. no 95.74), also allegedly from Sparta, was brought in by the same man! In that case the provenance at least was trustworthy, because the head is genuine Laconian in style (see Stibbe, *Agalmata*, The second Sparta-group, no. E1).

[76] Marion True, in the Cat. *The Gods Delight* (1989) 85; her excellent description should be consulted by everybody interested in this exceptional statuette. Other datings: 520-510 (Comstock/Vermeule 1971), 510-500 (Kunze 1967), ca 500 (Vokotopoulou 1997).

[77] One should notice the wavy lines spreading from the button-holes on the shoulder of our kriophoros which correspond to the wavy lines on the chiton of Zeus no 40 (see p. 17). It should be stressed that the wavy shaping of the hair at the back of no 33, which is unique so far, can be explained as a typical feature of the artist, who preferred to make the otherwise straight notched braids of Laconian type into wavy ones. Furthermore the fleece of the ram has parallels with those of the recumbant rams at the handles of bronze hydriae produced around 530 BC; see e.g. the hydria from Trikala, Rolley 1982, fig 185. Note that the incised flocks have an oblong square shape between long lines across the body, whereas earlier rams have a lozenge shape (Rolley 1982, fig. 136) or a prisma-like shape (Rolley 1982, figs. 44, 48) and are often plastically rendered. See also below n. 141.

[78] This statement must be revised, if one accepts its closeness to the Levy/White Hermes Kriophoros, as explained above.

[79] Morrow 1985, 41: 'Two extraordinary features separate the boots from standard 6th century *endromides*: the long, ovoid tongue and the buttons...The evidence of the boots, therefore, weights in favor of a late date and an Archaistic label.' Is this reasoning heavy enough to outweigh the arguments in favor of an Archaic original? See also p. 27, the Appendix.

[80] This was not the findplace, but the village where the item was seized and from which it was brought to the National Museum in Athens (see Perdrizet 1903, 300). Apparently the findplace was the nearby sanctuary of Pan at Berekla. This was the findplace of some other bronzes also; see below.

[81] Kunze 1953, 6 thinks that the helmet is just meant to be the characteristic 'kegelförmigen Hut', which, 'durch den blütenartigen Aufsatz' would show that the statuette is of the god. So the helmet would have the same function as the winged boots, which turn the shepherd into a Hermes.

[82] This variant seems to be at home in Arcadia; cf. the same coiffure above the forehead with the shepherd from the Lykaion sanctuary published by Studniczka 1905, 65-72 with Pl. VII. There is also the interesting case of a bronze statuette of a naked boy from the same Pan sanctuary, which has always been considered to be Laconian, because of his specific wreath; he shows the same haircut above his forehead; see Herfort-Koch 1986, no K 93. We shall return on this special case below.

[83] See e.g. the banqueter in London, here no 47. With no 34, however, the hair at the back, seen from behind, seems to be of the long Laconian type, which gives the

coiffure the appearance of an unusual mixture. Also the type of the fliece of the ram is very unorthodox, showing long, uninterrupted hatched courses (cf. the photographs in Perdrizet 1903, pl.VII).

[84] See Vokotopoulou 1997, 86, no 63; Stibbe 1996b, 118-119, pl. 12.

[85] The dating of Vokotopoulou 1997, ca 540-520, I would change in 540-530 at the latest.

[86] It is impossible and unnecessary to discuss them all separately here. Moreover there are quite a few examples, without any indication of a provenance, which are not taken into consideration here. For general discussions see Lamb 1925, Jost 1975, 340-345, Felten 1980, Hübinger 1992 and 1993. It should be noticed, that most of them have no winged boots. No 36 has long hair; no 37 is naked, has no moustache, which is a Laconian feature, as is the positioning of the eyes on different levels, and short hair; no 38 has also some Laconian features: hatched eyebrows and long hair with six notched braids at the back; no 39 has winged boots, but no ram; Laconian features are the braids falling on his chest and the hair at the back. For the sake of curiosity I add a shepherd in terracotta here (*fig. 15a-b*), which appeared on the Swiss art market recently (H.16.5. Jean-David Cahn, *Auktion 3. Juni 2002*). It is one of the very few examples which have preserved the *kerykeion* in the right hand of the god (his boots not being winged).

[87] See K. Kourouniotes, *Praktika* 1902, 72-75 and the next note.

[88] This sanctuary cannot be the same as the precinct of Pan in the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion, mentioned by Pausanias 8.38.5. Cf. Hübinger 1992, 196 n. 8.

[89] For the Laconian statuettes see Herfort-Koch 1986 nos K 93 and K 32, and on p. 14 under 'Conclusions'.

[90] See Studniczka 1905, 67.

[91] As has been noticed by Vokotopoulou 1997, 228 no 43 and others, the statuette should not necessarely be immagined as sitting on a normal throne; it could have been applied to something like an altar, such as has been drawn on two occasions by a Laconian vasepainter (the Naukratis Painter, see Stibbe, *LV* 67-68. no. 8, pl. 4 and 74-75 no 31, pl. 15, 16. Furthermore Stibbe, *LV Supplement* (2004) 15 'Nachträge'). The close stylistic relationship between Laconian and Arcadian bronze statuettes, as shown here passim, surely would offer another argument in favour of the old interpretations as an image of Zeus Lykaios of those painted representations of Zeus and his eagle.

[92] See Wallenstein 1971, 75.

[93] On this special kind of 'curtain'-hair above the forehead, which is found more often, also with Laconian statuettes, see Herfort-Koch 1986, 40. Also Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 33 and id. *Agalmata* 298, Type 1.

[94] As has been noticed above n. 77, the unique wavy shaping of the hair at the back of no 33 can be explained as an individual predilection of the artist.

[95] See for more instances above, with no 13.

[96] Kopcke 1976, 11-12. Maass 1979, 18-19 no 6, with front and back view. Vokotopoulou 1997, 93, 236 no 74 with front view in colours.

[97] Other examples: a cloacked warrior in Hartford (Jantzen 1937, pl. 34 no 141), a handle-youth of a patera in Palermo (E. de Miro, *I bronzi figurati della Sicilia greca*, Palermo 1975, 36 no 19, pl. XXVIII); a warrior from Pherai in Athens (Stibbe 2003, 13 no 5); all dated around 530-520. See also Niemeyer 1964, 25 (with pl. 16-17), who calls this kind of hair-dress: '...in altattischer Art zu einem Knoten zusammengebunden,' with further references.

[98] Cf. here no 32, fig. 11a-b and Herfort-Koch 1986. pls. 4, 5-6; 5, 1-4; 6,5; 7, 1-7 and passim.

[99] This detail is best studied on the photograph of the head published by M. Ohly, *MüJb* 24 (1973) 240, fig. 3.

[100] See e.g. the female head at the upper handle of a bronze hydria in Baltimore; Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 78 no 73.

[101] Kopcke 1976, 14-15.

[102] Corinthian: Kopcke, Rolley, Vokotopoulou; Tarantine: Mattusch.

[103] K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basel 1960, 38 already thought of Sikyon, of course in the wake of Langlotz 1927. D.G. Mitten in Mitten/Doeringer 1967, 55, no 38 proposes a Laconian or a Northeast Peloponnesian origin. G. Ortiz, in the catalogue *In Pursuit of the Absolute* (1994) no 112 says: '...though one should not totally exclude the possibility that he was an unusual Attic creation.'

[104] See Vokotopoulou 1997, 234 no 66.

[105] See e.g. the gorgoneia in Princeton; Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 315 no 85 with ill. in colour.

[106] A close parallel is found with the flute player on the lid of a Corinthian bronze volute krater in a private collection in the United States; dated in the early third quarter of the 6th century BC. See Stibbe 2006 (in print).

[107] See the Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 14-27.

[108] See my entry in the catalogue *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 158-161, with n. 6.

[109] The piece has been declared Etruscan by Von Bothmer, Capuan by Jucker, perhaps Argive by Homann-Wedeking, Attic? by Gjodesen and Greek by Richter and Schiffler.

[110] Usually the Zeus has been attributed to Corinth, but I suspect that all the later attributions, such as Lamb 1929, 88-89, Rolley 1967, 5, Vokotopoulou 1997, 229-230, are borrowed, without much discussion, from Langlotz 1927, 80 no 15.

[111] Wallenstein 1971, 75-76: 'Die Begrenzung der breiten Unterlippe, des Bartes und der Lider, die den Augapfel richtig umschliessen, ist sehr scharfkantig gebildet, die Brauen über dem stark gekehlten Orbital sind als feine Grate gestaltet. Ähnlich präzise ist der sehnige Körper modelliert, der im unteren Teil von dem weich fliessenden Gewand elegant umschlossen wird.'

[112] As we have noticed above with the silens and satyrs and the kriophoroi.

[113] For Dionysos in Sparta see also Pipili 1987, 52-54. Stibbe 1991, passim. S. Raftopoulou, The Cult of Dionysos in Sparta and Laconia, in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, *Praktika* 2001 [2002] 89-122 (Greek with English summary).

[114] There was a lively contact between Sparta and Arcadia in the nineteenth century, witness the fact that finds from Sparta were brought to Dimitzana; cf. G.C. Richards, Archaic Reliefs at Dhimizana, *JHS* 12 (1891) 41-45. Stibbe 1991, 42 nos D7, fig. 20 and E2, fig. 23.

[115] Langlotz 1927, 30-33: a catalogue of 44 entries asigned to Sikyon.

[116] Neugebauer 1931, 68, no 166. Before him, but not knowing of Langlotz' ideas, W. Lamb had already defined the special character of the Arcadian bronzes (Lamb 1925, 134-135).

[117] See the summarizing article of Florens Felten, Archaische arkadische Bronzen in *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Grossbronzen*, Vienna 1980 [Vienna 1986] 237-243. Thomas 1981, 156-157, goes even further and discerns different local groups within the Arcadian bronzes.

[118] We have only one fine archaic female limestone head, said to have been found in Sikyon, now in Boston, in the Museum of Fine Arts, which perhaps gives us an impression of the style of the Sikyonian school in the second half of the 6th century BC. See M.B. Comstock/C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston,* Boston 1976, 8 no 14. Here the head is called, however, 'seemingly Cypriote', and dated ca 520 BC. A good photograph is found in *EEA* VII (1966) 278, s.v. Sicione (!).

[119] See RE 2e Reihe II (1923) 2545-2549 (G. Lippold).

[120] See J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* I, Leipzig 1893, 143-147. Stewart 1990, 126-127, 138, 248 ('Their *floruit* should lie around 500').

[121] See Lamb 1925, 134-135. Jost 1975, 339-345. Felten 1980, 237-239. Rolley 1983, 110-111. Hübinger 1992, 1993.

[122] The main overland route from Sparta to Olympia ran through the valley at the foot of Mount Lykaion. There must have been quite dense traffic in both directions, at least in Archaic times, between Sparta and Olympia.

[123] *EAA* Suppl. I (1994) 338-339 (F. Carinci).

[124] See Hübinger 1993, 25 with n. 4 and above p. 12 with n. 88. P.B. Broucke, who visited the place, says (*AJA* 95 (1971) 331-332): '... on a narrow ridge in the southern foothills of Mount Lykaion, between the eastern sources of the Neda River, ca 1.5 km to the north of the village of Neda, at an elevation of 920 m.'

[125] Cf. Rolley 1983, 110: '... les ateliers étaient souvent, sans doute, attachés à un sanctuaire.'

[126] First published by K. Kourouniotis, *AE* 1910, 302, fig. 19 ('ek Berekla'). See also Herfort-Koch 1986, 107 no K 93. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 280, 296 no D6, fig. 17-18. In a similar way the other 'Laconian' statuette, catalogued by Herfort-Koch 1986, 88 no K 32 could be a local Arcadian imitation, albeit of an earlier period.

[127] Note e.g. the type of hair above the forehead (short straight, unworked vertical bars neatly arranged in a half circle above the forehead, just as with quite a few kriophoroi (among the high quality pieces cf. nos 34, fig. 13 and 35, fig. 14.

[128] See Ridgway 1993, 38, 80-81, 341, 392, 409, 487.

[129] Langlotz 1927, 42: 'vielleicht des gleichen Meisters.'

[130] See n. 69.

[131] The plinth, 1.0 cm high, included. The other, often compared Hermes Kriophoros in Boston, here no 30, has H. 16.7 cm; the one from the collection Stathatos in Athens, here no 31: H. 16.0 cm; the one from Andritsaina in Athens, here no 34: H. 12.0 cm. All similar shepherds from Arcadia, here nos 36-39, have a height not surpassing the 10 cm.

[132] By contrast Kunze 1953, 13 says about the kriophoroi in general, that it is not necessary to assume the existence of an 'Urbild aus dem Bereich der grossen Kunst'. He believes that the type 'in der Kleinkunst selbst vorbildlich gestaltet und neu gefasst worden sei'.

[133] Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 62 figs. 37-38 and 93 figs. 58-59. For the handles in Boston: Stibbe 1992, 41 figs. 52-53.

[134] See above n. 74.

[135] See above n. 39 and 40.

[136] By contrast e.g. to the treatment of the beard with the Zeus from Mount Lykaion, no 40, fig. 16.

[137] Cf. the kouroi of the Third Laconian Group of kouroi, Stibbe, *Agalmata* 289, 'Die zweite Stilphase 540-525'.

[138] Langlotz 1927, 91. L. van Hook, *AJA* 36 (1932) 290 Fig. 2.

[139] This statement I make in sharp contrast to those who take the musculature, especially of the left upper arm, as a sign of an 'advanced anatomy' (True 1989, 84).

[140] See the Cat. *The Centaur's Smile* (2003) 312 no 84 with ill. in colour (dated ca 540). Stibbe 2001, 5 fig. 5 (dated not long after 550) and 2006 (in print).

[141] True 1989, 82.

[142] There is no reason, therefore, to suspect that they offer an argument for the dating of the statuette in a much later period. (Morrow 1985, 41).

[143] This can be called the third type, the first being plastically rendered flocks within a system of elongated, notched diamonds (see e.g. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 30-31 no 2, fig. 17), the second a system of cross-hatched lines filled with notched flocks (see e.g. (Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 38-39 nos 10 and 11, figs. 24, 25).

[144] True 1989, 81-86.

[145] Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 28 no 25 with ill. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 280-281, fig. 19-20, 296 no E1 (bibl.).

[146] Comstock/Vermeule 1971, 285 no 410 with ill. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 46 no 17, fig. 31.

[147] The proposal made by Herfort-Koch 1986, 53, that it would be an import from Corinth into Sparta has to be rejected already on the base of its general improbability.

[148] Observation made by Marion True; see above note 78.

[149] See Stibbe, *Agalmata* 290-291 fig. 50, 297 no H3 (bibl.).

[150] See AO 158, pl. 178, 1.

[151] See AO 274, Fig. 127c.

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Phocéens et Samiens à Gravisca

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Abstract

The sanctuary of the emporion *at Gravisca, in Etruria, has been considered as a Phocean foundation since the 1980s. The Phoceans would have built the most ancient* naiskos *and consecrated precious gifts to Aphrodite. However, it is difficult to refer to Aphrodite the most ancient offerings and at the same time consider them as Phoceans. A little statue of an armed goddess seems to represent Hera instead of Aphrodite and, moreover, a protome of a cauldron comes from Samos. The cult of armed Hera is well known at Samos, where the foundation legend stresses the rôle of the Etruscans and the goddess, in her festivals, was honoured by worshippers wearing jewels identical with those found at Gravisca. This is the reason why it is likely that the Samian people might have founded the sanctuary of Gravisca and dedicated it to Hera.*

Du 8ème au 6ème siècle avant J.-C., le monde antique méditerranéen a connu une explosion du nombre de 'ports de commerce' fondés par des Grecs ou par des Phéniciens entreprenants qui cherchaient des débouchés commerciaux en dehors de leur territoire. Ce phénomène d'*emporion*[1] s'est accompagné de 'transferts religieux'[2] car les commerçants qui fréquentaient ce type d'établissement conservaient leurs usages cultuels et les transmettaient aux populations indigènes avec qui ils entraient en contact. Naucratis, le plus connu des *emporia* où des espaces furent concédés aux étrangers de passage pour leurs cultes, pourrait avoir servi de modèle à bien d'autres sanctuaires d'*emporia*. Pour l'Etrurie, on pense évidemment au sanctuaire de Pyrgi, dont la richesse a excité la convoitise de Denys de Syracuse. Un autre *emporion* d'Etrurie, contemporain de celui de Naucratis, celui de Gravisca, a joué un rôle au moins aussi important dans la diffusion de formes de cultes nouvelles en Etrurie. Le site, d'abord considéré comme un sanctuaire grec en territoire étrusque, s'est révélé au fur et à mesure des fouilles menées à partir de 1969, comme un lieu de rencontres entre populations grecque et étrusque. Des Phocéens, des Samiens, des Eginètes ont laissé des traces de leur passage. Il est difficile de distinguer les premiers Grecs à s'être installés sur place, tant les vagues d'hellénophones se sont succédé, voire mélangé. Pour les éditeurs qui viennent de publier méthodiquement les résultats des fouilles, l'initiative de la fondation du sanctuaire de Gravisca ne semble pas faire de doute aujourd'hui: les Phocéens auraient ouvert l'*emporion* et créé le sanctuaire autour du culte d'Aphrodite.[3] Beaucoup d'arguments ont été avancés jusqu'alors mais aucune preuve de cette origine, pourtant, n'a été découverte. Aussi, nous voudrions revenir sur l'idée d'une fondation phocéenne, voir quels en sont les fondements et les faiblesses, pour reprendre une hypothèse posée, au moment de la découverte du site, qui nous semble avoir été trop rapidement écartée, celle d'une fondation par des Samiens important le culte d'Héra.[4]

Le sanctuaire de Gravisca a livré tant de matériels grecs qu'il a donné pendant un temps l'impression d'être un sanctuaire grec consacré à Héra.[5] En effet, si le culte d'Apollon était attesté par une inscription grecque imposante,[6] gravée sur une ancre de marbre de plus d'un mètre de haut, nombreuses étaient les manifestations épigraphiques de la dévotion des fidèles de Gravisca à Héra.[7] Très vite, néanmoins, les résultats des fouilles ont permis de préciser l'origine des dédicants et amorcé l'image d'un *emporion*, où diverses populations - Etrusques et Grecs de Ionie, de Lydie, de Carie, de Laconie, de Milet et de Samos - se sont mélangées pour honorer plusieurs divinités, Héra certes mais aussi Aphrodite, Artémis, Déméter et Véi.[8]

L'idée d'une fondation phocéenne du sanctuaire de Gravisca, aujourd'hui adoptée par les éditeurs du site de Gravisca dans les volumes publiés dans la dernière décennie,[9] est liée à la mise en avant de la figure d'Aphrodite dans la hiérarchie des divinités auxquelles le sanctuaire était consacré.

D'abord, l'ancienneté et la primauté du culte d'Aphrodite à Gravisca ont été reconnues.[10] Cet argument se fonde sur la découverte de dédicaces à Aphrodite dans le *naiskos* le plus ancien du sanctuaire:[11] deux inscriptions grecques anonymes, toutes deux consacrées à Aphrodite,[12] une dédicace grecque de]ikleos à Aphrodite[13] et une autre étrusque anonyme[14] ont ainsi été mises au jour entre les constructions I et L. Il s'appuie aussi sur la présence de plusieurs onguentaires et d'objets du *mundus muliebris* dans le *naiskos*. Parmi eux, on relève la présence d'un balsamaire en forme de coquillage,[15] balsamaires de les uns en forme de grenade,[16] d'autres en forme de *koré*[17] trouvés dans I, ainsi que de fragments en forme de grenade[18] et d'autres balsamaires en forme de *koré*[19] découverts entre I et L. Par conséquent, Aphrodite serait la seule déesse à être dotée de son propre édifice de culte dès le 6ème siècle avant J.-C.[20]

Puis, l'ancienneté et la primauté du culte d'Aphrodite ont été associées à la présence de dons précieux considérés comme phocéens dans le *naiskos* dit d'Aphrodite.[21] Des fragments d'un *dinos* de Wild-Goat Style de la fin du 7ème siècle avant J.-C. ou du début du 6ème siècle avant J.-C. seraient de fabrication phocéenne:[22] ainsi, selon F. Boitani Visentini,[23] pour le style, ils se rattacheraient à l'atelier du *dinos* de Londres identifié par Chr. Kardara et ils seraient comparables pour la décoration et pour le style avec le *dinos* de Bâle, qui serait produit par un atelier d'Ionie du Nord. Avec une protomé de chaudron de bronze en forme de griffon[24] et la plus ancienne des deux statuettes de déesse armée, trouvée au Sud de la cour I,[25] le *dinos* de Wild Goat Style pourrait avoir constitué l'une des offrandes de culte inaugurales au moment de l'ouverture de l'*emporion* par les Phocéens. Les statuettes de la déesse armée[26] rappelleraient la forme orientale de déesse armée sous laquelle Aphrodite[27] est vénérée peut-être à Chypre[28] et dans quelques cités du monde grec,[29] à savoir Sparte, où elle pourrait avoir été fabriquée et où elle est honorée avec l'épiclèse d'Ἀϱεία sur l'acropole, d'Ὁπλισμένη-Μοϱφώ sur une autre hauteur,[30] à Cythère et à Corinthe.[31]

Les partisans de la thèse phocéenne inscrivent la fondation du sanctuaire de Gravisca dans le cadre des activités phocéennes en Méditerranée occidentale.[32] Pour Hérodote,[33] les Phocéens sont les premiers Grecs à avoir accompli des navigations lointaines et ils ont découvert le golfe Adriatique, la Tyrrhénie, l'Ibérie et Tartessos; la tradition et les fouilles de Marseille nous les montrent comme les fondateurs de la colonie.[34] Les cas de Gravisca et de Marseille pourraient d'ailleurs présenter des analogies. Selon Aristote,[35] Marseille a en effet été fondée par des Ioniens qui pratiquaient le commerce et Prôtis, le fondateur de Marseille, est présenté par Justin et par Plutarque comme un aristocrate pratiquant le commerce.[36] Hérodote cite les Phocéens parmi les fondateurs de l'*emporion* de Naucratis et en fait les premiers Grecs à avoir réussi des navigations lointaines. De fait, ils ont fondé Emporion en Ibérie,[37] peut-être Mainaké aux franges du royaume de Tartessos[38] et Alalia en Corse.[39] La fondation de Gravisca précède de peu celle d'Alalia et le sanctuaire de Gravisca a connu un regain de fréquentation à l'époque de la fondation de Vélia. Le culte d'Aphrodite est d'ailleurs attesté par l'épigraphie la plus ancienne de la colonie massaliète d'Antipolis-Antibes dans un texte métrique de l'*epiteichisma* du milieu du 5ème siècle avant J.-C. gravé sur un galet, où la relation de réciprocité est soulignée:

Τέϱπων εἰμὶ θεᾶς θεϱάπων
σεμνῆς Ἀφϱοδίτης·
τοῖς δὲ ϰαταστήσασι Κύπϱις
χάϱιν ἀνταποδοίη.[40]

Les Phocéens auraient donc pu profiter de l'intérêt suscité par Massalia auprès des Etrusques pour fonder un *emporion* sur leurs côtes, près de Tarquinia. La présence d'amphores massaliotes à Gravisca pourrait témoigner d'une fondation phocéenne de Gravisca postérieure à celle de Massalia.[41]

La fondation de l'*emporion* de Gravisca semble s'effectuer aussi à l'époque de l'amitié conclue entre les Phocéens débarqués *ad ostia Tiberis* et le roi Tarquin l'Ancien.[42] Les *Aphrodisia* d'Ardée et de Lavinium,[43] comme le sanctuaire de Gravisca, pourraient avoir servi d'étapes pour échanger des dons entre Phocéens et Romains. La cité de Tarquinia disposait d'une tradition d'ouverture aux étrangers dont témoigne l'intégration du Corinthien Démarate[44] et d'autres moins connus, comme Hipucrate,[45] dont les noms révèlent une origine grecque. Certains d'entre eux, comme Démarate, étaient sûrement des commerçants avisés qui faisaient de l'import-export entre l'Etrurie et la Grèce et qui s'étaient particulièrement intéressés à Tarquinia. Parmi ces Phocéens arrivés à Gravisca, des exilés politiques ont indéniablement joué un rôle important: Paktyès, au nom lydien présent sur un vase de Gravisca, dont l'homonyme est symbole de la lutte pour la liberté des cités grecques d'Ionie,[46] l'anonyme artisan qui a fabriqué la sima latérale de Gravisca, ainsi peut-être que les deux maîtres des hydries de Caere, le peintre de la Tombe des Augures, celui de la tombe des Olympiades, le peintre de l'*askos* RC 8255 de Tarquinia, voire le peintre du groupe Chanenko, celui de Northampton ainsi que les trois peintres du groupe Campana (Ribbon Painter, Peintres du Louvre E736 et E739), tous Phocéens ayant travaillé à Tarquinia ou à Gravisca entre 540 et 520.[47] La fondation de Gravisca, contemporaine de celle de Marseille, pourrait ainsi avoir permis aux Phocéens de créer un réseau entre l'Asie Mineure et la Gaule, via la mer Tyrrhénienne.[48]

Les tenants de la thèse phocéenne voient également des similitudes entre le *naiskos* de Gravisca et le *naiskos* d'Aphrodite de Naucratis, qui possède des dimensions équivalentes, soit 14 m sur 8 m, qui est construit aussi en briques crues et dépourvu également de décorations,[49] et qui abritait une statuette de culte d'Aphrodite d'origine chypriote.[50] La situation extra-urbaine du *naiskos* de Gravisca pourrait aussi rappeler celle attribuée souvent aux temples d'Aphrodite dans les mondes étrusque et romain. Vitruve signale ainsi que, selon les haruspices étrusques, les sanctuaires de Vénus doivent être situés au-delà des murailles.[51] Ainsi, le temple de Vénus Erycine avait été construit sur un éperon rocheux dominant la ville d'Eryx, située au sud-ouest, à laquelle on accédait par une longue voie escarpée.[52] En Etrurie, une inscription sur vase, dédiée à Turan,[53] a été trouvée dans le temple de Portonaccio, au-delà des murailles de Véies. Cette mise à l'écart des lieux de culte consacrés à Aphrodite pourrait signifier qu'Aphrodite ne compte pas parmi les plus anciennes divinités étrusques. De fait, Aphrodite est absente de la longue liste de noms de divinités gravés sur les cases du célèbre foie de Plaisance.

Ils estiment aussi qu'il faut relier la présence d'ateliers métallurgiques dans l'espace du sanctuaire de Gravisca au culte d'Aphrodite. Autour du *naiskos*, sur les côtés et au dos, ont en effet été dégagés une vingtaine d'ateliers métallurgiques, aménagés avec des petits fours et des creusets disposés autour d'un puits, pour fondre le bronze et le fer, et des produits de leur activité, des scories de fer ainsi que de cuivre, des pinces de fer pour le feu, des araires de fer, des broches et des morceaux de fibules.[54] Certains de ces ateliers, dans la pièce Y, par exemple, pourraient avoir été en activité dès la fin du 7ème siècle avant J.-C. Or, Aphrodite est souvent associée aux activités métallurgiques, particulièrement à Chypre, à Enkomi, où a été trouvée une statuette de divinité féminine, Astarté peut-être, représentée en 'déesse au lingot', nue, les cheveux disposés en longues tresses et debout sur un lingot.[55] Le lien entre la métallurgie et la déesse pourrait s'expliquer par la conception qu'avaient les Anciens des métaux. Ils les considéraient comme des organismes vivants et à ce titre, ils étaient mis sous la protection de divinités comme Aphrodite qui protégeaient le cycle de la vie.[56]

Enfin, des témoignages de la pratique de la prostitution sacrée à Gravisca, tels qu'une statuette de faïence bleue avec une femme nue agenouillée dans une position érotique d'entre le premier quart et le second quart du 6ème siècle avant J.-C.,[57] une dédicace grecque sur un fond de *kylix* de fin du 5ème siècle avant J.-C. à Κυλιφάκ[ηι αἰ]ολοπ[ώλ]ωι, soit à une femme nommée 'lentille ronde',[58] et un pinax de type locrien, daté de 450 avant J.-C., représentant une scène de toilette féminine,[59] sont interprétés comme des marques de la continuité du culte d'Aphrodite, déesse associée à la pratique de la prostitution sacrée à Chypre.

Les arguments proposés en faveur d'une fondation phocéenne et d'une première consécration à Aphrodite ont convaincu tous les éditeurs du site, mais la prudence semble avoir été de mise chez certains étruscologues spécialistes de la religion en Etrurie.[60] Il nous semble ainsi que beaucoup des arguments énoncés peuvent aussi être retournés contre l'idée qu'ils appuient.

Ainsi, l'épigraphie ne nous semble pas pouvoir fournir de preuve à l'idée d'une ancienneté et d'une primauté du culte d'Aphrodite à Gravisca. Les textes de dédicaces grecques à Aphrodite cités ont été retrouvés entre les constructions I et L. Pourquoi ne se rapporteraient-ils pas à L? De plus, d'autres dédicaces grecques à Aphrodite ont été découvertes ailleurs, par exemple, dans la zone X[61] ou dans la zone AC.[62] La dédicace étrusque à Aphrodite n° 376 du recueil d'A. Johnston ne peut constituer un témoignage de l'ancienneté du culte d'Aphrodite puisqu'elle date du troisième quart du 6ème siècle avant J.-C. En outre, beaucoup d'inscriptions étrusques en l'honneur d'Aphrodite ont été trouvées dans la zone X,[63] ou dans la zone G[64] très éloignées du premier *naiskos*. En revanche, les dédicaces à Héra ont été découvertes un peu partout dans le sanctuaire, notamment dans l'édifice T[65] et près de I, soit entre gamma et delta,[66] soit dans I même,[67] soit entre I et L.[68] Le culte d'Héra est même celui qui fait l'objet du plus grand nombre d'inscriptions dans le sanctuaire de Gravisca. Ainsi, 43 des 374 inscriptions en latin et en grec relevées par A. Johnston sont des inscriptions consacrées à Héra, pour 6 à Aphrodite,[69] 2 à Apollon, [70] dont l'une sans doute d'un Eginète, nommé Euarchos,[71] une à Déméter,[72] et une aux Dioscures.[73]

On hésite aussi aujourd'hui à rapporter un type d'offrande tel qu'un onguentaire ou un balsamaire à une divinité précise.[74] Des balsamaires représentant une *koré* avec une colombe et les statuettes de divinité sur trône, longtemps considérées comme des offrandes à Aphrodite, ont été découvertes dans l'*Heraion* de Délos, dans le sanctuaire de la Malophoros à Sélinonte, dans les *Artemisia* de Thasos et de Samos, dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Egine ou de Zeus à Iasos.[75] On sait aussi que des offrandes habituellement destinées à une divinité, pouvaient être achetées pour être destinées à une autre. Plus que d'une divinité particulière, les offrandes donnent une idée du statut social de l'offrant.

Il nous paraît également délicat de considérer comme phocéens certains des dons précieux découverts dans la zone du premier *naiskos*. L'identification de la divinité représentée par la statuette peut se discuter. Les statuettes archaïques d'Aphrodite armée trouvées lors des fouilles britanniques dans la zone du temple d'Athéna Chalkioikos à Sparte sont bien différentes de celles de Gravisca: celle qui pourrait reproduire en bronze le *xoanon* armé de la déesse montre la divinité les bras pliés à hauteur du bassin, les mains relevées, la paume ouverte vers la poitrine, et portant des objets sphériques, des pommes peut-être;[76] une autre statuette de bronze de même provenance montre une Aphrodite casquée en chiton, le bras gauche levé, la main gauche touchant la tête, et le bras droit abaissé, la main droite tenant, à hauteur de la hanche droite, un objet indistinct vers lequel le regard de la déesse est dirigé et elle est datée par l'éditeur de la fin du 4ème ou du 3ème siècle avant J.-C.[77] Les attestations de l'Aphrodite armée de Chypre prêtent aussi à discussion. Hésychius en fait mention, mais nulle représentation n'en est connue.[78] Certains ont fait un rapprochement entre la notice d'Hésychius et un type iconographique découvert à Nea Paphos,[79] mais il convient d'être réservé puisque le type découvert à Nea Paphos montre une déesse dégainant une épée alors qu'Hésychius évoque une épithète 'à la lance' de la déesse.[80] La protomé d'une poignée de chaudron à Gravisca,[81] considérée comme un don d'ouverture de l'*emporion*, n'est pas une production phocéenne; elle est au contraire d'un type qui date de la fin du 7ème siècle avant J.-C.[82] et de fabrication samienne. D'autres protomés de griffon fabriquées dans un atelier de Samos ont ainsi été retrouvées à Tarquinia et dans les environs;[83] plus de la moitié des poignées des chaudrons de bronze connues proviennent de l'*Heraion* de Samos, les autres d'Olympie et de Delphes.[84] Dans un passage célèbre, Hérodote montre d'ailleurs les Samiens faisant don à l'Héra de Samos d'un vase de bronze entouré de têtes de griffon grâce à une dîme prélevée sur les bénéfices à Tartessos.[85] De même, il n'est pas certain qu'un fragment de vase de Wild-Goat style[86] soit phocéen,[87] mais il est peut-être plutôt milésien[88] et Chr. Kardara et S. Boldrini le datent non pas du début 7ème siècle avant J.-C., mais du premier quart et des années centrales du second quart du 6ème siècle avant J.-C.;[89] même si, éventuellement, il est de fabrication phocéenne,[90] il paraît plus difficile de l'invoquer comme une preuve d'une fondation phocéenne.

La pratique d'activités métallurgiques à Gravisca ne nous semble pas pouvoir être rattachée exclusivement au culte d'Aphrodite. Il y avait certes besoin d'ateliers de fondeurs à proximité de sanctuaires mais ils travaillaient pour réaliser des offrandes de métal à toutes sortes de divinités, car le métal était considéré comme une offrande propice aux dieux en général,[91] et pour contribuer à la construction, à la maintenance, à la décoration du temple et à la fabrication des ustensiles nécessaires au culte. C'est ainsi qu'on trouvait des ateliers de fonderie au Sud de l'acropole,[92] sur l'agora d'Athènes, à l'époque archaïque, entre le Métrôon et le temple d'Apollon Patrôos et à Thasos, à la Porte du Silène, sans qu'ils soient liés à une divinité particulière.[93] Des ateliers de fonderie ont également été découverts à proximité de sanctuaires de divinités autres qu'Aphrodite, dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna Aléa à Tégée à la période géométrique,[94] dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros à Erétrie à la période géométrique,[95] et dans le sanctuaire de Poseidon à Isthmia pour le 5ème-4ème siècle avant J.-C.,[96] près du sanctuaire d'Athéna Itonia à Philia en Thessalie[97] Enfin, en Etrurie même, à Caere, à Vigna Parrocchiale, a été découverte une fonderie spécialisée dans la réalisation de bronzes avec la technique de la fusion à cire perdue,[98] mais pour l'instant, on ignore s'il faut en rattacher l'activité plutôt au chantier du temple qu'à un atelier permanent de bronzistique dans le quartier archaïque.

Enfin, les objets attestant la pratique de la prostitution sacrée, si celle-ci doit être admise, ne valent d'argument en faveur du culte d'Aphrodite que pour l'époque où ils ont été utilisés au sein du sanctuaire. Un seul d'entre eux, la statuette de faïence bleue, se rapporte au début du 6ème siècle avant J.-C., encore la date exacte est-elle difficile à établir. Les autres sont plus tardifs. Le caractère érotique de l'onomastique de Κυλιφάκ[ηι αἰ]ολοπ[ώλ]ωι, ne nous paraît pas très assuré; nous n'avons pas trouvé d'attestation littéraire de l'emploi métaphorique de la lentille dans le *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*; Aristophane, rompu à ce genre de jeu de mots, ne se sert jamais du mot φακῆ de façon scabreuse et le *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* IIIA de P.M. Fraser et d'E. Matthews consacré à l'Occident ne le répertorie pas parmi les noms propres. Comme le fait remarquer L. Moretti,[99] l'inscription ainsi lue serait la seule dédicace du sanctuaire adressée à un être humain et non divin. Il faut peut-être lire autrement l'inscription, soit comme le suggère L. Moretti (Κυλιφάκ[ης αἰ]ολοπ[ώλ]ωι),

- il nous semble alors qu'il faut songer tout simplement à un usage du mot qui n'a rien de sexuel:[100] le mot φακῆ est souvent utilisé, de même que le mot φακός pour désigner la tache de rousseur ou le grain de beauté -,[101] soit comme le pense A. Johnston,[102]]Κυλιφάκ[...]ιολοπ[..]ωι, et interpréter l'inscription comme une information commerciale fournissant des noms de vase au nominatif pluriel.

Le culte d'Aphrodite a connu un grand succès à Gravisca mais il ne nous semble pas certain que le sanctuaire d'*emporion* ait été fondé autour de ce culte. Une autre déesse, Héra, à qui précisément a été associée la fondation du sanctuaire dans les premières publications sur le site, nous paraît pouvoir avoir été la première déesse honorée par les fondateurs du culte.

Nous estimons qu'il est possible de revenir sur l'hypothèse posée au moment de la découverte du site, parce que plusieurs indices concourent pour nous faire penser qu'Héra pourrait être la première divinité honorée à Gravisca et que le culte d'Héra en divinité armée correspond à un usage en vigueur à Samos.

La statuette de divinité armée de Gravisca, en qui nous ne voyons pas forcément une Aphrodite, présente des ressemblances frappantes avec plusieurs représentations connues d'Héra armée. A Posidonia tout particulièrement, la figuration guerrière d'Héra est importante: Héra est figurée en *promachos* sur des terres cuites archaïques et déclarée patronne des *toxa* dans une inscription du début du 6ème siècle avant J.-C. gravée sur un disque d'argent provenant du temple n° 5[103] et des armes, soit votives comme des petits boucliers en terre cuite, soit utilisables comme de nombreuses pointes de flèche en bronze, des poignées d'épées de bronze et projectiles pour fronde, ont été trouvées dans des dépôts du sanctuaire. Les terres cuites de Posidonia nous semblent particulièrement intéressantes parce qu'elles représentent la déesse dans une attitude similaire à celle des deux statuettes dites d'Aphrodite retrouvées à Gravisca. Sur ces statuettes moulées du début du 6ème siècle avant J.-C., on voit un torse de femme nu, au bras gauche plié et sans doute à l'origine étendu en avant - peut-être pour saisir un bouclier -, tandis que la main droite semble brandir ce qui devait être une lance.

Cette représentation de la mère d'Arès n'est pas exceptionnelle. Elle correspond à un culte en vigueur dans plusieurs cités du monde grec. A Samos et à Argos, dans l'*Héraion*, avaient lieu des processions d'hommes armés pour les fêtes de la déesse.[104] A Argos, dans l'*Héraion*, une joute appelée Ἀσπίς mettait aux prises plusieurs cavaliers qui devaient toucher avec leurs javelots un bouclier planté dans une haste fichée en terre.[105] A Cos, Héra est dite Οὐϱανία et Ἀϱγεῖα;[106] tandis qu'à Crotone, Héra est Ὀπλοσμία selon une appellation d'origine argienne.[107] Cette connotation guerrière de la déesse Héra est particulièrement bien représentée dans le Nord-Est du Péloponnèse. Ainsi, à Sicyone, Héra est Ἀλέξανδϱος et Τϱοπαία;[108] à Argos, à Tyrinthe, et à Perachora, des représentations de guerriers et des armes sont consacrées en vœux à la déesse.[109]

Pour autant, il paraît difficile de faire des Argiens les fondateurs de l'*emporion* de Gravisca. Une grande partie de ces dédicaces à Héra ont été gravées en alphabet ionien, sur des coupes de la Grèce de l'Est.[110] L'amphore trouvée enfouie dans un puits du premier quart du 6ème siècle avant J.-C. porte une inscription rédigée en dialecte ionien[111] qui prouve que des Ioniens résidaient à Gravisca et qu'ils ne se contentaient pas d'y passer rapidement. Parmi les offrandes les plus anciennes du sanctuaire, on relève aussi une protomé d'une poignée de chaudron samien; or, les Samiens avaient l'habitude de consacrer à Héra une partie de leur butin sous forme de chaudron de bronze.[112] A Samos, le culte d'Héra était pratiqué aussi en situation extra-urbaine, près de l'embouchure du fleuve Imbrasos, près du bord de mer. A Naucratis aussi, en outre, existait un temple d'Héra,[113] peut-être conçu comme une réplique de l'*Heraion* de Samos, le plus grand de tous les temples connus à son époque;[114] d'après Hérodote,[115] les Samiens auraient obtenu un temple séparé de l'Hellénion, privilège accordé seulement, en plus d'eux, aux Milésiens et aux Eginètes, et le pharaon Amasis aurait offert à l'Héra de Samos deux images de lui-même en bois, en raison des relations d'hospitalité qui le liaient à Polycrate, fils d'Aiakès.[116] Les Samiens se sont beaucoup intéressés à la mer Tyrrhénienne au 6ème siècle avant J.-C.:[117] des exilés samiens fondent Dicéarque en 531 avant J.-C.,[118] les Samiens font une occupation éphémère de Zanclé après la révolte de l'Ionie[119] et ils envisagent d'installer des colonies en Sardaigne après la conquête d'Harpage. Il est possible que la déesse Héra ait conduit les Samiens dans ces pérégrinations. Héra a en effet aussi été considérée comme une divinité *Prodromia* à Sicyone, où elle est celle qui marche en avant de la troupe et celle qui aurait guidé Phalcès, fils de Telménos, un Héraclide, dans sa conquête du Péloponnèse,[120] et elle porte l'épithète d'Ἀϱχηγέτις dans des inscriptions de Samos;[121] elle est le guide de Jason dans les Argonautiques[122] et des offrandes de reproductions de navires[123] et d'ancres[124] ont été retrouvées dans des sanctuaires de la déesse. En somme, elle joue un rôle décisif dans les fondations coloniales d'époque archaïque[125] et il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si le sanctuaire de Gravisca est, comme presque tous les sanctuaires consacrés à Héra, ouvert sur le monde maritime, à proximité d'un rivage abordable.[126]

Le caractère emporique de Gravisca se prête bien, en outre, à l'histoire du culte à Héra à Samos. La légende de fondation, tout en insistant sur la valeur du lien dans le culte de la déesse, montre l'intérêt pris par les Etrusques à l'Héra de Samos. Le récit de Ménodote de Samos, retranscrit par Athénée,[127] souligne le succès du culte d'Héra auprès des étrangers. L'Argienne Admète devient la servante de la déesse à Samos, les Etrusques craignent le refus de la déesse de quitter la ville et lui offrent des gâteaux et les Cariens, tout barbares qu'ils sont, préfèrent la lier plutôt que de la laisser partir seule. Le recours des Argiens aux Etrusques pour enlever la statue d'Héra hors du sanctuaire de Samos où elle est apparue[128] n'est pas très étonnant, même si les Argiens, bons navigateurs, auraient pu se livrer eux-mêmes à cet enlèvement ou demander à des hommes de main d'autres peuples de le faire discrètement pour eux: il correspond à un *topos* sur la piraterie des Etrusques. En l'occurrence, la vénalité étrusque trouve ici ses limites: elle ne va pas jusqu'à forcer la volonté de la déesse et elle laisse place à un sentiment de crainte et de piété exceptionnel dans les sources grecques pour cette époque. En effet, dans l'épisode célèbre de l'enlèvement de Dionysos, les Etrusques ne cessent leur opération que lorsque le dieu les transforme en dauphins.[129] De plus, les compétences des Etrusques en matière de religion ne sont valorisées qu'à partir du 1^er^ siècle avant J.-C.[130] Dans l'*aition* de Samos, au contraire, un rôle central est dévolu aux Etrusques dans l'histoire du culte de la déesse: ils se laissent convaincre par l'intervention divine, ce qui permet la découverte de la statue par les Cariens et son enchaînement au gattilier sur le bord de la rivière Ismaros.[131] Or, ce thème du lien est essentiel dans le mythe d'Héra: soit la déesse tente d'enchaîner Zeus,[132] soit elle est à son tour liée[133] et elle a été représentée liée par son fils Héphaïstos,[134] puis libérée par ce même Héphaïstos, dans le temple archaïque d'Athéna Chalkioikos à Sparte.[135] Le thème semble aussi prégnant à Samos, où, d'après Athénée, qui cite Douris, rapportant les propos du poète Asios, les Samiens enserraient leurs bras dans des bracelets et leurs cheveux dans des liens d'or pour se rendre aux fêtes d'Héra.[136] Lors des fêtes, les Samiens reproduisaient donc l'enchaînement d'Héra en entourant de liens leurs cheveux et leurs bras. Il est probable que ces multiples liens avaient un pouvoir symbolique de protection des mariages.[137] A Samos, la statue d'Héra était en effet soumise à un bain rituel qui était censé rendre la virginité à la déesse avant qu'elle ne soit mariée à Zeus[138] et les fêtes annuelles qui célébraient la hiérogamie de Héra et Zeus paraissent associées à des rites nuptiaux. Une inscription de Samos mentionne des tuniques, des manteaux et des voiles qui servaient de parure à la statue de la déesse.[139] La poétesse Nossis dédie ainsi à la déesse un voile qu'elle et sa mère ont tissé pour elle.[140] Varron décrit encore la statue de la déesse en tenue de jeune mariée[141] et des monnaies représentent Héra sous forme de statue couverte de vêtements, eux-mêmes recouverts d'une large ceinture croisée, comme 'un objet magique (...) destiné à protéger la fiancée contre les démons qui la menacent au moment du mariage'.[142] Sans aller jusqu'à considérer, comme le fait M. Delcourt, la valeur érogène de la ceinture en question, on peut se demander si le culte d'Héra Lygodesma, liée et lieuse à la fois, ne sert pas de métaphore aux échanges qui ont lieu dans un sanctuaire, en particulier dans un sanctuaire d'*emporion* comme celui de Gravisca. La crainte dont il faut s'affranchir, c'est aussi celle des rapports avec l'étranger, de cette union par le commerce qui risque de déstabiliser une communauté tout entière.[143]

Le transfert d'Héra à Gravisca pourrait s'être réalisé jusque dans l'exécution à Gravisca de rites semblables à ceux pratiqués à Samos. Le site de Gravisca abritait en effet un dépôt remarquable de bijoux, dont certains sont destinés à parer les cheveux: a ainsi été trouvée enfermée dans une petite *olla* à couvercle de bronze une série d'objets précieux du 5^ème^ ou 4^ème^ siècle avant J.-C., une partie de boucle d'oreille en or à protomé en forme de lion,[144] un anneau d'or avec un châton lisse en forme d'amande,[145] un collier à grains d'ambre, un diadème en or,[146] des perles de collier en or,[147] des fragments d'une lame en or[148] et une tête de pince à cheveux en or.[149] Cette abondance de parures féminines est courante dans les sanctuaires d'Héra, surtout en Grèce centrale et septentrionale,[150] où 2 000 épingles votives ont été découvertes dans l'*Héraion* d'Argos[151] et plus de 80 dans le sanctuaire d'Héra-Limenia à Pérachora.[152]

Nous espérons avoir démontré que la thèse d'une fondation phocéenne du sanctuaire de Gravisca autour de la fondation d'Aphrodite ne manquait pas d'attraits mais qu'elle ne se fondait pas sur des arguments décisifs: les traces d'une présence phocéenne au début du 6ème siècle avant J.-C. sont difficiles à percevoir. En revanche, un faisceau d'indices, comme l'existence à Gravisca d'un morceau de chaudron samien et le culte à Samos d'une Héra armée, nous a ramenée vers l'idée trop vite abandonnée, peut-être, d'une fondation samienne du sanctuaire autour du culte d'Héra. Pour autant, nous ne croyons pas à la création par Samos d'une colonie à Gravisca, mais nous pensons que les Samiens ont compté Gravisca parmi les escales de leurs itinéraires maritimes de cette partie occidentale de la Méditerranée. Le sanctuaire paraît avoir été fréquenté si rapidement par d'autres populations hellénophones, les Phocéens notamment, que le succès du sanctuaire semble avoir dépassé les fondateurs eux-mêmes au point que le sanctuaire, conçu peut-être à l'origine pour les commerçants samiens, est devenu un lieu de rencontres et d'échanges, un véritable *emporion*, le premier à notre connaissance en Etrurie.

NOTES

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[1] Sur les emplois du mot, voir Mele 1979; Casevitz 1993; Gras 1993; Rouillard 1995; Hansen 1997; Dupont 2000; Bresson 2000, 80-84; Möller 2000; Bresson 2005.

[2] Nous employons le terme par référence à 'transferts culturels', expression popularisée dans le domaine des recherches universitaires par M. Werner et M. Espagne. Cf. Werner 1985; Espagne/Werner 1987; 1988; Espagne 1999.

[3] On observera au contraire les réserves de Domínguez Monedero 2001, 247.

[4] Cf. Torelli 1971, 44, 63-64.

[5] Cf. M. Torelli, Gravisca. Santuario greco, in *Nuovi tesori dell'antica Tuscia. Catalogo della mostra (Viterbo, 1970)*, Viterbe, 1970, 55 et 57; Torelli/Boitani 1971, 228; Torelli 1971, 44, 63-64.

[6] L'ancre de marbre, dont la longueur à l'origine était sans doute de 2,50 m, porte une inscription grecque, écrite en dialecte dorien et en alphabet éginète répertoriée par Torelli 1970, 55-57, n. 36; Torelli/Boitani 1971, 241, fig. 57; Torelli 1971, 55-60, fig. 7 (interprétation erronée d'un bétyle); Guarducci 1974, 23-25, fig. 9; Gianfrotta 1975; Lazzarini 1976, 73 et 207, n° 20; Landi 1979, 341, n° 9; Torelli 1982, 310, n° 40 ; SEG 32, 979; F. Boitani, in Colonna 1985, 142, 7.2 A (inv. scavo II 4094); F. Boitani Visentini, in Bonghi Jovino 1986, G 10, 255; Jeffery 1990, 439 E, pl. 73; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 15, n° 1; Colivicchi 2004, 141, n° 458. Le texte de l'inscription se lit: Ἀπόλ(λ)ονος/Αἰγινάτα ἐμί ·/ Σόστϱατος ἐποίεσε ho....
Sur ce type d'offrande, cf. Romero Recio 2000, 29-54.

[7] Voir notamment les inscriptions sur vase présentées par Torelli 1970, 57, n. 37, tav. XVIII b; 1971, 52-54.

[8] Ce changement de point de vue se lit dans l'article de Torelli 1977.

[9] Voir notamment Boldrini 1994; Huber 1999, 11; Fiorini 2005, 183.

[10] Cf. Torelli 1977, 427: 'Il culto, se non più arcaico, più centrale del VI sec., è quello di Afrodite : ad esso è dedicato il naiskos più antico (...) ; ad esso si riferisce il numero più cospicuo di dediche etrusche rinvenute nel santuario, quasi esclusivamente nell'edificio γ; ad esso riportano vari particolari di indole cultuale presenti nell'area sacra e nelle forme rituali'.

[11] Cf. Torelli 1977, 404.

[12] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 47 et 50.

[13] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 49.

[14] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 376.

[15] Cf. Boldrini 1994, n° 18.

[16] Cf. Boldrini 1994, n° 19 et 22.

[17] Cf. Boldrini 1994, n° 24, 27, 31.

[18] Cf. Boldrini 1994, n° 20 et 21.

[19] Cf. Boldrini 1994, n° 26, 29.

[20] Cf. Torelli 1981, 181.

[21] Cette prise de position s'est affirmée avec netteté à la table ronde phocéenne au centre Jean Bérard de Naples en 1981, 'Vélia et les Phocéens: un bilan dix ans après'. Voir Torelli 1982, 322-324, puis cette prise de position a été développée encore récemment par Torelli 2004, 125-126. On notera que Morel 1982, 485, se demande si ce changement d'avis n'a pas été provoqué, 'instrumentalisé', par le thème de la table-ronde. Les spécialistes des activités phocéennes en Méditerranée, Bats 1998, 617, et Morel 1992, 19, rejoignent l'avis de M. Torelli.

[22] L'objet est présenté par Torelli 1978, 401, 403, fig. 7; Boldrini 1994, 90, n° 157. L'argument de l'origine phocéenne de cet objet est avancé par Torelli 1982, 322-323.

[23] Cf. Boitani Visentini 1978, 216-217, tav. XC, fig. 1, 1-2.

[24] Sur cet objet, cf. Torelli 1977, 411; 1981, 181, où l'auteur précise la date de fabrication de ces objets. L'argument de l'origine phocéenne de cet objet est avancé par Torelli 1982, 323.

[25] Cf. Fiorini 2005, 47-48.

[26] Ces statuettes sont répertoriées par Torelli 1977, 403, 433, fig. 11; 1978, 393 et 398; Tronchetti 1979, 240, 251; Torelli 1981, 180-184; *LIMC* 2, 1984, s. u. *Athena/Menerva*, 1055, n° 47, G. Colonna; Cristofani 1985, 279; Galestin 1987, 32, VI 25 et 26; Flemberg 1991, 43; Torelli 2000, 554, n° 40 et 41; Colivicchi 2004, 30-33, n° 14 et 15; Torelli 2004, 125-126, fig. 14 et 15. Pour Torelli 2004, 125-126: la figure 15, la plus ancienne des deux statuettes, celle datant de 600-580 avant J.-C., trouvée dans l'édifice γ correspond vraisemblablement à un don de fondation, tandis que l'autre, datée de 550-540 avant J.-C., est contemporaine d'une réfection de l'édifice et serait une imitation de la première. Cette première statuette aurait la fonction d'une image de culte et aurait été fabriquée en Laconie. Pour une présentation d'ensemble des attestations littéraires et archéologiques de déesses armées, on pourra encore se référer à l'ouvrage de Le Lasseur 1919.

[27] Voir l'identification proposée par Torelli 1977, 433-434 et fig. 11 et reprise ensuite dans *Civiltà degli Etruschi* 1985, 184, n° 7, par Boitani Visentini, in Bonghi Jovino 1986, G 2, 252-253; Camporeale, in *Les Etrusques et l'Europe* 1992, 121, fig. 58; Colivicchi 2004, 0-33, n° 14 et 15. Torelli 2004, 125-126, nuance les affirmations précédentes et distingue la statuette, réduite à un buste, élevant le bras droit au poing fermé au niveau du visage, comme la première image de culte, de fabrication laconienne (fig. 15) de la statuette en pied d'une déesse au bras droit plié avec l'avant bras en-dessous de la poitrine et au bras gauche incomplet plié et dressé vers le haut (fig. 34).

[28] Cf. Hesych. *s. u.* Ἔγχειος Ἀφϱοδίτη. Κύπϱιοι qui présente une Aphrodite à la lance.

[29] Sur les limites de l'explication orientale à la présentation armée d'Aphrodite, cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 450-454.

[30] Cf. Paus. 3.17 5-6 et 3.15.10-11. Au pied de la petite hauteur, Aphrodite apparaissait armée, cf. Plut., *inst. Lac.*, 28 ; au premier étage, elle avait l'épiclèse chtonienne de

Μοϱφώ, apparaissait comme voilée et aux pieds enchaînés, cf. Hesych. *s. u*. Μοϱφώ. Voir les analyses de Musti/Torelli 1986, 233-234; Osanna 1990, 82-88; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 199; Musti/Torelli 1999, 228-229.

[31] Cf. Paus. 3.23. 1 et 2.5.1. Voir le commentaire de Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 222-224. Nous suivons cette dernière, 1994, 125, et non Torelli 1977, 431, quand elle doute du caractère oriental de culte de la déesse Aphrodite à Corinthe.

[32] Sur la vocation maritime de Phocée, cf. Morel 1975, 855-857; Pugliese Carratelli 1966; Rouillard 1991, 218-220.

[33] Cf. Hér. 1. 163.

[34] Sur les aspects démographiques de la colonisation phocéenne, cf. Gras 1985, 394-425.

[35] Cf. fragment 549, Rose = Athen. 13.576 a-b; Arist. *pol*. 1305 b et 1321 a. Sur la fondation de Marseille dans les sources littéraires antiques, cf. Guyot-Rougemont et Rougemont 1992, 46; Pralon 1992, 51-56.

[36] Cf. Justin 43.3.8-11; Plut. *Sol*. 2. 7.

[37] Sur Emporion, cf. Sanmarti-Grego 1992, 31, pour des informations sur le sanctuaire d'Emporion, lui aussi placé en position suburbaine mais un peu plus tardif (troisième quart du 5$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle avant J.-C.) que celui de Gravisca.

[38] Le problème est exposé par Rouillard 1991, 218-220, 292-297.

[39] Sur l'intérêt de la fondation d'Alalia par les Phocéens, voir la synthèse de Morel 1992, 18-19. Sur le mouvement de colonisation phocéen en Occident, voir Bilabel 1920, 238-239; Lepore 1970; Morel 1975, 862-863 pour Gravisca.

[40] L'inscription, gravée sur un bloc de couleur verdâtre de 65 cm sur 21 cm et de 33 kilos, a été traduite ainsi par Heuzey 1874, 100: 'Je suis Terpon, serviteur de l'auguste déesse Aphrodite; que Cypris récompense de sa faveur ceux qui m'ont placé ici.' Elle a été éditée par Froehner 1967; *IG*, XIV, 2424; Jeffery 1961, 287-288, tav. 54, 3; Dor de la Souchère 1988, 42-43; Hermary 2000, 161-163 et fig. 4. Le culte d'Aphrodite est également attesté à Olbia. Cf. Coupry 1992, 158, fig. 2. En revanche, à Marseille, il n'existe pas de témoignage fiable d'un culte d'Aphrodite. Une inscription funéraire d'époque impériale pourrait faire allusion à un sanctuaire de Vénus d'après *CIG* 6769, mais Kaibel dans *IG* XIV, 2436, conteste ce point de vue. Voir la récapitulation de Hermary et de Tréziny 2000, 147-157.

[41] Cf. Torelli 1982, 324.

[42] Cf. Justin 43.3.4. L'argument est avancé par Torelli 1982, 323.

[43] Sur les *Aphrodisia* d'Ardée et de Lavinium, cf. Str. 5.3.5 et les analyses de Castagnoli 1975, 3-4; Morselli et Tortorici 1982, 29 ; Torelli 1984, 157-161.

[44] Cf. Liv. 1.34.2 et surtout D. H. 3.46.3 et 5, qui insiste sur les activités de négoce de Démarate. Sur Démarate, l'Etrurie et Corinthe, cf. Ampolo 1976-1977; Zevi 1991; Ridgway 1992.

[45] Voir l'inscription peinte au minium sur un fond d'oinochoé protocorinthienne du 7$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle avant J.-C., trouvée dans le Tumulo della Doganaccia ou Tumulo del Re à Tarquinia, *CIE* 10 017 = *TLE*^{2} 155 = Ta 6.1: *aχapri rutile hipucrates*.

[46] Hér. 1.153-161; Paus. 4.35.10. Sur lui, voir Gras 1987, 148-149.

[47] Remarque de Gras 1987, 148.

[48] C'est l'expression de Morel 1988, 440.

[49] Sur les restes du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite à Naucratis, cf. Gardner 1888, 11-13, 14-15, 33-37, pl. 1-3 repris récemment par Möller 2000, 102-104.

[50] Cf. Athen. 15.675 F.

[51] Cf. Vitr. 1.7.1.

[52] Cf. Pol. 1.55.6-9; 1.58.2-3; Diod. 4.83.1. Voir Coarelli/Torelli 1992, 56-58.

[53] Cf. *TLE*^{2} 45 = Ve 3. 34: *Mi θ[ina - ?-] niiesi aritimi pi turan pi mi nuna[r*.

[54] Cf. Fiorini 2001; 2002; 2005, 183-184, fig. 256 a et b.

[55] Cf. Brown/Catling 1986, 35, pl. XIII; Fiorini 2002, 156-159; 2005, 184-185, fig. 257.

[56] Cf. Fiorini 2005, 184-185.

[57] Cf. Torelli 1977, 428-429, fig. 10; 1981, 183-184; Colivicchi 2005, n° 358, 122-123.

[58] Cf. Torelli 1977, 428-429; Landi 1979, 342, n° 16; Torelli 1981, 182-183; Moretti 1981, 315-316; Torelli 1982, 313, n. 77.

[59] Cf. Torelli 1977, 428; 1981, 182.

[60] Cf. Camporeale 2004, 251: 'il culto principale è di Hera, come in diversi contesti portuali (Pyrgi, foce del Sele, Crotone), ma ne sono attestati ad altre divinità, ad esempio Afrodite o Apollo.'

[61] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 52.

[62] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 51.

[63] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 379, 386.

[64] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 377, 382.

[65] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 5, 9, 11, 19, 22, 32, 38, 41.

[66] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 10, 46 bis.

[67] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, n° 14.

[68] Cf. Johnston/ Pandolfini 2000, n° 33.

[69] Voir les n° 47-52 in Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19.

[70] Voir les n° 53-54 in Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19.

[71] Voir Landi 1979, 342, n° 13; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19, n° 54; Johnston, in Iacobazzi 2004, n° 696, 271. Pour le kantharos sur lequel l'inscription est gravée, cf. Iacobazzi 2004, 269-270, n° 696.

[72] La dédicace à Déméter est gravée sous le pied d'une coupe ionienne des années 530-500 avant J.-C. Cf. Torelli 1977, 404-405, fig. 4; Landi 1979, 342, n° 12 ; Torelli 1982, 311, n° 41; *SEG* 32, 980; *Civiltà degli Etruschi* 1985, 181, n. 7.1.1.3; *Les Etrusques et l'Europe* 1992, 121, fig. 61; Zaccagnino, in Torelli 2000, 555, n. 43; Dubois 1995, 166-167, n° 64; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19, n° 55. La dédicace aux Dioscures est gravée sur le fond d'une coupe attique de la fin du 6$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle avant J.-C. Cf. Torelli 1971, 54-55, n° 6, fig. 6; 1982, 311, n° 42; *SEG* 32, 981; Moretti 1984, 317-318; Dubois 1995, 167-168, n° 65; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19, n° 56.

[73] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 17-19, n° 4-46.

[74] Voir les remarques de Boldrini 1994, 36-37.

[75] Voir le cas des protomai dans Croissant 1983, 6.

[76] Voir la photographie et la description de Dickins 1906-1907, fig. 3.

[77] Voir la photographie et la description de Dickins 1907-1908, fig. 5.

[78] Aucune représentation de ce type n'est répertoriée par Karageorghis 1978, ni par A. Delivorrias, *LIMC* 2, 1, *s. u. Aphrodite* 19, ni par Karageorghis 1998, ni par Karageorghis 1999.

[79] Cf. Hadjijoannou 1981; Daszewski 1982; Hadjijoannou/Daszewski 1983.

[80] Voir le commentaire de Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 361-362.

[81] Cf. Torelli 1977, 403, 433, fig. 8; Martelli 1978, 170, note 61; Tronchetti 1979, 242, 247; Torelli 1981, 181; Boitani, in *Civiltà degli Etruschi* 1985, 185, n° 7.1.8; Boitani, in Bonghi Jovino 1986, G1, 252; Camporeale, in *Les Etrusques et l'Europe* 1992, 121, fig. 5 ; Colivicchi 2004, 36, n° 24 (avec une datation vers 600-580 avant J.-C.).

[82] Cf. Jantzen 1955, 85 (6$^{\text{ème}}$ groupe selon la typologie d'U. Jantzen); Gehrig 2004, 78, n° 187, note 314.

[83] Cf. Jantzen 1955, n° 126-132. Sur la production samienne de têtes de griffons, voir aussi Zimmer 1990, 30-32.

[84] Cf. Jantzen 1955, 9-10.

[85] Cf. Hér. 4.152.

[86] Sur ce fragment de la fin du 7$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle ou du début du

6ème siècle avant J.-C., cf. Boldrini 1994, 90, n° 158.

[87] L'origine phocéenne est notamment critiquée par Morel 1992, 19.

[88] Cf. Boldrini 1994, 90.

[89] Cf. Boldrini 1994, 93.

[90] Pour la plupart des éditeurs, y compris Boldrini 1994, 93, il est de 'production éolienne'.

[91] Cf. Schallin 1997; Huber 1997.

[92] Cf. Zimmer 2004, 341-351.

[93] Cf. Zimmer 1990, 27-34.

[94] Cf. Nordquist 1997.

[95] Cf. Huber 1997; Risberg 1992. On notera que, dans ce sanctuaire d'Apollon, les objets en bronze mis au jour sont à 90 % des offrandes votives.

[96] Cf. Rostoker/ Gebhard 1980.

[97] Cf. Kilian 1983.

[98] Cf. Cristofani 1993, 495, 503-504 et Bellelli 2005.

[99] Cf. Moretti 1981, 315-316.

[100] L'idée d'une pratique de la prostitution sacrée que dénoterait le jeu de mot onomastique est également controversée. Il pourrait s'agit d'un cliché de la littérature archéologique contemporaine. Voir Beard/Henderson 1998; Lanci 2005, qui ne s'attache pas seulement à l'existence d'une prostitution sacrée à Corinthe mais dans tout le monde antique. Sur la prostitution sacrée en Italie, cf. Peruzzi 1976; Glinister 2000, 19-38.

[101] Voir, par exemple, Plut. *Quaest. mor*. 563a; 800e; Gal. 11. 845.

[102] Cf. Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 27, n° 120. Sur le terme de *kyliphaktos*, cf. Johnston 1984.

[103] Pour les statuettes d'Héra, cf. Sestieri 1955, 156, fig. 13; Sestieri Bertarelli 1989, 32, fig. 17; Cipriani 1997, 217, fig. 10. L'inscription τᾶς hέϱας hιαϱόν ϝϱόνφιτοξαμιν est présentée par Guarducci 1952, 145; Sestieri 1955, 149, fig. 1; Arena 1996, 45, 19; Cipriani 1997, 217, fig. 9.

[104] Cf. Enée Tact. 17 (690) (pour Argos), Polyen *strat*. 1.23.2 (pour Samos).

[105] Cf. Ringwood 1927, 67-68; Guarducci 1952, 151 et note 7-8; Nilsson 1957, 42-45 et note 5; Wright 1982. Sur l'origine de cette fête, cf. Hygin, fr. 170.273.

[106] Cf. Paton et Hicks 1891, n° 62; Herzog 1928, 2, 5. Sherwin-White 1978, 296, explique l'épithète d'Argeia par l'origine des premiers colons de Cos. Sur ces cultes, cf. *RE* 8, 1, nouvelle éd., 1994, col. 380 et 382.

[107] L'épithète est fournie par Lycophr., 857-858 *cum schol*.; Tzetz., *ad Lycophr*., 858. Pour un commentaire de ce passage, voir Kretschmer 1894, 149, pour qui l'épithète est à rapprocher d'une autre, Ὁπλοδμία créée à la fois sur ὅπλα et sur le verbe δάμνημι et fait de la déesse une 'maîtresse des armes'. Cf. aussi Giangiulio 1982, 15-16, pour qui l'épithète n'a pas qu'une valeur d'érudition, mais est à lier aussi à l'épiclèse d'Hoplosmia attribuée à l'Héra d'Argos selon le même Lycophron 614.

[108] Cf. Schol. Pind *Nem*. 9.30; Lyc. 1328; Paus. 2.6.7.

[109] Cf. Guarducci 1952, 151-152 et n. 7-9; Valenza Mele 1977, 506, n. 101-103.

[110] Pour les coupes de Grèce de l'Est, voir les n° 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 40 in Johnston/Pandolfini 2000.

[111] L'inscription se lit ainsi: υδϱίη μετϱίη. Elle est éditée par Landi 1979, 341, n° 10 ; Torelli 1982, 313, n° 75; Johnston/ Pandolfini 2000, 26, n° 118. Une photographie de cette amphore est présentée par Torelli 1977, 401, fig. 1 et dans *Civiltà degli Etruschi* 1985,183, n° 7.1.3; *Les Etrusques et l'Europe* 1992, 119, fig. 50.

[112] On pensera surtout au cratère de bronze, décoré, comme celui de Gravisca, de tête de griffons et appuyé sur trois statues en bronze agenouillées, que les Samiens ont donné à Héra, après avoir fait d'importants bénéfices à Tartessos. Cf. Hér. 4.152.

[113] Cf. Gardner 1888, 13; Bernand 1970, 827-829.

[114] Cf. Hér. 3.60 et Str. 14.1.14.

[115] Cf. Hér. 2.178.3.

[116] Cf. Hér. 2.182.

[117] Sur le commerce de céramique exercé par les Samiens en Méditerranée, cf. Kreuzer 1994. Sur l'émigration ionienne en Occident, cf. Gras 1991.

[118] Cf. Euseb. *ap*. Str. 1.2.12; Ps. Aristt. *mir. ausc*. 103; Steph. Byz., *s. u. Σειϱήνουσαι.*

[119] Cf. Hér. 6.23.

[120] Cf. Paus. 211.2.

[121] Cf. *BCH* 2 (1878) 180-181 et *AM* 9 (1884) 263.

[122] Cf. Defradas 1954, 244. Pour un avis opposé, voir Roux 1919. Mais l'avis de Defradas trouve appui sur le texte d'Homère *Od*. 12.72, où Héra sauve Jason par amour.

[123] Des reproductions de navires ont été retrouvées dans l'*Héraion* de Samos. Cf. Kopcke 1967, n. 46-52; Johnston 1985, 54-64, arch. 3 à 23.

[124] Des ancres ont été découvertes à Egine et à Crotone. Cf. Gianfrotta 1975, 313-318. Des ancres votives consacrées à Héra d'entre la fin du 7ème siècle et le 6ème siècle avant J.-C. ont également également trouvées à Métaponte. Cf. Adamesteanu 1970, fig. 8-9; 1971, 172-173; 1974, 28-29.

[125] Sur ce rôle, cf. de Polignac 1998, 23-29.

[126] Sur cette ouverture sur la mer, cf. de Polignac 1997, 115.

[127] Cf. Athen. 15.672 = *FGrHist* III, B, 524, 1. Voir les commentaires de Nilsson 1957, 46-49; Bloch 1972, 386-389; Gras 1976, 342-344; Delcourt 1982, 100-103; Kipp 1974; Meuli 1975, 1061-1064; Graf 1985, 93-96.

[128] En revanche, pour Paus. 7.4.4, la statue a été apportée par les Argonautes, fondateurs de l'*Héraion*. Voir le commentaire de Moggi/Osanna 2000, 213-214.

[129] Cf. Eur. *Cycl*. 11-14; *Hymne à Dionysos* 1-59; Ov. *mét*. 564-691.

[130] Cf. Liv. 5.1.7; D. H. 1.30.3; Fest. 486 L. Voir le commentaire de Briquel 1997, 10-11.

[131] Cf. Menodot. in Athen. 12.525 e = *FGrHist* 541 F 1. Sur ce thème, cf. Boetticher 1856, 29-30; Détienne/Vernant 1974, 95.

[132] Cf. Hom. *Il*. 399-400.

[133] Cf. Hom. *Il*. 15.17-24; Plat. *rép*. 2.378 d.

[134] Cf. Paus. 3.18.16 (description du trône d'Amyclées); Plat. *rép*. 2.378.

[135] Cf. Paus. 3.17.3.

[136] Cf. Athen. 12.525. Voir le commentaire de Delcourt 1982, 102-103. L'insistance sur le luxe des vêtements samiens rappelle l'expression Ἴωνες ἑλκεχίτωνες des *Hymnes homériques, Ap*. 147.

[137] Sur ce pouvoir protecteur des liens, cf. Heckenbach 1911, 23-24 pour les pythagoriciens et 64, 111 pour les chrétiens. De même que les Samiens portaient les cheveux attachés lors des fêtes de la déesse, de même la statue cultuelle d'Héra à Samos portait un sarment de vigne dans les cheveux. Cf. Callim. *Ai*. 8.10.

[138] Cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei* 6.7.

[139] Cf. Ohly 1953, n° 7.

[140] Sur le dépôt rituel de vêtements féminins à Samos, cf. *anth. pal*. 6.265. Une inscription de Samos met d'ailleurs les vêtements en bonne place parmi les différentes pièces qui composent le trésor du sanctuaire: *IG* XII 6, 261, l. 13-32 datée de 346-345 avant J.-C. Pour un commentaire de cet inventaire des biens de la déesse réalisé par les clérouques athéniens en place à Samos depuis 366 avant J.-C., cf. Cargill 1995, 116-122. On pourra mettre les textes cités en relation avec celui du Pseudo-Arist., *mir. ausc*., 96.338a. Sur ce manteau, cf. Jacobsthal 1938; Heurgon 1966. Sur les activités de tissage liées au culte d'Héra, notamment dans l'Heraion de Foce del Sele, cf. Greco 1997.

[141] In Lact. *inst. div*. 1. 17. 8.

[142] Cf. Delcourt 1982, 102.

[143] Voir aussi Meuli 1975, 1034-1081, pour qui ce rite exprime aussi la rupture et le renouvellement de l'ordre.

[144] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 27, n° 1.

[145] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 28, n° 5.

[146] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 27-28, n° 4.

[147] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 28, n° 6 et 7.

[148] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 27, n° 3 et 28, n° 9.

[149] Cf. Colivicchi 2004, 27, n° 2 et 28, n° 8.

[150] Cf. Kilian 1975; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984.

[151] Voir la liste de Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 318.

[152] Voir la liste de Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 322.

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A World in Miniature: Greek Hellenistic Miniature Furniture in Context

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Abstract

Miniature furniture falls within the study of full-sized furniture and replicas on a much reduced scale. Greek Hellenistic miniature furniture, in particular, forms a small group of objects made mainly of lead and found in domestic, funerary and sacred areas. The precise context is often unknown. Various hypotheses, often influenced by modern habits of furniture use, have been put forward concerning their meaning and production. This study focuses on miniature chairs and tables excavated in Delos, Macedonia, Elis and Euboea and dated to between the 4th and 1st centuries BC. Evidence of miniature furniture in literary and epigraphical texts will be considered. Since there is no unique way of interpreting these artefacts, this study will evaluate their significance on the basis of the evidence available, while also attempting to shed light on aspects of daily- and afterlife.

Over the last two decades, studies on domestic complexes and household οἰκονομία have attracted scholars interested in the household environment and daily life. The archaeological material record of furniture and furnishings found inside the house promises to shed light on issues concerning the interior design, home organization and use of space.[1] Miniature furniture, in particular, forms a smaller and intriguing group of objects that raises further questions concerning the use and production of such replicas. The present study will focus on a particular group of excavated miniature furniture found in Macedonia, Delos, Elis and Euboea, dated to the Hellenistic period (*Catalogue*). The subject has not been examined in any depth before and the present paper is the first attempt, as far as we are aware, to offer a general view of the topic and initiate discussion on this fascinating, if obscure, group of objects.

Large, medium, small are three regular gradations of size. Miniature is smaller than small, indicating a replica on a much reduced scale, with or without practical use, so far thought to be vested with symbolism.[2] In theory any type of object can be miniaturized. There are certain recurrent types of free-standing miniatures, however, in the ancient material culture, namely vessels, weapons, furniture, carriages and house-models. Sculptural copies in miniature form a distinct group, since they are attested replicas of known larger objects in a much reduced scale.[3]

Some types of miniatures, such as vases, are mass-produced; others, such as pieces of furniture, are not. Pottery miniatures are usually interpreted either as dedications or votives in sanctuaries and tombs,[4] or as children's toys.[5] As dedications or votives, they are understood as substitutes of larger or more expensive offerings,[6] or offerings by children or on behalf of children.[7] Some miniatures, especially the mass-produced and better studied pottery vessels, are often thought to have been cheap versions of the 'real' shapes, 'monotonous' and 'uninspired' and, consequently, gifts made by poor women.[8] On the other hand, miniature vessels in expensive materials, such as faience, were used to store precious oils or unguents.[9] Similarly, miniature copies of cult statues fulfilled more than religious needs. They were prized and collected for their aesthetic value by the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.[10]

Scholars have not infrequently treated miniature objects made of inexpensive materials unfairly, often listing them as 'minor objects' in long catalogues of excavation reports with no further information concerning their characteristics or date. Such objects are often hard to decipher, since their meaning escapes us and the apparent parallels with present usage (i.e. dollhouses, toys, tourists' souvenirs) are strong but misleading. Herbert and Schiffer summarize the possible function of miniatures of the last four centuries in England, Holland and the United States as follows: 'Many believe that miniatures were made to be used as salesman's samples, while others think they were made by apprentices to serve as masterpieces taking less material than their standard size counterparts.'[11] But the vast majority of miniatures fall into neither category. As the authors show, most were either children's playthings or trinkets for their parents' enjoyment.

Miniature furniture, in particular, forms a unique group that lacks an apparent function. Such furniture can hardly be regarded as dedications or votives *per se*, unless they were used to sit or otherwise receive sleeping images of the gods. They are replicas of real furniture, but not copies of famous, 'signed' pieces of furniture, as is the case with miniature sculptural copies that deliberately recall an earlier image.[12] Furthermore, their presence in domestic as well as funerary settings warrants a thorough discussion.

In the present study we will focus on excavated miniature furniture of the Hellenistic period manufactured in lead. Since the majority of miniature furniture remains unpublished or only partially published, we will concentrate on pieces on which we have some information concerning their context and pieces that we were able to examine ourselves. In particular, we will discuss miniature chairs and tables found in Greece without figurines. Their dates are always inferred from their context, since there is no independent typology of miniature furniture at present. Miniature furniture without context in private collections and museums cannot be assessed with any degree of success.

MATERIAL AND TYPES OF MINIATURES

Hellenistic miniature furniture is commonly made of lead, a by-product of galenite.[13] Lead is highly malleable, has a low melting point, is corrosion-resistant and durable. It is easily re-melted and refined and was probably quite cheap in the Hellenistic period.[14] It might even have been discarded from time to time.[15] Lead can be produced on the spot by melting litharge (lead oxide) in an open furnace (i.e. a low hearth).[16] Evidence is provided, among others, from a domestic complex on Rhodes[17] and a house in Eretria.[18] Further geophysical studies in the area of Stageira, where two pieces of our miniature furniture come from (7, 8), prove that since the 6th century BC silver and lead mines were known in the area and were exploited throughout antiquity.[19] Litharge was also found in a workshop at Korinos (Krania settlement), not far from the North cemetery at Pydna (Makrygialos), where the set consisting of miniature table, bed and grill were found in a tomb (9).[20] Similarly, the spot where the Stageira samples were excavated (7, 8), may have been the remains of a workshop.[21] Lead mines are not found on Delos, but lead rich in silver apparently occurs on the south end of nearby Keos in the Cyclades[22] and Lavrion.[23] Because litharge could be easily smelted anywhere and by anyone, the owners of the Lavrion mines, for instance, sold it to customers who subsequently converted it into lead themselves. This explains why litharge is frequently encountered in places where there are no mines, or where they lie at a considerable distance from the finds.[24] The fact that these miniatures are cast (at least the ones from Stageira and Akanthos that we were able to examine more closely) proves that there were moulds used for their production, therefore produced for a specific reason and possibly cherished accordingly.

The types of chairs and tables are worth discussing briefly. All chairs in our catalogue (7, 8, 10, 11, 13) belong to Richter's 'easy chair with a back' type, the ancient κλισμός, the most commonly depicted chair on vases and a Greek type that does not recur in the Roman period.[25] This type of chair may have been a common type in miniature reproduction. The miniature chair from Akanthos (11) is the best example that fits the Classical vase representations of a chair with a back placed at an oblique angle for comfort and front legs that curve forward.[26] The seat is indicated as plaited on all the examples of our catalogue, as seen on a gold ring in New York[27] and on a calyx-krater in the British Museum.[28] This might be the reason why this type of chair is often adorned with pillows for comfort.[29]

The tables (1-6, 9) are of two types: round on three animal legs and rectangular on four legs (Richter's types 4 and 2 respectively).[30] Round tables on three legs were the most common type, judging from the evidence that has survived. This is the type that predominates on South Italian vases.[31] Rectangular tables on four legs are also known from Italian vases- and wall-paintings,[32] but the uniqueness of the miniatures in our catalogue lies in the presence of their two handles. They probably functioned as trays on (detachable?) legs. No full-sized table of this type is found in Greece.

Grills are also common, particularly in Italy. A good parallel to the grills from Makrygialos (9) and Delos (12) is the one found in Terracina (Temple of Venus) with two fishes on top, dated between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.[33]

INTERPRETATION

The use of these few furniture miniatures is hard to decipher, since their find spot does not necessarily indicate a primary deposit.[34] However, the fact that the majority of miniature furniture pieces that have survived was not found in funerary contexts but rather in domestic, makes their use and interpretation significant. We will refrain from seeking a single meaning in their small-size, but will instead attempt to place their significance in the context they were found, to the extent possible.

Domestic context

A few initial thoughts can be offered on the material of Hellenistic miniature furniture, namely lead. Lead is widely used in the domestic sphere. Small, but full-sized, domestic objects, such as loomweights[35] and pestles[36] were made of lead. Lead cheats and clamps were used in antiquity to mend large domestic pots.[37] Lead was also used during the process of making glass at Vergina, in Macedonia.[38] In the epigraphical record of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, however, lead is never mentioned as a material for dedications and votives, a point that currently speaks against the use of lead miniature furniture as ex-votos.[39]

The fact that these pieces were customarily made of a light and inexpensive material strengthens the possibility that they were used as toys for children. Their educational character is obvious: One can imagine how some sort of role-playing game might center round these furniture pieces. Mimetic games are after all 'models of various cultural activities and therefore exercises in cultural mastery'.[40] Children practice adult behaviors through the use of furniture in settings such as, for instance, a symposion. At the same time, there is evidence that boys were allowed to sit at symposia, next to their fathers, who customarily reclined.[41] Women also sat in front of tables.[42] The symposion is one of the possible settings where chairs with a back, such as those presented in our catalogue from Stageira, Akanthos, Elis and Eretria, were to be found. Such chairs may have been quite popular, as everyday household pieces, in contexts *other* than formal symposia, although none has survived. Thus, children may have been practicing familiar tasks and social roles by placing themselves as portrayed in their dolls seated on chairs. In Plutarch's *Moralia* (608 D) we actually have evidence of the author's lost daughter Timoxena who is said to have 'played house' with her dolls, just as young children still enjoy doing today. According to Plato (*Laws* 7.794a) 'children have games which come by natural instinct and they generally invent them whenever they meet together'. Modern pedagogues, such as M. Montessori, F. Froebel and O. Decroly, echo Plato's words and stress the therapeutic role of such games that aid childrens' emotional unloading and growth both socially and linguistically.[43]

Condideration of Plato's *Laws* (1.643 B-C) suggests that such miniature furniture pieces may have been made by children for professional practice, as well: 'By means of their games, we should endeavor to turn the tastes and desires of the children in the direction of that object which forms their ultimate goal.'[44] One might compare this activity with our modern Playmobil™ kits, where youngsters spend hours 'building' houses and 'arranging' interior spaces, thus creating their own space in role-play. Children undoubtedly imitate activities that they know and make objects that they see in their daily life. With the help of their parents, a mould-made miniature seat of the kind found at Stageira (7, 8) or Akanthos (11) might have offered an entertaining and educational experience. Visual evidence of children playing with toys is, however, limited to the iconographically standardized 'Anthesteria' choes, where children are depicted with toy carts.[45]

Funerary context

In the funerary sector the interpretation of Hellenistic miniature furniture still requires further study. The fact that the bones of the deceased in the tombs are rarely studied and the sex and age are usually inferred by grave-offerings, renders any conclusions tentative.[46] Examples of furniture allotted to both adult and children's tombs are offered by Archaic Sindos[47] and most recently by Archontiko, at Pella.[48] At Sindos, funerary miniature furniture has been connected with the beliefs on afterlife symposia. Another example is provided by the necropolis of Myrina, southwest of Pergamon.[49] The publication on the late Hellenistic necropolis mentions terracotta miniature tables, beds and chairs of the type found on Delos. The age and sex of the deceased is not clear in all the examples.

The lack of further information concerning excavated material hinders any further discussion, but reinforces the possibility that such objects, which do not have a practical use, have dual meaning. They cannot be interpreted as companions, as in the case of miniature animals, or as a straightforward indication of initiation rites. With the present evidence at hand it is reasonable to assume that miniature furniture in childrens' graves accompanies the deceased child as a favorite toy. In adult graves they may have been mementos of childhood and youth, later vested with symbolic meaning in their owner's tomb and probably alluding to dinners in the afterlife. Tables, in particular, may allude to food, since their primary use was to serve as trays for the placement and transportation of food during meals. They prove, however, that ancient Greek culture had a place for a microcosm that imitated real-life. This was true especially in Macedonia since the Neolithic period, as witness the unique example of complete 'dollhouses' comprising of miniature vases, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, house-models, ovens and furniture from Dikili Tash.[50] Here the variety of furniture types is indeed striking.

At present, there is not enough evidence, to our mind, to support the hypothesis that miniature seats found alone in tombs were the equivalent of a throne for the deceased, supposedly in the same way that the elaborate tombs of Vergina and Eretria were provided with real furniture.[51] On the other hand, the fact that such full-size chairs and tables are not found in the archaeological record is definitely the result of poor preservation of their perishable materials.[52] Miniatures prove that these types of furniture existed and are not a product of the ancient Greeks' imagination or imitation on vase-painting. They should undoubtedly be considered as replicas of real items.

Sacred context

The context of the two examples in our catalogue found in a possibly sacred area (12, 13) is very problematic and does not allow any conclusions to be drawn. It is worth, however, discussing full-size and miniature furniture dedications in connection with the literary and archaeological evidence of earlier periods.[53]

From the Homeric age onwards, there are literary references to the dedication of full-sized furniture, which, furthermore, belongs to kings or others famous in myth, rather than to common mortals. For instance, Helen's golden stool is said to have been given to the wisest man in the world and was ultimately placed at Delphi or in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes (Plutarch, *Solon*, 4); Daedalus' folding chair was preserved in the temple of Athena Polias at Athens (Paus. 1.27.1); and the king of Etruria, Arimnestus, dedicated his throne at Olympia (Paus. 5.12.5). Pausanias records Hippodameia's couch in the Heraion at Olympia (5.20.1). This couch is mentioned as μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη and indeed a παίγνιον. This is the only secure textual evidence of a small-sized piece of furniture used as a toy. Although we would like to interpret it as a miniature, there is no conclusive evidence to support such a view.

Furniture is known to have been dedicated to sanctuaries from the 5th century, when its value was primarily symbolic, possibly a sign of propitiation. As an example, one may mention the sacred couches made of captured iron and bronze, dedicated to Hera by the Lacedaemonians after their victory at Plataea (Thuc. 3.68). An exceptional mention of a dedication of furniture and ornaments of a whole *andron* is made by Herodotus: 'Polycrates' scribe, Maeandrius, dedicated all the adornment of Polycrates' *andron* to the Heraeum of Samos' after his fall, in the late 6th century BC. (Hdt. 3.123). This dedication has been interpreted as a tithe of confiscation.[54]

In the period in which we are interested, lead furniture, either full sized or miniature, is never mentioned in the epigraphical record.[55] Small and large size furniture made of other materials is usually mentioned together on the Late Classical and Hellenistic treasure lists with no clear indication of whether we are dealing with miniatures, although this seems unlikely.[56] Certain suffixes of the nouns mentioned on sacred treasure lists of Delos and Athens have been interpreted as diminutives.[57] This is true for objects such as the various types of containers,[58] tableaux,[59] tripods,[60] footstools,[61] beds[62] and tables.[63] Sometimes the adjective μιϰϱός qualifies the nouns on the lists.[64] These pieces, however, are not to be understood as miniatures, but rather as objects of a smaller size than the 'standard'.[65]

Any attempt to find a close correlation between furniture votives and a receiving deity raises more questions than it answers. There are indeed a number of factors that possibly dictated the kind of offering to a certain deity, as has been shown in scholarship.[66] There may be obvious factors related to cult, or not so obvious related to certain aspects of the cult; symbolism also plays a certain role. Furniture in particular, as evidenced in the epigraphical record of treasure lists, is rather associated with either *mobilier du culte*, safe keeping and storage, or display.[67] The specific factors regarding its dedication, however, other than its obvious cultic use, are not easy to acknowledge. The dedicators are randomly and scarcely mentioned (or preserved). If craftsmen, they may have offered their 'first-fruit' to the god.

Miniature furniture, in particular, such as the earlier in date terracotta miniature beds and tables from the sanctuaries of Hera in the Peloponnese, may have served as offerings at moments of transition, rites of passage.[68] Although the epigraphical and archaeological evidence is very sketchy for the period we are interested in, it is worth not-ing that in the archaeological and literary evidence of earlier periods Hera cults predominate. Hera's association with household οἰκονομία in its broad sense, fertility, pregnancy and childbirth may be closely connected with furniture dedications. Literary evidence, in addition, supports the view that dolls and other toys were dedicated by girls that reached a marriageable age or in the occasion of their marriage.[69]

Miniature furniture dedications might also have functioned as cheap substitutes for the more prestigious votives of wealthier donors, if we accept Kyrieleis' interpretation of the 'primitive' (self-made) terracotta figurines, miniature ship-models of wood and limestone house-models offered in the Heraion at Samos.[70] 'Cheap equivalents' of full-sized pieces of furniture are attested in later times, as, for instance, in 16th- and 17th-century Europe, the so-called Orkney Island chairs found in china cupboards.[71] Finally, a miniature chair or table might have been dedicated as a model representing the original: Mandrocles, for instance, who built Darius' bridge over the Bosporus, dedicated a picture of the bridge to Samian Hera (Hdt. 4.88).

Securely excavated and dated material will certainly offer a clearer picture and lend support to the hypotheses offered above and others that may occur in the future. If excavated miniature furniture is as standardized as the miniature seats found in the domestic and funerary sectors (7, 8, 10, 11), then these hypotheses need further examination.

CONCLUSIONS

It would seem that the phenomenon of miniature furniture is to be explained by multiple hypotheses. Parallel uses that complement each other in different settings are most probably closer to the truth. Domestic examples probably fall in the category of toys. Funerary pieces need further clarification concerning the types of tombs they were found in. The fact that miniature furniture was found in both adult and children's tombs underlies their symbolic function. Finally, dedicated furniture miniatures, although not directly associated with a certain deity or cult, may have fulfilled other needs. The lack of securely excavated miniature furniture from sanctuaries of the period will be remedied by future precise investigations and thorough publications.

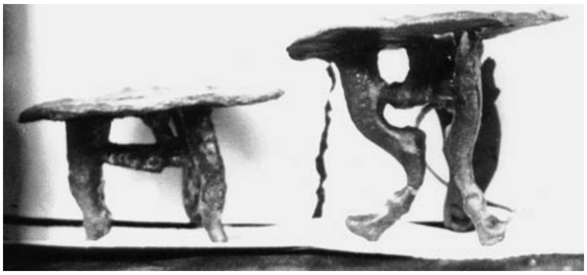


*Fig. 1. Lead miniature round table from Delos (*Délos *XVIII, 44, fig. 64, pl. 133).*
*Fig. 2. Lead miniature round table from Delos (*Délos *XVIII, 44, fig. 63, pl. 134).*

CATALOGUE

Domestic context

1. Lead miniature round table with three animal legs (*fig. 1*)
H. 0.025 m; Diam. 0.043 m.
Delos, road of the Theater, insula II, room g. Surface decorated with imitations of nails in relief (*Délos* XVIII, 44, fig. 64, pl. 133). It belongs to Richter's type 4 (Richter 1966, 70-71).

2. Lead miniature round table with three animal legs (*fig. 2*)
H. 0.037 m; Diam. 0.045 m.
Delos, room next to the SE corner of the Poseidoniastes. Surface decorated with imitations of nails in relief (*Délos* XVIII, 44, fig. 63, pl. 134). It belongs to Richter's type 4 (Richter 1966, 70-71).

3. Lead miniature round table on three legs
H. 0.025 m; Diam. 0.045 m.
Delos, SW corner of the Agora of the Competaliastes. Similarly decorated as the previous one; it belongs to Richter's type 4 (*Délos* XVIII, 44, pl. 135).

4. Lead miniature round table on three legs
H. unknown; Diam. 0.045 m.
Delos, house on the road of the Theater. It belongs to Richter's type 4 (*Délos* XVIII, 44, pl. 136).

5. Lead miniature rectangular table on four legs (*figs. 3a, 3b*)
H. 0.055 m; L. of top 0.10 m (with the handles); W. 0.055 m.
Delos, House of the Dolphins, Quarter of the Theater. Preserves two handles on either side to facilitate transportation. It belongs to Richer's type 2, but the handles are unique (*Délos* XVIII, 20, figs. 20-21; Déonna, *BCH* 58, 1934, 27-28, figs. 22-23).

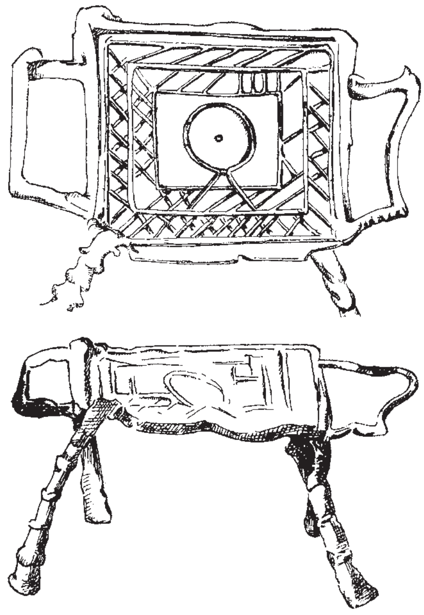
6. Lead miniature rectangular table on four legs
H. 0.045 m; L. of top 0.06 m; W. 0.055 m.
Delos, SE of the Sacred Lake. Preserves two handles on either side to facilitate transportation, as does the previous example (*Délos* XVIII, 20, pl. 80; Déonna, *BCH* 58, 1934, 28, fig. 24).

7. Lead miniature seat (*figs. 4* (front), *6* (back))
Dim. of the seat: 0.043x0.043 m.; weight: 30 grams.
Stageira, east side of the north hill and outside the east peribolos of the acropolis. The seat imitates a woven surface. Bosses on the side, the horizontal and vertical frame of the back probably imitate decorative nails (Sismanidis 1999, 472, fig. 10). The excavator believes that the area might be domestic or a workshop that produced such miniatures (personal communication). This item is certainly not from a tomb.

8. Lead miniature seat (*fig. 5* (front), *6* (back))
Dim. of the seat: 0.04x0.04 m; weight: 40 grams.
Stageira, same area as previous one. Identical in shape and decoration (Sismanidis 1998, 390, fig. 11).

Funerary context

9. Lead miniature set of a table, a bed and a grill with fishes on top.
Makrygialos (north cemetery of Pydna), child's tomb (unpublished).



*Figs. 3a, b. Lead miniature rectangular table from Delos (*Délos *XVIII, 20, figs. 20-21).*

10. Lead miniature seat
Found in a grave in ancient Elis. The seat is indicated as plaited, the back consists of three vertical beams of the same width with decoration (?). No date or further information on the sex of the deceased or the dimensions is published (Papathanasopoulos, *ADeltion* 24, 1969, B1, 153, fig. 154a).

11. Lead miniature seat (almost intact) (*figs. 7a, 7b*)
Dim. of seat: 0.045 x 0.04 m; back: 0.03 m (width); leg: 0.028 m (height); total height: 0.06 m; weight: 44 gr.
Akanthos, pit-grave of an adult (unpublished). Back left leg of the seat is missing. The seat is indicated as plaited and the cross beam of the back retains eight bosses that imitate decoration (probably nails); front feet bend forward. The seat and the back are similar in shape and decoration to the fragments from Stageira, mentioned above. The grave is provisionally dated, according to numismatic evidence, to the first half of the 4th century BC.

Sacred (?) context

12. Lead miniature grill (*fig. 8*)
Dim. 0.085 x 0.06 m (without the handle).
Delos, south of the Syrian Sanctuary. Rectangular in shape (*Délos* XVIII, 228, pl. 630, fig. 254).

13. Lead miniature seat
No dimensions are published.
Found in an earth filling from the discarded soil of previous excavations in the sacred area (Thesmophorion) in Eretria (Davaras, *ADeltion* 20, 1965, B2, 259, fig. 327 b). The seat is indicated as plaited and the back is decorated with palmettes (?). The middle beam of the frame of the back is wider than the other two, as in the fragments from Stageira.

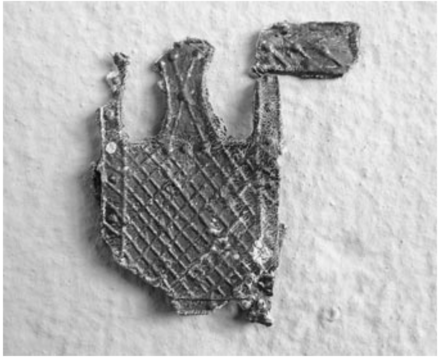


Fig. 4. Lead miniature seat from Stageira (photo author).

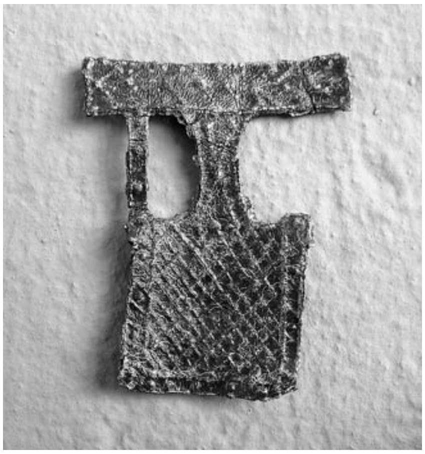


Fig. 5. Lead miniature seat from Stageira (photo author).

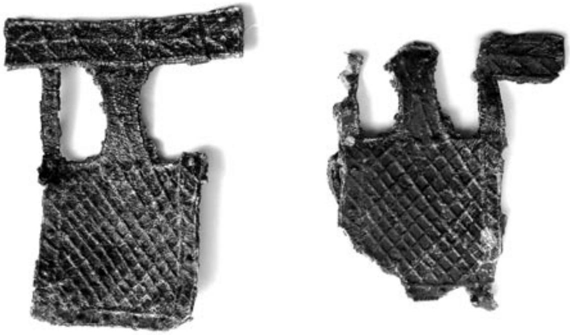


Fig. 6. Back side of figs. 4 and 5 (photo: author)

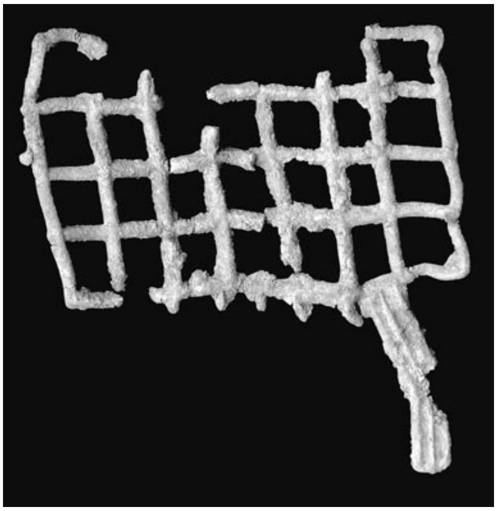
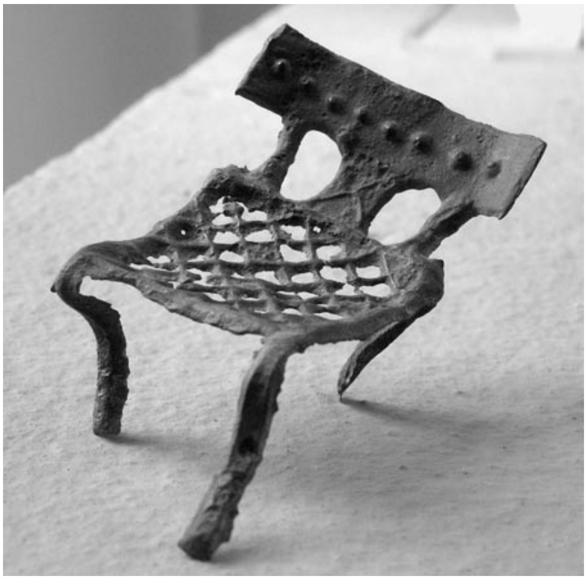


*Fig. 8. Lead miniature grill from Delos (*Délos *XVIII, 228, fig. 254, pl. 630).*



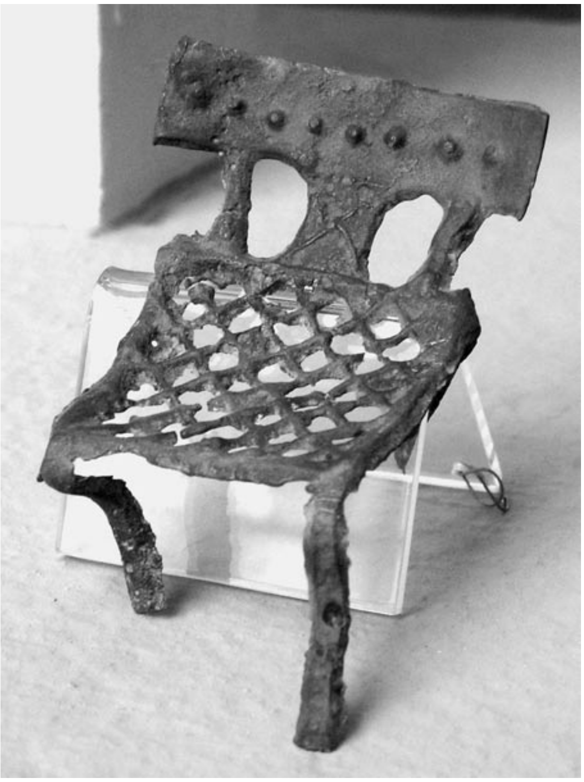


Fig. 7a, b. Lead miniature seat from Akanthos (photo author).

NOTES

[1] This article draws on the author's doctoral thesis on domestic furniture and furnishings of Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece (Bryn Mawr College, US, 2003). The archaeological and epigraphical evidence of full-sized furniture and furnishings between the 4th and 1st centuries BC is covered in two separate studies in more detail (Andrianou 2006a and 2006b). This article concentrates on the archaeological material of excavated miniature furniture objects. For current and broader issues in domestic studies the reader may consult for instance Kent 1990; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Ault 1994, 2005; Nevett 1999; Allison 1999; Mols 1999; Cahill 2002.
I am grateful to K. Sismanidis, M. Besios and E. Trakosopoulou for providing me access to their excavated material.

[2] Broneer 1955, 134, nos 21-29 (non practical function); Adamsheck 1979, 19 (practical function); Hammond 1998, 17, 19 for a thorough discussion.

[3] Bartman 1992 for a thorough discussion; Ridgway 1984.

[4] Payne/Dunbabin 1962, 290.

[5] Richter 1904-1905, 234 and Simon 1983, 92-95, 99 (Attica); Marangou 1986, 57 (Dikili Tash); *Délos* XVIII, 337-338.

[6] Payne/Dunbabin 1962, 290; Foley 1988, 111.

[7] Golden 1990, 43 (on Anthesteria choes and their debated meaning); *Agora* XII, 185-186 (for miniature vases in graves interpreted as gifts for children, sometimes found in sets).

[8] Caskey/Amandry 1952, 211; Payne/Dunbabin 1962, 290; Dickins 1906-1907, 172; Foley 1988, 76, 165; Hammond 1998, 20.

[9] Webb 1978.

[10] Bartman 1992, 43-48.

[11] Herbert/Schiffer 1972, 23.

[12] At present, there is no evidence of known artists making full-sized furniture. For the meaning of 'copy' in sculpture see Ridgway 1984, 6 and Bartman 1992, 9 for 'miniature copy'.

[13] The vast majority of miniatures found on Delos were made of lead (*Délos* XVIII, 338-345).

[14] Treister 1996, 341-342.

[15] Healy 1978, 221.

[16] Melting litharge in order to release the oxygen and produce pure lead is fairly easy, since the melting point of lead is only about 250^{o} C (Kakavoyiannis 1988, 34).

[17] Kakavoyiannis 1984, 124-140.

[18] Room D, house IV (*Eretria* X, 84-85).

[19] Kiourtzoglou *et. al.* 2001, 296.

[20] Besios *et. al.* 2003, 382. I would like to thank the excavator, M. Besios, for bringing this finding to my attention.

[21] I would like to thank the excavator, K. Sismanidis, for discussion on this issue.

[22] Davies 1935, 257. Specifically pieces of litharge are known from the site of Coressus on Keos, but the locality of the mines is uncertain.

[23] Kakavoyiannis 1988. During Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine times the mines at Lavrion decline and there is no extraction of ores. Instead activity concentrates almost exclusively on the collection and melting of the by-products left by their Classical predecessors (Kakavoyiannis 1988, 37).

[24] Kakavoyiannis 1988, 34.

[25] Richter 1966, 33-37. For a thorough study of excavated chairs in Greece see Andrianou 2006a, *226-232*.

[26] Richter 1966, figs. 169-177.

[27] Richter 1956, 23, no 84, pl. XV of the late fifth century: the webbing of the chair is indicated beneath the rail of the seat.

[28] Richter 1966, fig. 181.

[29] Richter 1966, figs. 179, 180, 184.

[30] For a thorough discussion of excavated tables in Greece see Andrianou 2006a, 251-257.

[31] Richter 1966, 70-71. Actual examples of such tables were found outside Greece, with one exception that is thought to be Greek (Richter 1966, 71).

[32] Richter 1966, 69-70.

[33] Fittà 1998, fig. 93.

[34] For a discussion on the primary and secondary deposit of excavated furniture see Andrianou 2006a, 222-224 with further references.

[35] For instance, from Kypseli in Ematheia (Apostolou 1991, 310 and 1994, 33); from Kassandreia (Sismanidis 1992, 361-363); from Eretria, House II (*Eretria* X, 100); from Vergina (Faklaris 1997a, 62-63; 1998, 121-122 and 1997b, 72-73); from Priene (Wiegand 1904, 392-393).

[36] For instance, from Olynthus, house A viii 10 (*Olynthus* XII, 50, note 157).

[37] For instance, from Olynthus (*Olynthus* XII, 50-51); from Kypseli, Ematheia (Apostolou 1991, 310 and 1994, 33); from Praesos, Crete (Bosanquet 1901-1902, 269).

[38] Brill 1994, 11-23.

[39] Lead offerings are known from earlier periods, such as the lead figurines attributed to the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Wace 1929, 249-284) and dated between the 8th and 4th centuries BC on stylistic grounds. These are particularly popular in Laconia, uncommon in other areas.

[40] Schwartzman 1976, 295. For ancient toys and games in general see Klein 1932, 9- 22.

[41] Xenophon, *Symp*. I.8: "Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο ..." Iconographic evidence is provided by *ARV*^{2}, 836. 15.

[42] As in Beazley, *ARV*^{1}, 269, no. 49; *ARV*^{2}, 410, no 63.

[43] Kitsaras 1991, 99; Sivropoulou 1997, 70-74.

[44] A similar thought is asserted by Marangou 1986, 57 for the Dikili Tash miniatures executed in a clumsy manner.

[45] Figures of red-figured choes are collected in Hamilton 1992 and van Hoorn 1951.

[46] The bones of the deceased have not been studied separately in the examples mentioned here.

[47] *Σίνδος* 1997: nos 123 (adult male tomb); 142 (adult female tomb); 177 (boy's tomb); 226 (adult male tomb); 276 (adult male tomb); 296 (adult female tomb); 392 (adult male tomb); 445 (adult female tomb). They are all of iron, except no 392 of bronze. They were all accompanied by a rectangular table on three legs, except no 445. The tables and the chairs were essentially sets, since they were of the same material (iron) and the only bronze chair (no 392) was accompanied by a bronze table. These miniatures were all found in tombs. The majority was found in adult tombs, both male and female.

[48] Chrysostomou 2005, 510 (tomb of adult male, 560 BC); 511 (tomb of adult male, beginning of 5th century BC) and 513 (tomb of adult male, after the middle of 6th century BC).

[49] Pottier/Reinach 1887, 242-243, 245 and catalogue nos 402, 403 (from a child's tomb, 88-89), nos 405 and 406 (the bones of the last two examples were cremated inside the tomb, 95).

[50] Marangou 1986.

[51] Andrianou 2006a, 231-232.

[52] Andrianou 2006a, 258.

[53] As far as is known to us, lead furniture votives are so far unattested in Greece in earlier periods. However, miniature furniture made of other materials (terracotta, bronze) are known from various sanctuaries of Hera: two fragmentary miniature beds were found in the Argive Heraion, one of bronze and one of terracotta; a terracotta stool with two figures (children) on it was found in the Heraion at Tiryns; a similar stool was found in the Argive Heraion; three terracotta round

tables used for the preparation of food were found at Perachora. All date to the 7th-6th centuries BC and are associated with Hera's qualities as protectress of fertility, pregnancy and childbirth (Baumbach 2004, 34, 55, 60, 80-81, 83, 91). Terracotta furniture was also found in the so-called Potter's Quarter in Corinth (*Corinth* XV, Part II, 206-211) in various deposits that are interpreted as 'domestic shrines' built over destroyed houses (Williams 1981). They comprise twelve chairs, four tables, eleven couches, isolated legs of chairs, couches and tables, all dated to between the 6th and early 4th centuries BC. A terracotta figurine of a baby in a crib was also found in Potidaia in a possibly sacred area and dated in the first half of the 4th century BC (Sismanidis 1992, 487, fig. 3). An example of a furniture set of candelabrum, tables and seat made of lead was excavated in Italy, in the Temple of Jupiter Anxur in Terracina, dated to the 1st century BC (Borsari 1894, 105-106). These votives have been interpreted as toys offered to the young Zeus worshipped in the area. Finally, the Tanagra 'genre' pieces depicting men and women in everyday activities, using various types of domestic furniture, are known in scholarship, but their exact provenance is often unknown. Most were found in looted tombs. They are all dated to the first quarter of the 5th century and are made of clay (Higgins 1986, figs. 89, 91-96). They are also interpreted as childrens' toys, enjoyed both in real- and afterlife.

[54] Rouse 1902, 316.

[55] For a thorough treatment of the epigraphical evidence on furniture and furnishings see Andrianou 2006b.

[56] The only obvious miniature mentioned in the treasure lists of Athens, Delos and Macedonia in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods is a model of a house with two silver animals in it (*ID* 399B, lines 37-38; better preserved in *ID* 421, line 59, discussed in Andrianou 2006b, 580.

[57] Prêtre 1997, 675-676 warns us regarding the translation of the suffix -ιον. For a thorough study of furniture mentioned in the epigraphical record of Late Classical and Hellenistic sacred lists see Andrianou 2006b (forthcoming).

[58] Aleshire 1989, 263, line 155 (amended text) and p. 332 for the discussion of the word θολίδιον. For a discussion on the recurrent word κιβώτιον and its meaning see Andrianou 2006b, 569-570.

[59] For example, *ID* 1443 BII, line 52: πινάκιον; *ID* 104, line 27: πινακίσκος.

[60] For example, *IG* II^{2} 47, line 7: τριποδίσκος.

[61] *IG* II^{2} 1533, lines 65-66 (restored): σφελίσκος.

[62] *IG* II^{2} 1424a, line 342: κλινίς.

[63] For example, *ID* 1403 BbII, line 24 and *ID* 1417 AII, line 157: τραπέζιον.

[64] *ID* 104, line 143: κλῖναι μικραὶ; *ID* 104, lines 144-145: τράπεζαι μικραὶ.

[65] Prêtre 1997, 675 rightly rejects the interpretation of the 'lower value' as well.

[66] For example, two opposite views are asserted by Simon 1986 (who believes that offerings cannot contribute much to the knowledge of individual cult characteristics and that gifts to the gods expressed their dedicants' interests and not those of the deity), and Baumbach 2004 (who believes that votives are not randomly scattered over Greek sanctuaries and agrees that they need not only have been motivated by religious concerns). Both authors offer a stimulating discussion on the subject and earlier significant bibliography.

[67] Andrianou 2006b.

[68] Baumbach 2004, 34, 55, 60, 80-83, 91.

[69] Van Straten 1981, 90-91, note 126; *Anth. Pal*. 6.280; Paus. 5.20.1 (discussed above).

[70] Kyrieleis 1988.

[71] Stewart 1993, 62. These full-sized chairs, handmade of local straw, were once a major furnishing of a peasant house, but were labor-intensive and expensive to purchase.

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Alcune osservazioni sui rapporti commerciali fra Cartagine, la Sicilia occidentale e la Campania (IV-metà del II sec. a.C.): nuovi dati basati sulla distribuzione di ceramiche campane e nordafricane/cartaginesi

Babette Bechtold

Abstract

*This paper focuses on the commercial relationship between Carthage, West Sicily and Campania from the 4th to the mid 2nd century BC. The analysis is based on the evidence provided by distribution patterns of ceramic finds (transport amphorae, black glaze wares). The archaeological documentation shows that the trade route connecting the Gulf of Naples with Carthage acquires importance not earlier than the mid-3rd century BC, but rather after the end of the second Punic War. The Roman conquest of the western part of Sicily opens the door to a massive exportation of Campanian wine. At the same time, the loss of two big Mediterranean islands forces Carthage to exploit more systematically its agricultural hinterland (large distribution of late Punic amphorae).**

INTRODUZIONE

'Carthage ou Rome?' si chiede S. Lancel nella sua opera magistrale su Cartagine,[1] sottolineando come la prima guerra punica fu motivata anche, se non in prima linea, dalle forti spinte dell'aristocrazia campana per la difesa dei propri interessi economici.[2] Ch. Vandermersch ha evidenziato come l'economia romana conosce una evoluzione significativa a partire dalle guerre sannitiche (340-290 a.C. ca.) e come la conquista della Campania rappresenta un ulteriore momento chiave per lo sviluppo dell'agricultura, fatti specie della viticultura nella zona compresa, grosso modo, fra Capua, Calès e Pontecagnano.[3] Si pensa, infatti, che in seguito a questi episodi vada collocato cronologicamente l'avvio della produzione vinicola nell'area fra Capua ed il Golfo di Napoli,[4] ma rimangono a tutt'oggi incerti l'identità dei produttori, i vettori commerciali ed il ruolo specifico di Roma[5] che comunque controllò certamente già verso la fine del IV sec. a.C. delle importanti zone produttive.[6]

Il trionfo del vino romano non è, quindi, il risultato di una evoluzione strutturale avvenuta nel corso del II sec. a.C., ma evolve lentamente già in epoca medio-repubblicana all'interno del mondo latino e romano e per mezzo delle dinamiche espansionistiche e lo sviluppo del commercio marittimo romano.[7]

E così si profila sempre più chiaramente l'entità di questa increscente presenza commerciale romano-campana nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale probabilmente già a partire dal principio del III sec. a.C., ma al più tardi intorno alla metà del secolo. I recenti contributi di G. Olcese[8] e Vandermersch[9] sono infatti, focalizzati sulle tracce archeologiche rimaste di questa espansione mercantile centro-italica, esaminando la distribuzione geografica dei correspettivi contenitori commerciali, cioè delle anfore greco-italiche MGS V[10]/RMR V[11] prima e delle MGS VI/RMR VI a partire dal 260 a.C. ca.[12]

Ma qual'è la composizione dei depositi archeologici di III sec. a. C. che si rinvengono nei siti della Sicilia occidentale ed a Cartagine? È percepibile, a livello di cultura materiale, un incremento dei prodotti campani?

In questo contributo cercherò di riassumere una serie di osservazioni e riflessioni derivanti da ormai molti anni di studio di materiali ceramici rinvenuti in recenti scavi condotti sia a Cartagine[13] che nella Sicilia occidentale.[14] Infatti, ho raccolto tutte le informazioni disponibili sulla documentazione di ceramiche campane sia a Cartagine che sui siti della Sicilia occidentale, quest'ultima sicuramente una delle prime mete dei commercianti centro-tirrenici.[15] Per controllare meglio l'ipotetico incremento di prodotti campani nel corso della prima metà del III sec. a.C., ho deciso di estendere l'analisi anche al secolo precendente, cioè all'epoca compresa, grosso modo, fra il regno di Dionigi I e la stipula del cosiddetto terzo trattato romano-cartaginese nel 306 a.C.:[16] ad un periodo, quindi, durante il quale i commercianti romani godevano ancora di libero accesso agli emporia della Sicilia nord-occidentale, come fu, del resto, ribadito nel cosiddetto secondo trattato romano-cartaginese del 348 a.C.[17]

Parallelamente alla distribuzione di materiali campani nel Mediterraneo centrale, si discutono i dati relativi alla presenza di ceramiche nordafricane/cartaginesi nei siti della Sicilia occidentale,[18] per verificare su base materiale l'entità dell'impatto fra Cartagine e Roma/l'area campana che sfociò nella 'guerra della Sicilia' (264-241 a.C.).

L'analisi delle classi ceramiche prese in esame distingue fra la documentazione a Cartagine (§ I) e nella Sicilia occidentale (§ II) ed è bipartita: la prima parte corrisponde al periodo fra la fine del V/inizio del IV sec. a.C. e la metà del III sec. a.C.,[19] cioè allo scorcio di tempo compreso fra la distruzione cartaginese delle grandi città greche di Himera (409), Selinunte (409), Agrigento (406) e Gela (405) e la fase finale della prima guerra punica. La seconda parte tratta il periodo delimitato dalla prima e l'ultima guerra punica, cioè la metà del III-metà del II sec. a.C.

Nella discussione al § II.4 propongo uno schema periodico riferito alle importazioni sia campane che nordafricane nella Sicilia occidentale. Al § III.3, infine, si discutono alcuni aspetti dell'approvvigionamento alimentare di Cartagine fra IV sec. a.C. ed il 146 a.C., che si basano su dei primi dati statistici relativi ai depositi archeologici chiusi rinvenuti sul Bir Massouda (sito 2) a Carthage-Dermech.[20]

I. CERAMICHE CAMPANE A CARTAGINE

I.1. Le ceramiche fini: IV-metà del III sec. a.C.

Contrariamente a quanto avviene nella Sicilia occidentale (cfr. *infra*, 59-60), a Cartagine mancano per ora indizi per l'importazione di ceramiche figurate attribuibili a officine campane del IV sec. a.C.[21] I più antichi prodotti di ceramica fine di fabbrica campana rinvenuti nella metropoli nordafricana datano, grosso modo, nell'ultimo quarto o piuttosto verso la fine del IV sec. a.C., quando sia nelle necropoli[22] che nell'abitato[23] si riscontra un piccolo nucleo di vasellame a semplice vernice nera, attribuito finora genericamente all'area centro-italica, campana e laziale. Si tratta quasi esclusivamente di forme aperte di imitazione attica, quali skyphoi di tipo A, kylikes 'bolsal', diverse coppe e coppette, nonché qualche lucerna di tipo Howland 23.

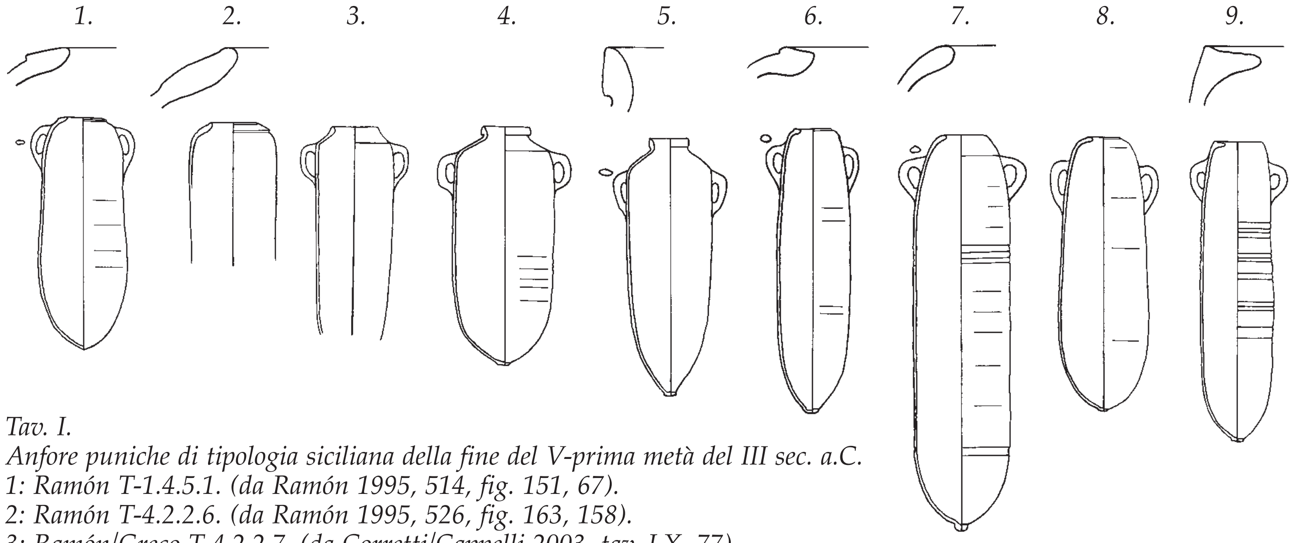
I.2. Le anfore commerciali: IV-metà del III sec. a.C.

Mentre ceramica fine dell'area centro-tirrenica risulta quindi regolarmente documentata nella Cartagine della fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C., rimane tuttora ignota la provenienza delle numerose anfore greche di produzione occidentale (Gassner Randform 7, Gassner Randform 6, Vandermersch MGS III), attestate nell'abitato sino dalla fine del V sec. a.C. e soprattutto nel corso del IV sec. a.C.[24] Sia gli impasti, che le caratteristiche morfologiche dei frammenti rinvenuti a Cartagine sembrano suggerire una provenienza della maggior parte di questi materiali piuttosto da siti ubicati lungo la costa ionica dell'Italia meridionale oppure in Sicilia, anche se allo stato attuale degli studi non può ancora essere esclusa la presenza di anfore campane di IV sec. a.C. (si veda anche *infra*, § III.3).

Un altro problema grande rappresenta, a mio avviso, il quadro distributivo delle MGS V[25] (*tav. II, 6-7*) nei depositi cartaginesi della prima metà del III sec. a.C.:[26] le cosiddette greco-italiche antiche della forma A della Will sarebbero, infatti, frequenti nei contesti archeologici scavati al porto commerciale[27] e ben attestate anche fra il materiale rinvenuto negli scavi francesi sulla Byrsa,[28] mentre appaiono estremamente rare nei depositi insediativi messi in luce dalle Università di Amburgo,[29] Amsterdam[30] e Gent/INP[31] sul Bir Massouda. Per quanto riguarda le anfore provenienti dagli scavi americani e francesi ed en bloc definite di tipo 'greco-italico', ho l'impressione che la quantità delle MGS V della prima metà del III sec. a.C. sia nettamente inferiore rispetto alla documentazione della più recente forma MGS VI, nonché dei contenitori attribuibili alla prima metà del II sec. a.C. (*tav. II, 8*, forme C-D della Will), anche se mancano tuttora dei dati statistici precisi.

Difficile rimane, a mio avviso, il corretto inquadramento dell'attestazione quantitativa di anfore MGS V negli scavi dell'Istituto Germanico di Roma.[32]

In conclusione, nasce tuttavia l'impressione che il materiale ceramico campano/centro-italico riferibile alla prima fase ellenistica dell'ultimo quarto del IV-prima metà del III sec. a.C. consista soprattutto in un piccolo, ma altamente significativo assemblaggio di ceramica a vernice nera, accompagnato da qualche rara anfora di tipo MGS V di fabbrica campana.



Tav. I.
Anfore puniche di tipologia siciliana della fine del V-prima metà del III sec. a.C.
1: Ramón T-1.4.5.1. (da Ramón 1995, 514, fig. 151, 67).
2: Ramón T-4.2.2.6. (da Ramón 1995, 526, fig. 163, 158).
3: Ramón/Greco T-4.2.2.7. (da Corretti/Cappelli 2003, tav. LX, 77).
4: Ramón T-7.1.2.1. (da Ramón 1995, 534, fig. 171, 260).
5: Ramón T-6.1.2.1. (da Ramón 1995, 533, fig. 170, 199).

Anfore puniche di tipologia nordafricana di IV-prima metà del III sec. a.C.
6: Ramón T-4.2.1.1. (da Ramón 1995, 522, fig. 159, 131).
7: Ramón T-4.2.1.2. (da Ramón 1995, 523, fig. 160, 141).
8: Ramón T-4.1.1.3. (da Ramón 1995, 521, fig. 158, 127).
9: Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (da Ramón 1995, 524, fig. 161, 144).

I.3 Ceramiche fini ed anfore commerciali: metà del III sec. a.C.-146 a.C.

Per Cartagine la *facies* ceramica del secondo, e ancora di più del terzo quarto del III sec. a.C. è tuttora mal conosciuta e di conseguenza poco studiata.[33] Da un rapido esame del materiale edito risultano solo venti contesti insediativi chiusi, datati alla seconda metà/fine del III sec. a.C.,[34] che non contengono più di 2 o 3 contenitori commerciali campani del tipo MGS VI,[35] contro 9 anfore puniche dei tipi Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (2, tav. II, 2), T-5.2.3.1. (5, Tav. II, 1), T-7.4.2.1. (*tav. II, 4*), T-13.1.1.3., tutti di probabile fabbrica africana, e 3 anfore greco-italiche, a giudicare dalla descrizione apparentemente *non* di origine campana.[36]

Al più tardi durante l'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C. e quindi nel corso della seconda guerra punica,[37] ricompaiono a Cartagine anche ceramiche fini di origine campana: da nominare in primo luogo la campana A[38] e le sue imitazioni,[39] ma anche la calena a vernice nera[40] che insieme costituiscono fra il 60%-70% della ceramica a vernice nera in uso nell'abitato cartaginese della prima metà del II sec. a.C.[41] Contemporaneamente sono documentate anfore vinarie ora certamente di fabbrica campana, le cosiddette anfore greco-italiche recenti (*tav. II, 8*), che rappresentano all'incirca il 10% del materiale anforico ricuperato negli scavi sotto l'incrocio stradale e sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda[42] e che appaiono frequenti anche negli scavi americani al porto commerciale.[43] Anche se la base materiale attualmente disponibile per Cartagine appare ancora troppo esigua, sembra che quantità rilevanti di contenitori *commerciali* di origine campana giungano non molto prima della fine della seconda guerra punica[44] e quindi in un momento storico che vede la metropoli africana privata di gran parte della sua sfera d'influenza, limitata ora alla sua sola chora fino alle *Fossae Punicae*.[45] Va ancora una volta sottolineato, comunque, che anche durante la prima metà del II sec. a.C. il numero di anfore greco-italiche di probabile fabbrica campana rimane sorprendentemente basso rispetto alla grande quantità di ceramica da mensa a vernice nera (cfr. *supra*). Ho quindi avanzato l'ipotesi che una buona parte del vino campano caricato sulle navi mercantili moventi dall'Italia tirrenica non venisse venduta a Cartagine stessa, ma inviata verso gli *emporia* della penisola iberica, dove, infatti, anfore commerciali puniche (tipi Ramón T-5.2.3.1., ma anche T-7.4.3.1./2.1) si rinvengono in gran numero insieme a contenitori campani a partire dall'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C.[46] Sembra, in ogni caso, ormai assodato il fatto che nella capitale punica il vino campano non abbia mai raggiunto, neanche lontanamente, il livello di diffusione delle contemporanee ceramiche a vernice nera fabbricate nella stessa area di produzione!

II. ATTESTAZIONI DI CERAMICHE CARTAGINESI/NORDAFRICANE E CAMPANE NEI SITI DELLA SICILIA OCCIDENTALE FRA LA FINE DEL V-II SEC. A.C.

II.1 Le anfore commerciali cartaginesi/nordafricane

A partire dalla seconda metà degli anni '90 l'accresciuto interesse nello studio delle produzioni anforiche attestate nei siti della Sicilia occidentale è sfociato in una serie di articoli che permettono ora di comprendere meglio anche le dinamiche di diffusione di contenitori commerciali punici. Cercherò di seguito di indicare il volume quantitativo ed il repertorio tipologico relativo alle anfore di probabile provenienza cartaginese/nordafricana per tutti quei siti di cui disponiamo di pubblicazioni sufficientemente dettagliate per le fila del mio discorso.

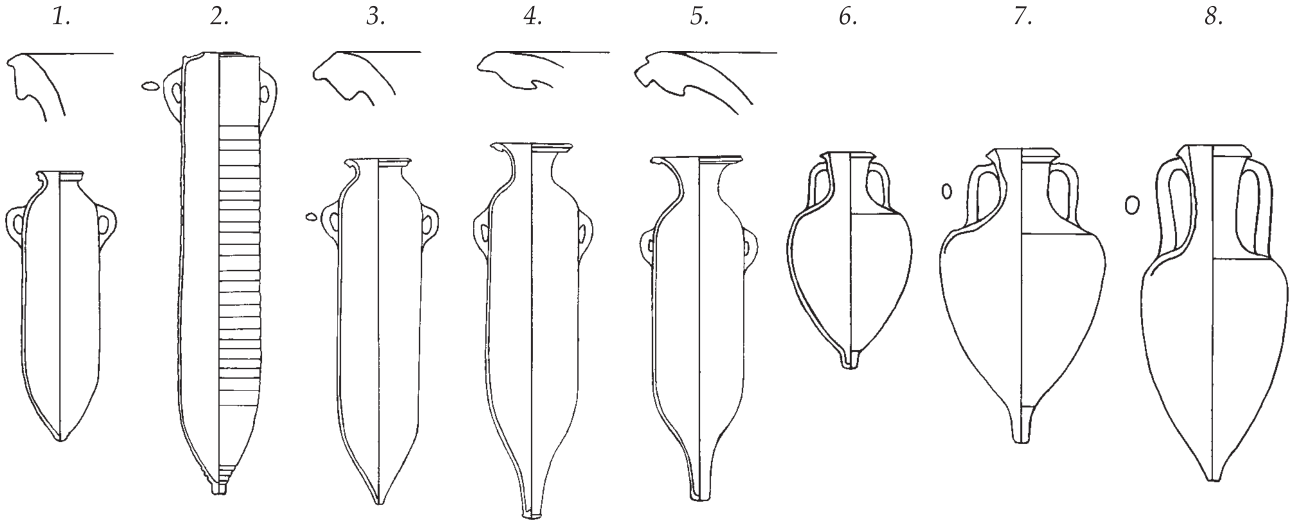
II.1.1. La fine del V-metà del III sec. a.C.

Lo studio delle anfore puniche rinvenute a **Segesta** ha dimostrato che contenitori commerciali di fabbrica nordafricana vi sono attestati non prima della fine del V sec. a.C. e, a quanto pare, anche solo sporadicamente in confronto al volume delle anfore puniche prodotte nella stessa Sicilia occidentale: dagli strati scavati a Porta di Valle (area 7000) e databili al IV sec. a.C. risultano 18 anfore puniche di fabbrica siciliana (tipi Ramón T-4.2.2.6. e Ramón-Greco T-4.2.2.7., *tav. I. 2-3*) contro soltanto 2 esemplari attribuiti all'area nordafricana (Ramón T-4.2.1.2., *tav. I, 7*) ed uno di ipotetica provenienza sarda (Ramón T-1.4.4.1.).[47] I contesti datati al primo terzo del III sec. a.C. contengono un totale di 61 frammenti di anfore puniche di cui 56, ovvero quasi il 92% sono relativi ai tipi siciliani Ramón T-7.1.2.1. e T-6.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4-5*). Dei 5 frammenti attribuiti al tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*), 3 sembrerebbero di fabbrica siciliana, un altro di origine nordafricana ed uno di importazione non identificata (forse nordafricana?).[48] L'incidenza di anfore provenienti dall'Africa settentrionale rispetto a tutti gli esemplari punici oscilla a Segesta quindi fra il 9.5% (IV sec. a.C.) e non più del 3% (primo terzo del III sec. a.C.).

L'ampia diffusione dei tipi siciliani Ramón T-4.2.2.6 (*tav. I, 2*) e Ramón/Greco T-4.2.2.7. (*tav. I, 3*) appare ancora più marcata negli insediamenti agricoli che incominciano a sorgere nella *chora* segestana soprattutto a partire dal principio del IV sec. a.C.:[49] qui le due forme rappresentano, infatti, gli unici tipi punici attestati per il IV sec. a.C.,[50] mentre mancano del tutto delle importazioni extra-regionali. Anche per lo scorcio di tempo compreso fra la fine del IV e la metà del III sec. a.C., caratterizzato dalla distribuzione a larga scala dei tipi siciliani Ramón T-7.1.2.1. e T-6.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4-5*), sono presenti esclusivamente questi contenitori punici di origine insulana.[51]

L'analisi dei corredi di alcune porzioni relative alla più antica necropoli punica di **Lilybaeum** ha dimostrato che le anfore puniche utilizzate nel corso della seconda metà del IV-primo quarto del III sec. a.C. appartengono quasi esclusivamente al tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*): risultano 16 reperti di probabile produzione locale/regionale contro 7 di ipotetica fabbrica cartaginese/nordafricana.[52] In più ricorrono: un'anfora di tipo Ramón T-7.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4*) di fabbrica siciliana, un frammento di fabbrica non identificata della forma Ramón T-4.1. 1.3 (*tav. I, 8*) e un'anfora frammentaria vagamente avvicinabile all'ambito del tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.10. di produzione nordafricana da una sepoltura databile alla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. Infine sono attestate 3 anfore puniche di tipo non identificato, ma tutte da tombe attribuite alla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., di cui 2 presentano impasti sardi, mentre una sembrerebbe di fabbrica nordafricana.[53] In questa fase della necropoli prevalgono quindi i contenitori di fabbrica locale/regionale (17, ovvero 60.7%), ma sono presenti almeno 9 anfore (32.1%) di sospetta provenienza nordafricana e 2 (7.1%) attribuite alla Sardegna punica.

Nell'entroterra, a ca. 15 km a Sud di Segesta, i recentissimi scavi americani nell'insediamento anonimo sul **Monte Polizzo** hanno individuato, insieme all'importantissima occupazione alto-arcaica di VII-VI sec. a.C., anche una seconda fase di frequentazione, limitata alla sola zona A, e cioè all'acropoli e databile fra l'ultimo quarto del V e la fine del IV/inizio del III sec. a.C. ca.[54] A questo momento di vita sul Monte Polizzo si attribuiscono anche 8 frammenti di anfore puniche:[55] sono presenti 2 esemplari di tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.1. (*tav. I, 6*) ed 1 della forma Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*), tutti certamente di fabbrica cartaginese, insieme a un'altra anfora Ramón T-4.2.1.5., un frammento di tipo Ramón-Greco T-4.2.2.7. (*tav. I, 3*) e 3 frammenti di tipo Ramón T-7.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4*), riferibili a tre diverse fabbriche siciliane. La rioccupazione della



Tav. II.
Anfore puniche di tipologia nordafricana della seconda metà del III-prima metà del II sec. a.C.
1: Ramón T-5.2.3.1. (da Ramón 1995, 528, 165, 173).
2: Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (da Ramón 1995, 535, fig. 172, 211).
3: Ramón T-7.3.1.1. (da Ramón 1995, 537, fig. 174, 227).
4: Ramón T-7.4.2.1. (da Ramón 1995, 538, fig. 175, 236).
5: Ramón T-7.4.3.1. (da Ramón 1995, 540, fig. 177, 250).

Anfore greco-italiche di probabile origine campana
6: MGS V (da Vandermersch 1994, 77).
7: MGS V (da Campagna 2000, 472 a).
8: anfora greco-italica recente (da Campagna 2000, 472 c).

sola acropoli del Monte Polizzo a partire dalla fine del V sec. a.C. viene riferita dagli scavatori a un posto di guardia cartaginese.[56] Questa ipotesi si concilia perfettamente con l'insolita, alta incidenza di anfore puniche di fabbrica cartaginese che rappresentano non meno del 37.5% del piccolo assemblaggio analizzato. 2 dei 3 esemplari di provenienza nordafricana appartengono indubbiamente alla fase più antica della fine del V-inizio del IV sec. a.C. (Ramón T-4.2.1.1.), mentre le anfore puniche più recenti, riferibili all'ultimo momento di vita fra la fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C., sono esclusivamente attribuibili a fabbriche siciliane.

Lo studio dettagliato delle anfore puniche provenienti dagli scavi nella 'zona A' di **Mozia** ha dimostrato che il 90% dei più di 1000 frammenti presi in esame appartiene al IV sec. a.C. '...con la presenza predominante di produzioni moziesi nei sei tipi individuati'.[57] L'analisi petrografica degli impasti di 47 reperti ha individuato due soli impasti di possibile origine nordafricana 'dall'area di Cartagine', gli impasti IV-V, riferibili ad uno dei pochi esemplari della forma Ramón T-1.4.4.1,[58] nonché ad un'anfora Ramón T-5.2.3.1.[59] Quantitativamente importante fra le anfore di importazione di V-IV sec. a.C. risulta invece la presenza di contenitori di produzione soluntina (40%),[60] mentre alla Betica è stato attribuito l'impasto II (tipi Ramón T-1.3.2.1., T-3.1.1.2., T-4.2.1.7.).[61] Ne consegue che le anfore puniche in uso nella Mozia del IV sec. a.C. (zona A) erano in gran parte di produzione locale, in associazione a contenitori soluntini prima della forma T-4.2.2.6. (*tav. I, 2*) e, verso la fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C., del tipo T-7.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4*). Nel contempo importazioni extra-insulari (dalla Spagna e dal Nordafrica?) erano estremamente rare, statisticamente trascurabili.

Le anfore puniche provenienti dagli scavi della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa sulla **Rocca di Entella** sono state discusse dettagliatamente da A. Corretti[62] che presenta 13 esemplari: di questi, una sola anfora di tipo Ramón T-11.2.1.2/3. (cat. 66, ancora di V sec. a.C.) è riferibile ad una fabbrica di importazione (dalla Spagna meridionale o dal Marocco), mentre tutti gli altri frammenti appartengono a tipologie e fabbriche siciliane di IV sec. a.C.[63] Infatti, attraverso l'analisi delle anfore puniche il Corretti stabilisce per Entella l'evidenza per '...contatti con empori dell'area punica di Sicilia, in particolare modo Solunto e Panormos (più che Mozia-Lilibeo)'.[64]

Il panorama anforico di un altro importante insediamento nella valle del Belice, ovvero di **Monte Iato**, rimane tuttora pressoché sconosciuto.[65] Utilizzo qui del materiale inedito, proveniente dagli scavi nel teatro.[66] Per il periodo qui considerato vengono presentati 3 frammenti delle forme Ramón T-1.4.5.1. di probabile fabbrica siciliana,[67] T-4.1.1.3. (*tav. I, 8*)[68] ed infine T-6.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 5*) di probabile fabbrica siciliana.[69] Un'anfora siciliana di età agatoclea della forma Ramón T-7.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4*) è stata pubblicata da H.P. Isler.[70] I labili dati a disposizione per il Monte Iato sembrerebbero indicare anche qui la circolazione preferenziale di contenitori commerciali punici di origine siciliana.

L'occorrenza delle anfore puniche di **Solunto** è ormai ben nota dai diversi contributi fondamentali di C. Greco[71] che in stretta collaborazione con R. Alaimo, G. Montana e I. Iliopoulos[72] sta portando avanti le indagini petrografiche dei gruppi di impasti individualizzati. Per il periodo preso in esame (V-III sec. a.C.), il 12%, ovvero 7 anfore, dev'essere attribuito a fabbriche operanti fuori dalla Sicilia punica: ricorrono 2 esemplari ritenuti di provenienza cartaginese (impasto E, tipi Ramón T-4.2.1.4. e T-4.2.1.5., *tav. I, 9*), altre 2 anfore assegnate più genericamente all'area nordafricana (impasto C, tipi Ramón T-1.3.2.1.[73] e T-7.6.1.1.[74]), un contenitore attribuito alla Sardegna meridionale-occidentale (impasto B, Ramón T-4.2.2.6., per la forma cfr. *tav. I, 2*) e 2 anfore puniche di ambito spagnolo (impasto A, Toscanos/Andalusia meridionale, Ramón T-1.4.5.1. ed impasto D, Ramón T-11. 2.1.3.). Nella necropoli soluntina di V-IV sec. a.C. anfore probabilmente provenienti dal Nordafrica costituiscono, quindi, all'incirca il 3%.

Lo spettro anforico dell'altra grande città punica della costa settentrionale, cioè di **Palermo**, è purtroppo tuttora noto in maniera soltanto embrionale. Per quanto riguarda l'attestazione delle anfore puniche, disponiamo della tipologia preliminare di G. Falsone. Per il periodo discusso risultano i tipi Ramón T-1.4.5.1. (*tav. I, 1*),[75] T-4.2.2.6. (*tav. I, 2*),[76] entrambi di fabbrica siciliana (palermitana?)[77] e T-4.1.1.3 (*tav. I, 8*) di importazione moziese.[78] Contrariamente alle datazioni proposte dal Falsone, la seriazione crono-tipologica soprattutto del materiale anforico proveniente dai recenti scavi a Solunto (si veda sopra), ha evidenziato che la forma T-1.4.5.1. appartiene ancora al V sec. a.C. (piuttosto alla seconda metà), mentre T-4.2.2.6. caratterizza, nell'ambito della Sicilia occidentale, i contesti di IV sec. a.C. (soprattutto della prima metà). Il tipo T-4.1.1.3., infine, si colloca fra l'ultimo terzo del V e l'inizio del IV sec. a.C. ca. A Palermo sono attestate anche le anfore più recenti all'interno della famiglia anforica sopra discussa, le T-7.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4*), che ricorrono sia nelle necropoli[79] che nell'abitato,[80] probabilmente in contesti della seconda metà/fine del IV sec. a.C. Nei dati editi per la Palermo punica non c'è, quindi, evidenza per la documentazione di anfore provenienti dall' Africa settentrionale, mentre sembrano dominare in maniera incontestata i contenitori commerciali prodotti sulla costa nord-occidentale dell'isola.

Un primo bilancio sul panorama anforico di **Himera** (seconda metà del VII-fine del V sec. a.C.) è stato pubblicato da S. Vassallo che propone dei dati preliminari relativi sostanzialmente ai ca. 500 esemplari rinvenuti nella necropoli di Pestavecchia.[81] Le anfore puniche equivalgono almeno al 10% dei contenitori commerciali rinvenuti nelle tombe e datano fra '...la fine del VII alla seconda metà del V sec. a.C., con un progressivo incremento dopo la metà del VI e nel V sec. a.C.'[82] Per quanto riguarda lo scorcio di tempo che qui ci interessa, cioè la fine del V sec. a.C. che corrisponde all'ultimo momento di vita di Himera prima della sua distruzione nel 409 a.C., il Vassallo segnala la presenza di anfore di tipo Ramón T-4.2.2.6. (*tav. I, 2*) di probabile fabbrica siciliana sia nella necropoli che nello strato di distruzione nell'abitato.[83] Sempre da un livello relativo alla conquista cartaginese della fine del V sec. a.C. proviene un'anfora Ramón T-4.1.1.2. di origine moziese[84] ed '...almeno due esemplari ...del tipo Ramón T-11.2.1.3., databili nel V sec. a.C.', fabbricati nell'area dello stretto di Gibilterra o anche in Marocco[85] sono stati rinvenuti ancora nella necropoli di Pestavecchia.[86] In sintesi, il repertorio delle anfore puniche di Himera si presenta ricco ed articolato, prevalendo chiaramente contenitori fabbricati nei centri punici della Sicilia settentrionale (Solunto e Palermo)[87], ma evidentemente anche a Mozia.[88] Sino dall'età arcaica, ma ancora nel V sec. a.C., sono inoltre presenti anfore importate dall'Andalusia (tipi Ramón 10.1.2.1. e T-11.2.1.3.), mentre sembrano finora assenti esemplari provenienti dall'Africa settentrionale!

Abbastanza mal conosciute rimangono ancora le anfore della **Selinunte** punica, cioè relative alla fase di rioccupazione della città nell'ultimo terzo o quarto del IV-prima metà del III sec. a.C., dopo diverse decadi di abbandono che seguono alla sua distruzione nel 409 a.C.[89] Le seguenti osservazioni si basano perciò esclusivamente sul materiale pubblicato da S. Helas e rinvenuto in quattro sondaggi effettuati in diversi punti sull'acropoli: vengono presentati 8 frammenti di anfore puniche di cui 3 oppure 4 di tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*),[90] uno di tipo Ramón T-4.1.1.3. (*tav. I, 8*),[91] uno di tipo Ramón T-1.4.5.1. (*tav. I, 1*),[92] uno riferibile ad un contenitore della famiglia anforica Ramón G-4.2 (T-4.2.2.1./4.2.1.6./4.2.1.4./4.2.1.1.)[93] ed un’ansa con bollo punico di tipo non identificato.[94] I 3-4 frammenti della forma T-4.2.1.5. e probabilmente anche l’ansa bollata appartengono certamente al periodo di vita della fine del IV-prima metà del III sec. a.C. Gli altri 3 esemplari datano quasi sicuramente nel periodo compreso fra l’ultimo terzo/quarto del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C.:[95] i frammenti delle forme T-4.1.1.3. e G-4.2. potrebbero essere di importazione nordafricana, mentre T-1.4.5.1. rappresenta molto probabilmente una fabbrica siciliana della costa nord-occidentale. Benché i dati attualmente disponibili siano ancora pochi, va tenuto conto di una possibile presenza di anfore nordafricane a Selinunte sullo scorcio fra V e IV sec. a.C. che corrisponde ad un breve periodo di vita dopo la distruzione del 409 a.C. e prima dell’abbandono dell’abitato fino alla sua rioccupazione verso l’ultimo quarto del IV sec. a.C.[96] Ricordo a proposito che proprio in questo momento sembra sorgere sul vicino Monte Polizzo un posto di guardia cartaginese, sul quale sono documentate alcune anfore quasi certamente originarie dalla metropoli nordafricana!

Va infine ricordato il carico anforico del **relitto di Porticello** (415-385 a.C.) rinvenuto nello Stretto di Messina, fra il quale risultano 9 anfore[97] di fabbrica cartaginese,[98] assimilabili al tipo Ramón T-4.2.1.1. (*tav. I, 6*),[99] ed altri 6 contenitori[100] di probabile origine maltese[101] della forma Ramón T-2.2.1.2.[102] C. Jones Eiseman ha formulato tre ipotesi di viaggio circa l’originaria rotta dell’imbarcazione.[103] A queste, che prevedevano una partenza da Bisanzio nell’Egeo, da Atene o da un grande porto non identificato del Mediterraneo occidentale, si aggiunge ora la ‘rotta siciliana’, da ‘Sud verso Nord’, proposta dal Paoletti: nell’analizzare soprattutto la natura dei bronzi frammentari, pertinenti a statue ridotte in spezzoni, l’autore ricollega la provenienza di questa merce - forse addirittura il carico principale e più importante della nave - agli episodi bellici che colpirono alcune città siciliane alla fine del V sec. a.C.:[104] ‘Le statue di bronzo provengono probabilmente da una delle città che i Punici conquistarono a partire dal 409 a.C. e fino al 406 a.C....furono acquistati come metallo di eccellente qualità destinato ad una fonderia...forse negli anni immediatamente successivi al trattato del 405-404 a.C.’[105]

Davanti all’ottica dell’accertata presenza di anfore di origine cartaginese fra il carico della nave di Porticello, il collegamento storico con gli attacchi cartaginesi contro le colonie greche di Himera, Selinunte, Gela ed Agrigento risulta ovviamente di estremo interesse. Infatti, dal *dossier* dell’attestazione di contenitori commerciali di origine nordafricana nella Sicilia occidentale della fine del V-inizio del IV sec. a.C. emerge chiaramente la loro documentazione molto sporadica, con attestazioni a Segesta, Mozia e Solunto. Eccezione fa soltanto il Monte Polizzo per il quale, per il periodo in questione, si ipotizza una presenza fisica di cartaginesi! La ‘rotta siciliana’ e la connessione storica con gli attacchi cartaginesi della fine del V sec. a.C. sembrano quindi conciliarsi molto bene con la straordinaria presenza di anfore provenienti dalla stessa Cartagine.

Dal rapido riesame del panorama delle anfore puniche attestate nella Sicilia occidentale fra la fine del V e la fine del IV-prima metà del III sec. a.C. emergono sostanzialmente i seguenti dati:

1) su tutti i siti prevalgono molto chiaramente anfore puniche di fabbrica siciliana che sembrano costituire 80%-100% ca. dell’assemblaggio analizzato.
2) le forme Ramón T-1.4.5.1. (*tav. I, 1*), T-4.2.2.6 (*tav. I, 2*), Ramón-Greco T-4.2.2.7. (*tav. I, 3*) ed infine T-7.1.2.1./T-6.1.2.1. (*tav. I, 4-5*) dominano nelle città puniche della costa settentrionale (Panormos, Solunto), ma evidentemente anche su alcuni siti interni del territorio elimo (Segesta, Monte Iato ed Entella). A Mozia prevalgono soprattutto anfore dei tipi Ramón T-4.2.1.7. e T-4.2.2.1./4.1.1.2./4.2.1.4., mentre a Lilybaeum, ma anche a Selinunte sembra soprattutto attestata la forma T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*) di fabbrica lilibetana (?) oppure nordafricana.
3) anfore puniche di ipotetica fabbrica cartaginese/nordafricana vengono segnalate soltanto eccezionalmente (Segesta 10% ca., Mozia e Selinunte eccezionale, Entella, Himera, Palermo assenti, Solunto 3%). Sono presenti i tipi Ramón T-4.2.1.2., T-4.2.1.5. (Segesta, *tav. I, 7, 9*), T-1.4.4.1. (Mozia), T-4.2.1.4., T-4.2.1.5. (Solunto, *tav. I, 9*), T-4.1.1.3. (*tav. I, 8*), G-4.2 (Selinunte).
4) eccezioni costituiscono la necropoli punica di Lilybaeum (fasi Ia-c, cioè seconda metà del IV-primo quarto del III sec. a.C.) e l’ipotetica postazione cartaginese sull’acropoli del Monte Polizzo (fase iniziale della fine del V-primo terzo del IV sec. a.C. ca.) dove anfore nordafricane costituiscono fra il 32%-38%, nonché la nave di Porticello (415-385 a.C.) e forse anche la Selinunte punica sullo scorcio fra V-IV sec. a.C. Le anfore di ipotetica origine nordafricana attestate negli ultimi tre siti potrebbero essere messe in relazione con le operazioni belliche portate avanti da Cartagine nell’ultimo decennio del V sec. a.C.[106] L’evidenza lilibetana, invece, riflette il continuo e stretto rapporto con la metropoli nordafricana, emerso già dallo studio delle

sepolture della necropoli punica (fasi Ia-c).[107] Nei siti della Sicilia occidentale della fine del V-IV sec. a.C. anfore di fabbrica nordafricana sono quindi (molto) rare,[108] compresa la stessa Mozia. Anomalie costituiscono unicamente la necropoli di Lilybaeum, l'ipotetica roccaforte cartaginese sul Monte Polizzo, forse Selinunte ed il relitto di Porticello. In via di ipotesi si potrebbe quindi formulare che la documentazione di anfore di origine cartaginese/nordafricana sembra suggerire uno stretto rapporto del corrispettivo sito con Cartagine stessa (nel caso di Lilybaeum),[109] oppure, addirittura, la presenza sul posto di Cartaginesi (da assumere per Lilybaeum, ma verosimilmente anche per il Monte Polizzo, cfr. *supra*).

L'attestazione di contenitori commerciali punici nei siti della costa nord-occidentale, ma anche dell'interno (Segesta, Monte Iato, Entella) comprende quasi esclusivamente forme prodotte dai centri punici della Sicilia settentrionale: si tratta dei tipi Ramón T-1.4.5.1, T-4.2.2.6., Ramón-Greco T-4.2.2.7. ed infine, fra la fine del IV ed il principio del III sec. a.C., Ramón T-7.1.2.1./T-6.1.2.1. che costituiscono tappe successive all'interno dell'evoluzione di un'unica famiglia anforica.[110]

Su pressoché tutti i siti presi in esame, questi materiali vengono accompagnati da un numero di monete puniche in bronzo di zecca siciliana[111] che insieme al sempre crescente numero di anfore puniche[112] sembrano testimoniare l'importanza economica di alcuni centri punici siciliani (forse piuttosto Palermo e Solunto)[113] durante il IV sec. a.C. e, a quanto pare, soprattutto fra la fine del IV ed il primo terzo del III sec. a.C.

Stando alla documentazione archeologica attualmente a disposizione per lo scorcio di tempo compreso fra la fine del V e la metà del III sec. a.C., nei siti della Sicilia occidentale la presenza di materiali provenienti da Cartagine è decisamente esigua. I contenitori commerciali attestati negli strati di questo periodo sono in gran parte prodotti in ambito regionale (anfore greche di produzione occidentale dei tipi MGS II e III ed anfore puniche di fabbrica siciliana). La ceramica a vernice nera viene per la maggior parte fabbricata nella stessa Sicilia occidentale, anche se una percentuale significativa del vasellame fine da mensa proviene ancora dall'Attica[114] e, per quanto riguarda la ceramica figurata, dalla Campania (cfr. *infra*) oppure dalla Sicilia centro-orientale.[115]

II.1.2. La metà del III-II sec. a.C.

Tale evidenza sembra cambiare gradualmente solo a partire dalla fine della prima, ma soprattutto in seguito alla seconda guerra punica. Per la Sicilia occidentale la seconda metà del III sec. a.C. rappresenta tuttora un periodo estremamente problematico per quanto riguarda la seriazione dei repertori ceramici attestati. Il motivo è duplice: in seguito alle travagliate vicende storiche legate alla prima guerra punica le città risultano visibilmente impoverite e l'archeologo non trova, quindi, evidenza per importanti attività antropiche che avessero lasciato molta traccia materiale. Allo stesso momento, ma sempre come diretta conseguenza della mutata situazione economica, il repertorio formale di molte classi ceramiche appare estremamente ridotto, impoverito e spesso difficilmente scindibile da quello in uso durante la prima metà del secolo.[116] Alla ricerca di anfore commerciali provenienti dall'Africa settentrionale nel periodo, grosso modo, compreso fra la prima e l'ultima guerra punica, ho focalizzato la mia attenzione su alcuni tipi per i quali un'origine nordafricana/cartaginese appare ormai accertata: mi riferisco alle forme Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (*tav. II, 2*),[117] T-5.2.3.1. (*tav. II, 1*)[118] ed infine T-7.4.2.1./3.1. (*tav. II, 3-4*).[119] Tuttavia, per il momento disponiamo soltanto di singoli esempi per l'arrivo di questi contenitori di fabbrica nordafricana nella Sicilia occidentale.

Dalla necropoli di **Lilybaeum** proviene un'anfora Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (*tav. II, 2*) di presunta fabbrica nordafricana che nel frattempo rappresenta l'unica anfora commerciale attestata per il periodo II (250-200 a.C.).[120] Per il periodo successivo IIIa (200-150 a.C.) è documentata un'anfora Ramón T-7.4.3.1. (*tav. II, 4*) di ipotetica fabbrica cartaginese,[121] ma il tipo sembra abbastanza ben attestato anche in altre porzioni della necropoli e nello stagnone di Mozia.[122] Nella zona A di **Mozia**, un'anfora di tipo Ramón T-5.2.3.1. (*tav. II, 1*) corrisponde all'impasto IV delle analisi archeometriche di ipotetica importazione cartaginese.[123]

Sia ad **Entella**[124] che nella sua chora[125] si trovano anfore nordafricane di tipo Ramón T-7.4.3.1. (*tav. II, 5*) e la medesima forma è documentata probabilmente anche sulle isole minori di **Pantelleria**[126] e **Ustica**.[127]

Come a Lilybaeum, così anche nella necropoli di **Solunto** ricorrono in contesti funerari databili alla seconda metà del III-inizio del II sec. a.C. contenitori di tipo Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (*tav. II, 2*), qui di probabile produzione locale.[128] Dallo stesso sepolcreto proviene inoltre un'anfora di tipo Ramón T-7.6.1.1. di II-I sec. a.C. (impasto C) che viene genericamente attribuita all'Africa settentrionale.[129]

Sul Monte Pellegrino a **Palermo**[130] e sul **Monte Iato**[131] sono stati raccolti frammenti riferibili ad anfore Ramón T-5.2.3.1. (*tav. II, 1*).

A **Segesta** (Porta di Valle/area 7000)[132] troviamo nel periodo compreso fra le prime due guerre puniche il tipo Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (*tav. II, 2*), attestato con 3 esemplari di cui 2 di ipotetica fabbrica nordafricana. Leggermente più recente, della fine del III-prima metà del II sec. a.C., è il tipo Ramón T-7.3.1.1. (*tav. II, 3*), anch'esso documentato con 3 frammenti attribuiti a officine cartaginesi.[133] Grosso modo contemporanea è la forma T-5.2.3.1. (*tav. II, 1*), qui rappresentata con 4 esemplari di impasto nordafricano. Altri 2 frammenti del medesimo tipo sono stati raccolti in diversi siti della chora segestana.[134] Nella prima metà del II sec. a.C., infine, risulta attestata la forma Ramón T-7.4.2.1./3.1. (*tav. II, 4-5*, qui 2 esemplari di provenienza nordafricana), ben documentata anche nell'abitato ellenistico-romano dell'area 5000.[135]

Per lo meno Segesta[136] riceve quindi a partire dalla seconda metà (avanzata) del III sec. a.C., ma soprattutto in seguito alla seconda guerra punica un certo numero di anfore di produzione nordafricana/cartaginese che contraddistinguono la rinnovata forza economica della metropoli punica che poi determinerà, come ultima conseguenza, la sua distruzione nel 146.[137] La carta di distribuzione dei tipi punici presenti a Segesta (seconda metà del III-II sec. a.C.) evidenzia come le forme Ramón T-7.2.1.1., T-7.3.1.1., T-5.2.3.1. e T-7.4.2.1./3.1. (*tav. II, 1-5*) siano diffuse abbastanza capillarmente un po' dappertutto nella Sicilia occidentale,[138] anche se finora non è assolutamente possibile quantificare questa presenza.

In ogni caso nasce l'impressione che, a confronto del più antico periodo preellenistico analizzato sopra (§ II.1.1.), nella Sicilia occidentale la produzione anforica della Cartagine della seconda metà del III-prima metà del II sec. a.C. sia ben più percepibile. Nel contempo sembrano estremamente ridotte, se non quasi estinte le serie fabbricate dalle città siciliane con popolazione punica.[139] Cartagine sembra quindi per lo meno in parte riempire il vuoto creatosi nell'approvvigionamento alimentare della Sicilia occidentale in seguito alla prima guerra punica ed al progressivo istaurarsi della presenza militare/amministrativa romana a partire dall'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C.

II.1.3. Ceramia punica a vernice nera[140] della seconda metà del III-prima metà del II sec. a.C.

Un minuscolo, ma tuttavia significativo numero di materiale a vernice nera di ipotetica fabbrica 'punica' sembrerebbe accompagnare il flusso di anfore nordafricane posteriore alla fine della prima guerra punica: mi riferisco ad un piccolo assemblaggio di 5 gutti a forma di piede calzato, tutti verosimilmente di importazione e documentati nel palermitano, nella necropoli di Caltavuturo sul Monte Riparato,[141] nell'abitato di Segesta[142] e nel sepolcreto punico-romano di Lilybaeum.[143] Per lo meno il vaso rinvenuto nella Tomba 148 della Via de Gaspari a Marsala proviene da un contesto dell'inizio del II sec. a.C., l'esemplare dall'area 5000 di Segesta sarà quasi certamente relativo alla fase insediativa di II/inizio del I sec. a.C. delle strutture abitative individuate nel SAS 5.

II.2 Ceramiche campane

La Sicilia occidentale di età proto-ellenistica ed ellenistica riceve sostanzialmente due classi ceramiche di origine campana,[144] cioè le ceramiche fini, figurate o a semplice vernice nera, e le anfore commerciali. È tuttavia necessario sottolinare che purtroppo l'identificazione di possibili fabbriche campane fra i materiali ceramici rinvenuti negli scavi si presenti ancora in uno stato estremamente embrionale. L'unica eccezione costituisce la classe della campana A, abbastanza facile da individuare ad occhio nudo, che ormai appare ben attestata su un buon numero di siti della Sicilia occidentale.[145]

Per la ceramica figurata di IV sec. a.C. disponiamo, per lo meno per il mondo elimo, dei preziosi lavori di M. De Cesare.[146] L'attestazione quantitativa e qualitativa delle fabbriche a vernice nera di età ellenistica è stata esaminata finora per i siti di Segesta,[147] Monte Iato[148] e Lilybaeum.[149] La possibile documentazione di anfore campane nella Sicilia occidentale, invece, non è stata ancora esaminata in dettaglio.

II.2.1 Le ceramiche fini: IV-metà del III sec. a.C.

Vediamo prima il quadro distributivo delle ceramiche campane giunte nella Sicilia occidentale in un momento precedente all'arrivo della campana A antica con la fine della seconda guerra punica:[150] soprattutto nei centri elimi di **Entella** e **Segesta**, ma forse anche sul **Monte Iato**[151] sono documentati, grosso modo a partire dal secondo quarto del IV sec. a.C. ca., dei 'prodotti campani o di tradizione iconografica o stilistica liparota-campana', distribuiti verosimilmente attraverso lo scalo mercantile di Lipari e/o dei centri punici e punicizzati della Sicilia settentrionale, in stretto contatto con il basso tirreno.[152] Si tratta, comunque, di piccole quantità di vasi acquistati per il loro valore intrinseco oppure, più precisamente, per la specifica rappresentazione iconografica sul pezzo stesso.

Dopo questo lotto più antico di materiale figurato, arrivato nei decenni intorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C., troviamo un secondo gruppo di oggetti di ipotetica provenienza campana in depositi archeologici della fine del IV e del primo quarto/trentennio del III sec. a.C.[153] Si tratta di coppe, coppette o anche piatti a semplice vernice nera, ancora molto genericamente attribuibili a quelle produzioni campane della prima età ellenistica, altrove anche definite campana A 'primitiva' e 'arcaica', ispirate fondamentalmente alla ceramica attica di IV sec. a.C.[154] Frammenti attribuibili a queste classi, tuttora mal conosciute attraverso le pubblicazioni, sono stati identificati finora soltanto molto raramente fuori dall'area campana con attestazioni da un lato a Cartagine (§ I.1) e dall'altro nella sfera d'influenza massaliota.[155]

Per l'ambito della Sicilia occidentale si possono ora segnalare 3 vasi rinvenuti in tre sepolture della necropoli punica di **Lilybaeum**, databili a cavallo fra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III sec. a.C.[156] Altre 2 coppe provengono da una tomba datata negli anni 270-260 a.C. circa.[157] Rispettivamente in due sepolture della fine del IV[158] e del primo quarto del III sec. a.C.[159] sono stati identificati inoltre 2 vasi frammentari attribuiti alla classe della Calena preromana.[160] Nelle fasi Ic/d (primo e secondo quarto del III sec. a.C.) del sepolcreto lilibetano, queste prime importazioni campane equivalgono a non meno dell'11% ca. dei 59 esemplari a vernice nera restituiti dalle tombe datate fra il 300-250 a.C.[161]

Anche nell'abitato di **Segesta** (area 7000) la più antica documentazione di ceramica a vernice nera attribuibile all'area laziale/campana si colloca nel primo quarto del III sec. a.C.[162] Nuovi dati forniscono inoltre gli scavi nella necropoli dell'area 15000, frequentata fra il principio del III-inizio del II sec. a.C., dove in una tomba attribuita al più antico periodo I (300-275 a.C. ca.) è documentata una piccola coppa Morel F. 2787 di ipotetica provenienza campano-laziale.[163] Rispetto all'ingente quantità di vasellame di fabbrica locale ovunque attestato a Segesta, sia nella necropoli che nell'abitato, questo piccolo assemblaggio di importazione centro-italica costituisce indubbiamente solo una percentuale del tutto irrelevante del materiale, ma indica, tuttavia, una presenza pressoché costante di ceramiche provenienti dal basso Tirreno nei contesti della prima metà del III sec. a.C.

Dai recentissimi scavi americani sull'acropoli del **Monte Polizzo** proviene un frammento di coppa del tipo attico 'incurving rim', ugualmente attribuito alla cerchia di produzioni campane della prima età ellenistica.[164] Per **Entella**, infine, 'risulta ancora difficoltoso documentare il fenomeno...della presenza delle prime produzioni campano-laziali, ovvero dell'arrivo di "Campana A arcaica" e di prodotti dell'atelier des petites estampilles...'[165]

Dai pochi dati attualmente a disposizione sembra quindi emergere per alcuni siti della Sicilia occidentale una costante, ma quantitativamente molto modesta presenza di forme aperte di fabbrica campana in depositi archeologici databili fra il 310-270 a.C. circa che si confronta bene con la situazione riscontrata nei coevi strati cartaginesi (§ I.1). È interessante sottolineare la contemporanea documentazione di un buon numero di tipi monetali campani e sannitici che insieme a monete coniate in altre parti dell'Italia meridionale ed in Egitto costituiscono una minima, ma costante parte del repertorio numismatico attestato negli insediamenti siciliani tra il 350/340-250/240 a.C.[166] Per la Campania ed il Sannio si ricordano in particolare monete da Aesernia, Cales, Compulteria, Neapolis, Nola, Suessa Aurunca e Teanum Sidicinum (tutte 275-250 a.C. oppure 270-240 a.C.).[167]

II.2.2. La seconda metà del III sec. a.C.

Per le decadi immediatamente successive alla fine della prima guerra punica la documentazione archeologica risulta tuttora estremamente povera (cfr. § II.1.2.). Proprio per questo motivo, per quanto riguarda l'attestazione di ceramiche fini campane, è estremamente emblematico il fatto che nelle porzioni di necropoli di **Lilybaeum** da me studiate nel periodo II (250-200 a.C.) la campana A 'arcaica' rappresenti l'unica fabbrica a vernice nera di importazione extra-regionale.[168]

Pure a **Segesta** (area 7000) prodotti fabbricati nel centro d'Italia continuano ad arrivare probabilmente anche dopo la metà del III sec. a.C.[169] Nella necropoli dell'area 15000 una coppetta Morel F. 2765 compare in una sepoltura databile attorno alla metà del III sec. a.C.[170] e da un contesto certamente databile già alla seconda metà avanzata del III sec. a.C. proviene una sorta di coppa skyphoide con anse a doppio bastoncello annodato, probabilmente vicino a Morel F. 3131.[171]

Nella Sicilia occidentale la circolazione di prodotti provenienti dall'area campana continua quindi evidentemente nel 'periodo di crisi' (cfr. § II. 1.2.), ovvero nel corso della seconda metà del III sec. a.C., anche se probabilmente a scala ancora più ridotta.

II.3. Le anfore commerciali

Veniamo allora alle anfore commerciali, per le quali, come si diceva sopra, le pubblicazioni forniscono ancora meno informazioni, in quanto soltanto molto raramente sono stati riconosciuti degli impasti di origine centro-italica.[172] Proprio per la generale rarità di dati disponibili, comprenderò nella seguente rassegna anche le anfore dei depositi archeologici databili al II sec. a.C., in quanto ci interessa sapere se la circolazione intensificata di ceramica a vernice nera della classe campana A venga accompagnata, allo stesso tempo, da un incremento dell'importazione di anfore vinarie cosiddette greco-italiche recenti (*tav. II, 8*) di origine italica come accade in molte altre parti del Mediterraneo centro-occidentale.[173]

II.3.1. La fine del V-metà del III sec. a.C.

Nella Sicilia occidentale lo scorcio di tempo compreso fra IV-III sec. a.C. è tipologicamente caratterizzato dall'occorrenza di quella gamma di anfore di produzione occidentale recentemente discussa da Corretti a proposito del materiale rinvenuto nell'area 3000 sulla Rocca di Entella.[174] Per il IV sec. a.C. il Corretti distingue fra i tipi 'con collo rigonfio e orlo a mandorla'[175]/Gassner Randform 6[176] (dalla fine del VI/inizi del V a tutto il IV sec. a.C.), 'con orlo con la massima larghezza verso l'alto e faccia superiore poco inclinata verso l'esterno'/MGS III (fine del V-IV sec. a.C.),[177] nonché con orlo a 'un quarto di cerchio'/MGS IV (seconda metà del IV-primi decenni III sec. a.C.).[178] Sullo scorcio fra il IV e il III sec. a.C. si incontrano infine le più antiche anfore cosiddette greco-italiche/MGS V (tav. II, 6-7).[179] Per quanto riguarda gli ipotetici luoghi di produzione, le anfore con orlo a mandorla vengono generalmente attribuite all'Italia meridionale,[180] mentre per le MGS III emergono come centri produttivi 'plusieurs ateliers, situés dans des zones grecques et gréco-italiques de Lucanie ionienne (Thourioi) et du Bruttium méridional (Lokroi, Medma et Hipponion). La zone économique constituée par Lokroi et ses sub-colonies tyrrhéniennes semble particulièrement concernée par la production de ces conteneurs.'[181] La forma fu prodotta, tuttavia, anche in Sicilia, nell'entroterra di Licata, forse a Solunto e l'area della Sicilia nordorientale,[182] nonché a Ischia.[183] Le anfore con orlo a un quarto di cerchio/MGS IV sembrano ugualmente provenire dall'Italia del Sud e/o dalla Sicilia,[184] mentre per le anfore greco-italiche antiche molti indizi puntano '...essentiellement vers la Campanie et, plus précisément, le golfe de Naples. Ce secteur est considéré comme le principal lieu de production des gréco-italiques du III s.'[185] Appare ormai accertato però che anfore della forma MGS V, caratteristiche di depositi archeologici della prima metà/metà del III sec. a.C., venivano prodotte anche in altre località della Magna Grecia,[186] della stessa Sicilia occidentale,[187] ma anche nell'area adriatica.[188]

Alla ricerca di possibili contenitori di origine campana in contesti di scavo databili fra IV-metà del III sec. a.C., dobbiamo quindi focalizzare la nostra attenzione soprattutto sulle anfore di tipo MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*), mentre le forme documentate nel corso del IV sec. a.C. sembrerebbero provenire piuttosto dalla costa sud-orientale dell'Italia meridionale o dalla stessa Sicilia.

Ora, i repertori di anfore della prima età ellenistica sono noti, per il momento, soltanto per i due insediamenti elimi di Segesta ed Entella, nonché in parte per la necropoli punica di Lilybaeum. Per cominciare con **Entella**, le acute osservazioni del Corretti, abbinate alle analisi minero-petrografiche di C. Capelli, non sembrano aver isolato, fra il materiale rinvenuto nel granaio ellenistico (SAS 3), delle anfore attribuibili all'area campana.[189] Tipologicamente verrebbero in questione le 4 anfore di tipo greco-italico provenienti '...da strati superficiali o dal riempimento della cava di gesso', considerati di importazione, ma a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica degli impasti probabilmente non originari dall'area campana.[190] Con molta cautela, soprattutto per i pochi dati finora pubblicati, si può allora constatare che per l'Entella della prima età ellenistica non c'è evidenza per l'arrivo di contenitori commerciali dalle zone produttive del basso tirreno.

Per **Segesta** disponiamo ora dell'abbondante materiale stratigrafico rinvenuto a Porta di Valle (area 7000) che comprende anche numerosi frammenti relativi ai tipi anforici di produzione occidentale recentemente classificati dal Corretti (vedi *supra*), nonché 200 esemplari di anfore greco-italiche che nel contempo costituiscono più della metà del materiale preso in esame.[191] Mentre la classe 'con orlo a mandorla' sembra presentare impasti simili a quelli individuati ad Entella e ricollegati all'Italia meridionale (cfr. *supra*), fra gli esemplari di tipo con orlo 'ad un quarto di cerchio/MGS IV' vengono menzionati almeno 3 frammenti caratterizzati da 'impasti vulcanici'.[192] Altri 'impasti vulcanici' ricorrono fra l'enorme masse di anfore greco-italiche che dalla Polizzi sono state classificate seguendo la tipologia della Will. Alla più antica forma A (*tav. II, 6-7*) vengono attribuiti 2 frammenti rinvenuti rispettivamente in un deposito datato fra il 280-250 a.C.[193] ed in un contesto della fine del II-prima metà del I sec. a.C.[194] La compresenza di 3 anse di anfore greco-italiche con i bolli Τϱε e Φιλιπου fra il materiale studiato da B. Garozzo potrebbe ugualmente indicare delle importazioni campane.[195] Nell'area 7000 contenitori commerciali provenienti dall'area centro-italica sembrano quindi ancora assai rari negli strati della prima metà del III sec. a.C.

Ulteriori informazioni che puntano nella stessa direzione, provengono dai dati emersi dagli scavi nel sepolcreto dell'area 15000, frequentato per tutto il III e fino al principio del II sec. a.C.: qui le anfore greco-italiche pertinenti ai corredi delle più antiche tombe della prima metà del III sec. a.C. (periodi I-II) sembrano di fabbrica siciliana, probabilmente attribuibile ad ambito regionale, se non locale.[196]

Le porzioni di necropoli da me analizzate dimostrano per il sepolcreto punico-romano di **Lilybaeum** la presenza, nei corredi delle fasi Ib-c (325-275 a.C.), di anfore dei tipi MGS II, III e IV e MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*) di probabile produzione siceliota (soprattutto nel caso delle MGS III e V) o magno-greca.[197]

Per l'isola di **Lipari**,[198] infine, disponiamo del fondamentale contributo del Campagna sul materiale anforico rinvenuto nella necropoli in Contrada Portinenti.[199] Le anfore con 'orlo a mandorla' vengono attribuite all'area locrese,[200] mentre per il numeroso gruppo delle MGS III viene proposta una provenienza da centri della costa settentrionale della Sicilia.[201] Sorvolando il solo piccolo nucleo delle anfore MGS IV di provenienza ancora ignota,[202] L. Campagna constata per le 15 anfore di tipo greco-italico antico/MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*) che '... la maggioranza degli esemplari di questo tipo presenta caratteristiche tecniche che ad un'analisi macroscopica appaiono assolutamente analoghe ... verosimile ... l'ipotesi che essi provengono da un'unica area di produzione; la presenza di prevalenti inclusi scuri, in parte abbastanza chiaramente di natura vulcanica, sembra inoltre assimilare l'impasto F1 a quello di esemplari da altri siti tirrenici.'[203] Il Campagna osserva, infine, un'analogia di impasto tra le anfore MGS V della necropoli e le anfore rinvenute in alcuni relitti eoliani (Roghi 1 e Capo Graziano B, Secca di Capistello).[204] Secondo Olcese 'la somiglianza con le anfore di Ischia dello stesso tipo è notevole.'[205] 'Ulteriori accertamenti di carattere morfologico, macroscopico, epigrafico e analitico già programmati dovrebbero poter stabilire in modo definitivo se le anfore greco-italiche della necropoli di Portinenti (Lipari), quelle del relitto Filicudi F e della Secca di Capistello siano di origine campana.'[206]

II.3.2. La metà del III-II sec. a.C.

Per quanto riguarda il periodo compreso fra la seconda e la terza guerra punica, va esaminata l'occorrenza delle anfore MGS VI[207] e delle cosiddette greco-italiche recenti (*tav. II, 8*). Ad **Entella** la situazione sembrerebbe cambiata con il II sec. a.C., visto che le poche anfore greco-italiche recenti finora pubblicate per la Rocca sono apparentemente caratterizzate da impasti vulcanici.[208]

A **Segesta** (area 7000) 3 frammenti vengono attribuiti alle più recenti forme E e D della Will (*tav. II, 8*),[209] altre 5 anfore, ritenute delle 'varianti' di II sec. a.C., provengono da depositi databili fra la fine del II a.C. e la prima età imperiale.[210] Il numero delle greco-italiche recenti sembra quindi notevolmente aumentato nei depositi di II sec. a.C., dove questa classe sembra costituire, a giudicare dal materiale selezionato dalla Polizzi, una porzione molto rilevante del totale dei frammenti anforici analizzati.[211] Importanti informazioni forniscono anche i rinvenimenti nel sepolcreto dell'area 15000 dove le anfore greco-italiche di probabile importazione dall'area vesuviana compaiono solo nel periodo III, cioè dopo la metà e soprattutto verso la fine del III-inizio del II sec. a.C.[212] Infine, la presenza - a quanto pare - frequente di anfore greco-italiche di origine tirrenica di II sec. a.C. viene ora segnalata anche per l'area 4000 (lato meridionale dell'agora).[213]

Nella necropoli di **Lilybaeum** ad un vuoto nella documentazione anforica disponibile per la fase Id (275-250) ed il periodo II (250-200 a.C.) segue poi la comparsa, all'interno di due contesti tombali disturbati, di 2 frammenti di anfore greco-italiche recenti (*tav. II, 8*), caratterizzati da impasti vulcanici probabilmente ascrivibili all'area vesuviana, che si confrontano con esemplari databili all'inizio/prima metà del II sec. a.C.[214]

A **Lipari**, infine, lo stesso impasto F1 di ipotetica fabbrica tirrenica (cfr. supra) si ritrova in uno dei soltanto 2 esemplari di anfore greco-italiche recenti (*tav. II, 8*) di II sec. a.C.[215]

II.4 Osservazioni conclusive sull'attestazione di ceramiche nordafricane/cartaginesi e campane nella Sicilia occidentale fra IV-II sec. a.C.

A giudicare dalle acute analisi di Campagna e Olcese, per Lipari sembra emergere una differenza sostanziale in confronto al panorama anforico riprodotto dai siti della Sicilia occidentale qui presi in esame: la seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. è da entrambe le parti caratterizzata dalla costante presenza di contenitori con orlo a mandorla/ Gassner Randform 6 di ipotetica origine locrese, ma soprattutto dalla massiccia diffusione di anfore MGS III, prodotte verosimilmente in diversi centri della stessa Sicilia. Per la prima metà del III sec. a.C., invece, constatiamo dappertutto l'ampia documentazione delle greco-italiche antiche/MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*) che nel caso di Lipari sembrano, però, arrivate dall'area tirrenica, mentre nella Sicilia occidentale saranno per la maggior parte ancora di fabbrica regionale.[216]

Da questa osservazione potrebbe scaturire l'ipotesi che i traffici commerciali moventi dall'area campana a partire dalla fine del IV-inizio del III sec.,[217] di cui parlano apparentemente anche i carichi dei relitti 'Secca di Capistello', 'Roghi di Panarea', 'Capo Graziano B' e 'Filicudi F', arrivassero fino a Lipari che però forse non rappresentò la destinazione finale di queste navi.[218]

I circuiti commerciali indicati dall'attestazione anforica nei siti della Sicilia occidentale inducono invece a pensare ad una forte egemonia regionale. Sembra che le città dell'area soggetta all'eparchia cartaginese riuscissero a soddisfare le richieste dei mercati con i propri prodotti, lasciando poco spazio all'importazione del vino campano.

Ora, anche dall'analisi degli schemi distributivi delle anfore di tipo punico era sostanzialmente emersa l'idea che fino al 241 a.C. il potere economico delle città siciliane, sia puniche che greche, avesse reso difficile a Cartagine la commercializzazione ad ampio raggio dei propri prodotti (ad eccezione della colonia di Lilybaeum).

Una lettura d'insieme dei dati relativi a tutte le anfore commerciali attestate sui siti della Sicilia occidentale fra IV-III sec. a.C. permette allora di ipotizzare che le travagliate vicende della prima guerra punica ('guerra della Sicilia') abbiano indebolito l'equilibrio economico delle città siciliane a tal punto da non poter più affrontare con successo la concorrenza extra-regionale, campano-laziale da un lato e cartaginese dall'altro. Sembra, infatti, che proprio a partire dalla seconda metà del III sec. a.C. anfore cartaginesi e contenitori fabbricati nell'area del basso tirreno ('impasti vulcanici') prendano il posto delle produzioni cessate, o quanto meno fortemente ridotte, delle numerosissime officine operanti in ambito regionale. Nel contempo continuano ad arrivare vasi a vernice nera di origine campanolaziale che per lo meno a Segesta e nella necropoli di Lilybaeum costituiscono gli unici materiali d'importazione in contesti databili alla seconda metà del III sec. a.C.![219]

Nei depositi archeologici della Sicilia occidentale di II sec. a.C. si rinvengono poi quantità importanti di anfore sia nordafricane che campane, costantemente associate a vasi a vernice nera della classe campana A: chiaro indizio delle attività commerciali dei *negotiatores italici*, fortemente incrementate in seguito alla fine della seconda guerra punica.

In conclusione e per quanto riguarda l'attestazione di ceramiche di produzione campana e nordafricana/cartaginese, per l'ambito della Sicila occidentale si possono enucleare sostanzialmente quattro periodi cronologici diversi:

1) il IV sec. a.C. è caratterizzato dall'arrivo di modeste quantità di ceramica figurata campana nelle decadi intorno alla metà del secolo. Molto sporadicamente sono documentate anche delle anfore di origine nordafricana (sostanzialmente tipi Ramón G-4.2. e i più antichi esempi per la forma T-4.2.1.5., cfr. *tav. I, 9*);
2) l'ultimo decennio del IV ed il primo trentennio del III sec. a.C. rappresentano il momento d'arrivo di ceramiche a vernice nera sia campane che laziali. Si tratta comunque di quantità molto ridotte rispetto all'ingente numero di vasi di fabbrica locale/regionale. Nel contempo sono documentate monete di diverse città campane. Occasionalmente sembrano essere attestate anfore greco-italiche antiche/MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*) di provenienza campana e anfore nordafricane/cartaginesi Ramón T-4.2.1.5. (*tav. I, 9*);
3) la metà/seconda metà del III sec. a.C. rappresenta una cesura per l'eccezionale produttività delle numerosissime fabbriche attive in tutto l'ambito regionale. Tale fenomeno è da connettere con le devastazioni e depredazioni avvenute nel corso della prima guerra punica che coinvolsero ampie parti della Sicila occidentale.[220] I pochi materiali rinvenuti nei depositi archeologici databili fra il 250-200 a.C. sembrano attestare uno scadimento di qualità delle produzioni insulari e nel contempo la costante presenza di piccoli lotti di materiali importati dai due poli commerciali contrapposti, cioè da Cartagine (anfore Ramón T-7.2.1.1. e T-5.2.3.1., *tav. II, 1-2*) e dall'area campana (anfore grecoitaliche MGS VI, a volte con bolli latini, e vasi a vernice nera);
4) per le fabbriche regionali, il II sec. a.C. rappresenta probabilmente ancora ad un periodo di stasi,[221] mentre arrivano ora importanti quantità di ceramica campana A, greco-italiche tarde di fabbrica campana (tav. II, 8), ma anche anfore cartaginesi delle forme Ramón T-5.2.3.1. (*tav. II, 1*) e soprattutto T-7.4.3.1. (*tav. II, 5*).

A conclusioni che puntano nella stessa direzione giunge ora anche Olcese nel suo fondamentale contributo sulle anfore greco-italiche antiche di origine pitecusana: 'Ad una fase di distribuzione commerciale a corto-medio raggio (metà-fine IV-III secolo a.C.), che investe soprattutto l'area tirrenica meridionale, segue una fase, forse già a partire dagli inizi del III secolo a.C.,[222] con circuiti distributivi più ampi che si intensificano intorno alla metà del secolo e coinvolgono progressivamente il bacino nord-occidentale del Mediterraneo. L'anfora del tipo MGS V - V/VI è l'indicatore di questa fase di ampia diffusione';[223] fase che alla luce dei nuovi dati qui presentati sembra raggiungere anche i porti della Sicilia occidentale. Vale la pena ricordare, infine, che a proposito dello spinoso problema dei bolli latini sulle MGS V, il Vandermersch osserva che i più antichi contesti archeologici dotati di questi timbri datano tutti dopo la metà del III sec. a.C. e provengono da diverse città portuali ubicate attorno al bacino del Mediterraneo occidentale (nella Sicilia occidentale, in Sardegna e nella Gallia meridionale).[224]

III DISCUSSIONE

III.1. La fine del V-metà del III sec. a.C.

Dall'esame dei dati archeologici relativi ai siti scelti per questo studio emerge molto chiaramente che per il periodo compreso fra la fine del V-IV e l'inizio-metà del III sec. a.C. il volume di materiali ceramici sia campani che nordafricani fuori dalle proprie aree di produzione era molto contenuto. Solo a partire dalla fine del IV sec. a.C. piccole quantità di vasi a vernice nera e di anfore MGS V (*tav. II, 6-7*) vengono esportate dall'area centro-italica verso la Sicilia occidentale, Cartagine, la Gallia meridionale,[225] ma si trovano anche in alcuni siti della penisola iberica.[226] La metropoli nordafricana, invece, sembra vendere parte dei propri prodotti nell'estrema cuspide occidentale, e forse in parte anche lungo la costa meridionale della Sicilia.

A prescindere da un piccolo lotto di materiali figurati campani, forse accompagnati da certe anfore originarie della Lucania nord-occidentale (cfr. § III.3), per il IV sec. a.C. mancherebbe, quindi, l'evidenza per importanti flussi commerciali lungo la rotta 'Nord-Sud', cioè fra l'Italia centro-tirrenica ed l'Africa settentrionale. Per il periodo in questione Cartagine appare ancora inserita in un circuito economico che muove generalmente dalla Grecia continentale (grandi volumi di ceramica attica a vernice nera soprattutto, ma anche figurata e sovradipinta, anfore da Corfù - le cosiddette Corinzie B - ma anche numerose anfore ioniche dell'area attorno a Chios, Samos/Ephesos, cfr. § III.3), passando via il versante Ionico dell'Italia meridionale (anfore con orlo Gassner Randform 6 dall'area locrese?) e Lipari (mediazione di ceramiche figurate campane), con crocevia nei porti internazionali di Cartagine e oltre, verso gli *emporia* occidentali della penisola iberica.

Nella Sicila occidentale troviamo sostanzialmente le stesse classi di importazioni 'orientali' identificate a Cartagine, ma cambiano le proporzioni, nel senso che fra tutte le classi prevalgono nettamente i prodotti attribuibili alle numerosissime fabbriche operanti in ambito regionale.

La situazione cambia solo gradualmente a partire dalla fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C. come attesta il rinvenimento relativamente costante di materiali campani sia nella Sicilia occidentale che a Cartagine. Dall'altra parte ci sono certe anfore puniche quasi certamente fabbricate su diversi siti della Sicilia occidentale - le T-7.2.1.2. e le T-6.1.2.1./7.1.1.2.(*tav. I, 4-5*) della classificazione del Ramón - che fra l'ultimo decennio del IV sec. a.C. ed il primo trentennio del III sec. a.C. godono di un'ampia diffusione non solo in ambito regionale, ma anche extra-regionale come dimostrano degli esemplari rinvenuti sulle isole Eolie (Filicudi, Lipari), in Campania (Ischia) e Lucania (Roccagloriosa, Velia),[227] in Basilicata (Oppido Lucano, Pomarico Vecchio), in Libia (Euesperides) e forse anche in Andalusia (Cádiz).[228] Questa classe anforica dal contenuto finora ignoto conteneva uno dei pochi prodotti della Sicilia punica venduto oltremare. La sua ampia diffusione nel corso del primo trentennio del III sec. a.C. sembra quasi rappresentare una sorta di 'controffensiva mercantile' da parte di alcune città dell'eparchia cartaginese nei confronti delle imprese dei commercianti campani!

Interpreterei i dati sopra esposti non tanto come indice di veri e propri rapporti commerciali fra la Campania e il Nordafrica, ma piuttosto in chiave politica. Storicamente l'arrivo delle più antiche ceramiche campane e laziali, ovvero di vasellame fine proveniente dalla costa tirrenica dell'Italia penisolare, si colloca, infatti, negli anni attorno al terzo trattato romano-cartaginese, detto anche di 'Philinos' (306 a.C.), con il quale si modifica l'entità delle sfere di influenza stabilite con il secondo contratto del 348 a.C.: al posto di zone di protezione economica si pongono ora aree di vero e proprio controllo politico-militare, nelle quali viene compresa anche l'intera Sicilia, considerata *chora* cartaginese, mentre tutta l'Italia penisolare rientra nell'orbita romana.[229] Ne consegue che le ceramiche fini di origine campano-romana sarebbero giunte a Cartagine, ma anche nella Sicilia occidentale piuttosto occasionalmente e non su regolari navi commerciali che nel periodo in questione probabilmente non potevano circolare abitualmente fra la costa tirrenica da un lato e la Sicilia e la costa nordafricana dall'altro. È suggestivo attribuire ai porti della Sicilia occidentale di età agatoclea[230] un ruolo da intermediario per un commercio di transito probabilmente non 'ufficiale', ma tuttavia esistente a livelli non trascurabili. Esistono, infatti, vari indizi archeologici che dimostrano che il trattato non fu rispettato da tutti: appare infatti sempre più probabile una provenienza campana di una parte dei relitti eoliani databili alla prima età ellenistica,[231] in particolare del relitto della Secca di Capistello (300-280 a.C.),[232] naufragato a Lipari, ma probabilmente in viaggio verso un porto punico come Lilybaeum oppure la stessa Cartagine. Un altro esempio, questa volta per il commercio di ceramica di fabbrica romano-laziale, rappresenta la distribuzione nel mediterraneo centro-occidentale - quasi esclusivamente costiera - delle coppe stampigliate a vernice nera dell'atelier *des Petites Estampilles*.[233]

III.2 La metà del III-II sec. a.C.

Questo tipo di commercio - da definire per certi versi ancora 'sperimentale' - che caratterizza le dinamiche mercantili del primo trentennio del III sec. a.C. circa non sembra aver soddisfatto soprattutto i commercianti campani. Uno dei moventi, se non il movente principale per la prima guerra punica fu, infatti, l'ambiziosa politica economica di alcune famiglie campane ed il loro tentativo di conquistare i mercati del Mediterraneo centrale: 'La guerre de la Sicile apparaîtrait ainsi comme décidée sous l'influence d'un véritable *lobby* commercial, et pour la défense de ses interêts.'[234]

Ora, da un punto di vista archeologico, il probabile brusco calo di volume dei prodotti sicelioti pare essere accompagnato, nei rari contesti archeologici della seconda metà del III sec. a.C. disponibili sia per Cartagine che per la Sicila occidentale, dalla costante presenza di anfore vinarie e ceramiche a vernice nera di provenienza campana. In Sicilia appaiono inoltre anfore di fabbrica cartaginese, che allo stesso tempo sono, per esempio, ben documentate anche in Lucania, a Velia.[235] Alla luce delle nuove evidenze archeologiche 'La guerra della Sicilia' finita nel 241 a.C. avrebbe infranto la posizione economica privilegiata delle città della Sicilia occidentale, dando spazio alle iniziative commerciali delle famiglie campane intraprendenti, ma - paradossalmente - anche di Cartagine. Secondo il Vandermersch la conquista della Sicilia permette a Roma praticamente dall'oggi al domani di inserirsi in una rete di traffici commerciali già esistente. In tal modo si spiega, per esempio, il numero relativamente elevato di bolli latini sulle anfore MGS V e VI rinvenuti nella Sicilia occidentale.[236]

III.3. Appunti per l'approvvigionamento alimentare di Cartagine fra IV sec. a.C. ed il 146 a.C.

Per comprendere meglio le caratteristiche dell'economia cartaginese fra IV-II sec. a.C. ricordo il fondamentale lavoro di J.A. Greene (1986) che, partendo dalla ricognizione in superficie dello *hinterland* di Cartagine, evidenzia alcuni punti essenziali per la lettura dei dati rilevati nel presente articolo: per il IV sec. a.C. l'insediamento rurale nella chora della metropoli appare ancora piuttosto rado, indicando la forte dipendenza della città da prodotti agricoli provenienti da aree extra-regionali,[237] secondo l'autore da localizzare principalmente nei territori punici della Sardegna e della Sicilia.[238] Da un punto di vista archeologico, la scarsa occorrenza di anfore cartaginesi di IV sec. a.C. nella Sicilia occidentale e, parallelamente, l'alta incidenza di anfore di importazione in tutti i depositi urbani contemporanei rinvenuti nella metropoli nordafricana confermano pienamente questa osservazione.

Infatti, i saggi stratigrafici dell'Università di Gent/INP sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda (scavi 2002-2005) hanno restituito alcune sequenze stratigrafiche caratterizzate da depositi, in gran parte chiusi, databili fra V-IV sec. a.C. che sono tuttora in corso di studio da parte di B. Maraoui Telmini e di chi scrive. Da un rapido esame preliminare di una decina di contesti di IV sec. a.C.[239] risulta un panorama estremamente ricco e variegato di anfore da trasporto di importazione[240] che costituiscono rispettivamente fra il 25%-40% ca. nelle trincee 2 e 4 e fra il 18%-20% nella trincea 1, nonché il 17.5% in un deposito della trincea 7[241] di tutti i frammenti anforici rinvenuti.[242]

I 250 frammenti anforici circa ricondotti a fabbriche di importazione sia puniche che greche, si distribuiscono, secondo un primo esame al microscopio che ha potuto usufruire del confronto con la ricca banca dati archeometrica di ca. 1000 campioni di anfore greche della Gassner,[243] nella seguente maniera:

Mediterraneo centro-occidentale	
Sicilia occidentale (punica)	1.9%
Sardegna punica	15.5%
Fabbriche puniche non identificate	0.6%
Levante	
Area siro-palestinese	5.5% ca.

Ionia centrale	
Area di Chios	10.7%
Area di Samos/Ephesos	11.9%
Calcidica	
Mende	0.3%
Grecia continentale	
Corcira	2% ca.
Italia meridionale	
Area di Velia e Poseidonia	6.7%
Versante ionico della Calabria	10.3%
Calabria meridionale	9.1%
Calabria non specificata	19.8%

Da questo quadro ancora preliminare e da affiancare necessariamente con delle analisi archeometriche[244] emergono tuttavia alcuni aspetti di sommo interesse in relazione all'approvvigionamento alimentare della Cartagine di IV sec. a.C.: nel periodo in questione, il 28% ca.[245] delle merci importate in delle anfore commerciali proviene dal Mediterraneo orientale, soprattutto dalla Ionia centrale (aree di Chios, Samos/Ephesos),[246] ma per una piccola parte forse anche dall'area siro-palestinese.[247] Nel mio campione scarseggiano, invece, le anfore di Corcira/cosiddette Corinzie B (solo 2% ca.), relativamente rare anche nel vicino cantiere di scavo dell'Università di Amburgo,[248] ma apparentemente molto frequenti a Byrsa e al porto commerciale.[249] Quasi il 40% dei contenitori rinvenuti sul Bir Massouda è attribuibile, invece, ad una decina di fabbriche localizzabili lungo la costa ionica o nella parte meridionale della Calabria oppure in aree non ancora identificate, ma comunque da localizzare nell'Italia meridionale. Questo dato si confronta perfettamente con l'attestazione anforica nel vicino scavo dell'Università di Amburgo dove il 44% ca. delle anfore rinvenute in contesti della fine del V-IV sec. a.C. era stato attribuito a fabbriche dell'Italia meridionale o della Sicilia.[250]

Nell'ottica del presente contributo interessa particolarmente la documentazione di anfore prodotte nelle due colonie greche ubicate sul versante tirrenico della penisola, ovvero a Poseidonia e a Velia, che costituiscono quasi il 7% del nostro campione. Questa presenza di materiali provenienti dalla Lucania nord-occidentale (Velia, Poseidonia)[251] precede chiaramente le più antiche importazioni dall'area campano-romana (cfr. § I.2). Il fenomeno sembra iscriversi comunque nel quadro più ampio delle ferventi attività commerciali delle città magno-greche in età pre-ellenistica, magistralmente attestate attraverso il gran numero di fabbriche attribuite alla Calabria.

Un ruolo di primo piano nell'approvvigionamento alimentare della Cartagine di IV sec. a.C. aveva indubbiamente la Sardegna punica alla quale ho attribuito più del 15% dei campioni ceramici,[252] mentre è poco rappresentata la Sicilia occidentale con meno del 2%.[253]

In sintesi e con molta cautela dovuta al carattere provvisorio dei dati, si può tuttavia rilevare l'importanza fondamentale del vino magno-greco nel quadro delle importazioni alimentari della Cartagine di IV sec. a.C., sufficientemente documentata attraverso i dati stratigrafici derivati dai vari scavi sul Bir Massouda (fra il 40%-44%). Quantità significative di vino arrivano inoltre dall'isola di Chios (10.7%),[254] mentre le anfore attribuite all'area produttiva di Samos/Ephesos (quasi il 12%)[255] avranno trasportato dell'olio. Indubbiamente fondamentale per l'approvvigionamento della metropoli nordafricana - a conferma delle ipotesi del Greene (cfr. *supra*) - fu l'apporto della Sardegna punica (15.5%), anche se ignoriamo tuttora il contenuto delle anfore sarde.

Infine una parola sull'assenza di anfore iberiche 'de boca plana' nei depositi di IV sec. a.C. scavati nel sito 2 del Bir Massouda che corrisponde, per altro, ai dati rilevati nel materiale amburghese.[256] Continua, infatti, a persistere la vistosa discrepanza fra i dati raccolti negli scavi al porto dove queste anfore attribuite alla Catalonia rappresenterebbero, negli strati di III sec. a.C., fino all'83% e sarebbero comunque molto frequenti[257] e la loro completa mancanza fra i materiali da me esaminati!

Per tornare al lavoro del Greene, il III sec. a.C. rappresenta con un aumento del 550% (da 9 siti a 50 siti) una svolta nella storia dell'occupazione del *Hinterland*:[258] una così drammatica espansione dell'insediamento rurale[259] non può corrispondere ad una semplice, naturale crescita della popolazione ed il Greene propone quindi di vedere in una parte della nuova popolazione '... displaced landowners and farmers from Punic overseas territories (Sicily, Sardegna) ...'.[260]

I dati ceramici derivati dal *survey* non permettono di precisare cronologicamente il momento dell'occupazione intensificata del territorio. L'interpretazione citata dello studioso suggerisce, tuttavia, che anche il Greene sembra collocare il fenomeno piuttosto nel corso della seconda metà del secolo, ovvero in seguito alla fine della prima guerra punica, quando anfore cartaginesi cominciano ad essere attestate sia nella Sicilia occidentale che in Campania. Rilevando il fatto che nella sua lunga storia Cartagine '... apparently never ran short of food',[261] lo studioso sottolinea che nonostante la disfatta del 241 a.C. e la conseguenziale perdita delle due isole mediterranee, già alla fine del III sec. a.C. Cartagine fu nuovamente in grado di mettere a disposizione a Roma parte del suo *surplus* granario,[262] ora indubbiamente prodotto nel suo *territorium* africano. Infine, a proposito del corretto inquadramento cronologico dei dati biografici dell'autore punico Mago, Greene conclude: '... existence of a Carthaginian agricultural writer whose floruit falls sometime in the 3rd-2nd century B.C. is fully consistent with the archaeological evidence of the Survey, which shows the greatest extent of Carthaginian territorial expansion in the countryside during this period.'[263]

Alla luce delle evidenze ceramiche da me raccolte, una tale congruenza dei dati include non soltanto l'intensiva occupazione della chora di Cartagine, ma anche l'attestazione anforica in alcuni importanti aree del Mediterraneo centro-occidentale, quali la Sicilia occidentale, forse parti della Campania, ma anche parte della penisola iberica, dove nei depositi archeologici della fine del III- prima metà del II sec. a.C. le caratteristiche forme cartaginesi Ramón T-5.2.3.1., ma soprattutto T-7.1.4.2./4.3. rappresentano una costante![264]

IV. CONCLUSIONI

Per tornare al titolo di questa comunicazione e cioè all'entità dei rapporti commerciali fra la Campania, Cartagine e la Sicilia occidentale nel periodo compreso fra la fine del V/IV-II sec. a.C., si potrebbe forse concludere con la seguente ipotesi di lavoro, da corroborare ancora con ulteriori dati archeologici: la rotta commerciale 'Nord-Sud' fra il golfo di Napoli e l'ampia baia di Cartagine sembra acquistare un ruolo di primo piano soltanto in seguito alla fine della prima guerra punica,[265] ma soprattutto a partire dalla fine del III sec. a.C. fino alla distruzione di Cartagine nel 146. Alla luce delle nuove evidenze ed in piena concordanza con la recente analisi storica del Pinzone,[266] sembra che proprio la conquista romana della Sicilia occidentale abbia favorito in maniera decisiva la vendita di vino campano e ceramica a vernice nera della classe campana A sia nella parte occidentale dell'isola che a Cartagine stessa.

Dall'altra parte, solo la perdita delle grandi isole del Mediterraneo centrale costringe la metropoli nordafricana in modo improrogabile ad uno sfruttamento intensivo del proprio *Hinterland* che probabilmente dopo molto poco tempo (pochi decenni) produce un tale surplus da permettere vendite di grano alla concorrente Roma. A livello archeologico l'espansione commerciale di Cartagine fra la fine del III e la metà del II sec. a.C. si traduce nell'ampia diffusione delle sue anfore da trasporto dei tipi Ramón T-5.2.3.1. e T-7.4.1.2.1./3.1. che secondo l'autore spagnolo avrebbero, per lo meno in parte, contenuto del vino.[267]

NOTE

* Lo spunto per il presente lavoro fu tratto da una discussione sul materiale anforico punico proveniente dai recenti scavi dell'Università di Vienna a Velia, diretti dall'amica V. Gassner la quale ringrazio per i fruttuosi scambi di idee circa l'argomento. Un secondo incontro, infatti, mirato al confronto macroscopico di campioni di anfore sia puniche che greche rinvenute a Cartagine, su vari siti della Sicilia occidentale e a Velia (cfr. infra § III.3) ha contribuito molto a consolidare alcune delle ipotesi espresse nel seguente articolo. Con l'amica S. Frey-Kupper (Lausanne) discuto da alcuni anni diversi fenomeni legati alla composizione di depositi archeologici che caratterizzano i siti della Sicilia occidentale fra IV-II sec. a.C. Anche per questo contributo ho potuto contare sui suoi continui, stimolanti commenti critici dei quali sono molto riconoscente. Ringrazio l'amico R.F. Docter per le numerose discussioni sui materiali ceramici di Cartagine, nonché per la lettura critica del presente articolo. Sono riconoscente a K. Schmidt (Hamburg), B. Maraoui Telmini, F. Chelbi (entrambi Tunisi), W. van de Put (Amsterdam) e L. Fersi (Tunisi) per lo spirito collegiale nel superare i piccoli e grandi problemi durante le campagne di scavo ed oltre. Esprimo infine la mia gratitudine a H.G. Niemeyer (Hamburg) per avermi dato l'opportunità, nel lontano 1993, di partecipare al suo scavo sotto l'incrocio fra Decumanus Maximus e Cardo X che ormai è diventato un punto di riferimento fisso per la ricerca archeologica nel mondo fenicio-punico occidentale. Il progetto di scavo archeologico sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda (Università di Amsterdam, Università di Gent/INP) è stato generosamente finananziato dalla fondazione UTOPA (2000-2001), dalla Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Gent (2002) e dal Fund for Scientific Research Flanders (FWO, 2003-2005).

[1] Cfr. Lancel 1992, 379.

[2] Cfr. Lancel 1992, 379-384.

[3] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 183, 186.

[4] Per l'evidenza di una produzione vinicola già in epoca etrusca e poi sannitica cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 187.

[5] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 189.

[6] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 192.

[7] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 194.

[8] Cfr. Olcese 2004.

[9] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001.

[10] Cfr. Olcese 2004, 176-177.

[11] Per questa nuova terminologia cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 172.

[12] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 172.

[13] Si veda a proposito Bechtold 2006, Bechtold c. d. s. 2.

[14] Per Lilybaeum si veda Bechtold 1999, per Segesta cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 3 e Bechtold c. d. s. 4. Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare di cuore la dott.ssa R. Camerata Scovazzo (Palermo), allora Soprintendente alla Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani, per la liberalità con la quale da sempre ha incorraggiato ed aiutato i miei studi dei materiali archeologici rinvenuti negli scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani a Segesta (1990-1997).

[15] Particolarmente emblematico a questo riguardo è la tabella 1 del contributo del Vandermersch, cfr. Vander-

mersch 2001, 176-179. Si veda probabilmente anche l'articolo di B. Garozzo, Sicilia occidentale e Campania: bolli anforari, in *Quinte Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima e la Sicilia Occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice 2003)*, Pisa c. d. s.

[16] Ricordo a proposito che nel 2003 si svolsero ad Erice le *Quinte Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima e la Sicilia Occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo*, Pisa c. d. s., organizzate dalla Scuola Normale di Pisa, di cui una sezione fu intitolata '*I Campani tra Campania e Sicilia*'. Basandomi sul libretto degli abstracts, desumo che una parte delle relazioni (specificamente di L. Cerchiai/A. Pontrandolfo, A. Rouveret, P.G. Guzzo, R. Guglielmino e S. Péré-Nogès) trattava un altro, nel suo complesso più antico aspetto delle relazioni fra la Sicilia occidentale e la Campania, cioè il ruolo dei mercenari campani sull'isola (soprattutto fra la fine del V-l'inizio del III sec. a.C), la cui presenza diventa sempre più tangibile anche attraverso i recenti rinvenimenti di manufatti archeologici e corredi tombali di tipo italico. Alla luce dei dati attualmente editi sembra, però, che il fenomeno della presenza mercenaria nella Sicilia occidentale non abbia inciso significativamente sullo sviluppo del commercio di ceramiche campane, cfr. anche § II.2.1., II.3.1. e II.4, nonché nota 144. Si veda anche Fariselli 2002, 292: '...appare verosimile ritenere che il mercenariato...non abbia costituito un significativo fattore di incremento economico per Neapolis e neppure per la Campania nel suo complesso', anche se la studiosa prospetta, per lo meno per la seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., la possibilità di una simbiosi fra aspetti commerciali e spostamenti di mercenari. Cfr. Fariselli 2002, 328-329 dove si fa anche cenno alla probabile frequentazione punico-cartaginese del litorale tirrenico in età timoleontina-agatoclea.

[17] Per questo argomento si veda in sintesi Hans 1982, 109, 114-116.

[18] Questa analisi dei dati editi andrebbe estesa all'area centro-italica. Ringrazio V. Gassner per poter anticipare alcuni dati preliminari relativi all'occorrenza di anfore puniche nella Velia del V-inizio del II sec. a.C. ai quali farò cenno nei § II.3.2. e III.1.

[19] Anche se la prima metà del III sec. rappresenta senz'altro una tappa nuova nelle relazioni politico-economiche fra Roma e Cartagine, la documentazione archeologica, sulla quale mi baserò, non permette ancora, tante volte, di distinguere fra contesti databili alla seconda metà del IV e l'inizio/la metà del III sec. a.C. Ho deciso pertanto di considerare il secolo e mezzo fra il 400 e la Imetà del III sec. a.C. un periodo unico, pur cercando sempre, qualora fosse possibile, di scindere nella discussione i depositi di IV da quelli della prima metà del III sec. a.C.

[20] Scavi dell'Università di Amsterdam prima (2000-2001) e dell'Università di Gent/INP in seguito (2002-2005) sotto la direzione scientifica di R.F. Docter (Gent) e F. Chelbi (INP). Per una aggiornata localizzazione topografica del sito 2 cfr. Docter/Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini *et al*. 2006, 48, fig. 1. Per l'analisi di alcuni depositi chiusi databili al IV sec. a.C. cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.1.4., § 3.2.2. Il numeroso materiale stratificato proveniente dalle campagne di scavo 2002-2005 è in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive ed altri.

[21] Cfr. Trias 1999, in particolare 284, fra i materiali provenienti dagli scavi dell'Istituto Germanico di Roma, un solo coperchio di lekane viene attribuito a fabbriche piuttosto siciliane che campane (n. 94). Anche fra il materiale rinvenuto nell'abitato messo in luce sotto l'incrocio fra Decumanus Maximus e Cardo X mancano ceramiche figurate di origine campana, cfr. Bechtold 2006, 493, fig. 265. L'eccezionale presenza di vasi a figure rosse databili al IV sec. a.C. comprende, invece, quasi esclusivamente dei prodotti di serie di origine attica (cat. 4382-4384, 4406-4409) e qualche lekythos ariballico di fabbrica siceliota, cfr. Chelbi 1992, 255, nn. 484, 486, 494.

[22] Cfr. Chelbi 1992, 19, produzioni laziali sono i nn. 132-134 (coppe dell'*atelier Petites Estampilles*), nn. 508-509 (brocchette), n. 439? (bolsal). 20 '(...) premières productions en Campana A primitive, datables avant la première guèrre punique, ou de la seconde moitié di IIIème s. av, J.C.' e 26 'Vers la fin du IVème s. av. J.C., les céramiques étrusques vont laisser leur place aux premières exportations latiales...aux alentours de 300 av. J.C., on note aussi l'arrivée précoce des premiers vases en campanienne A archaïque.' Come produzioni campane anteriori alla prima guerra punica vengono indicati i nn. 162-163 (coppette Morel F.2714/16), 520-521 (askoi), come pertinenti alla seconda metà del III sec. a.C. i nn. 200-201 (coppe con fondo a rilievo), 267 (coppa skyphoide con anse verticali a linguette), 592 (caso calamaio).

[23] Per lo scavo sotto l'incrocio fra Decumanus Maximus e *Cardo X* cfr. Bechtold 2006, 492, fig. 265; 529-532, 6 frammenti relativi a diverse forme aperte: cat. 4420 (piatto Morel F. 2222), 4421 (saliera tipo 'footed'), 4422, 4503 (coppa Morel F. 2771), 4423-4424 (coppe Morel F. 2784/86/87) e cat. 4549, forma chiusa forse riferibile alla Calena pre-romana. Per gli scavi francesi sulla collina della Byrsa si veda Morel 1980, 101 e Morel 1990a, 94-95 '(...) quelques fragments de cette campana A des deuxième et troisième quarts du IIIe siècle (...) coupelles Lamb. 21/25B parfois decorées de trois palmettes (fig. 33).' Fra il materiale rinvenuto nello scavo dell'Università di Gent/INP sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda si segnala in maniera preliminare, visto che i corrispettivi contesti di scavo sono ancora in corso di studio, un piccolo, ma altamente significativo nucleo di frammenti attribuiti alla classe 'pre-campana': dal context 2420 (350-320 a.C. ca.): BM04/42992+42996 (kylix "bolsa"), BM04/42991 (skyphos A), BM04/42983 (lucerna Howland 23A); dal context 2504 (330-300 a C. ca.): BM05/46317 (coppetta vicino Morel F. 2412), BM05/ 46321 (skyphos A); context 1212 (prima metà del II sec. a.C., ma con altissima presenza di materiali di fine del V-IV sec. a.C.): BM02/47307 (kylix 'bolsal'), BM02/ 47314 (lucerna Howland 23C).

[24] Per l'abitato sotto l'incrocio stradale fra *Decumanus Maximus* e *Cardo X* cfr. Bechtold 2006, 687-689, cat. 5565-5567; 692-694, cat. 5572-5574. La classe delle anfore greche di produzione occidentale rappresenta qui fra il 30%-40% di tutte le anfore del periodo in questione. Per l'abitato rinvenuto sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.2., specialmente cat. 2386-2392 and § 3.2.2.2. 'Greek amphorae typs'.

[25] Da ultima si veda Olcese 2004, 176-179.

[26] Fondamentale a proposito è sottolineare la generale scarsezza di contesti attribuibili al III sec. a.C. Per questo argomento si veda Bechtold c. d. s. 2., § 3.2.3. e Docter c. d. s. 1., nn. 153-172.

[27] Cfr. Wolff 1986, 147-149.

[28] Cfr. Morel 1998c, 31-32 'Amphores gréco-italiques et types précurseurs...représentent 131 exemplaires sur 500 à Byrsa'.

[29] Un solo frammento, cfr. Bechtold 2006, 696, cat. 5575, a giudicare dall'esame macroscopico certamente non di fabbrica campana.

[30] I *primary contexts* degli scavi 2000-2001 sul sito 2 del Bir Massouda non hanno restituito frammenti attribuibili alla forma MGS V.

[31] Il materiale delle campagne di scavo 2002-2005 è in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive ed altri, ma fra i depositi chiusi (*primary contexts*) da me schedati sembrano mancare le anfore MGS V. Segnalo il rinvenimento di un orlo di MGS V con impasto vulcanico,

forse attribuibile all'area vesuviana, in uno strato di superficie: BM03/49035, context 2300.

[32] Esemplari editi, secondo me piuttosto attribuibili alla forma MGS V, sono: Vegas 1987, 393, Schicht 17, III sec. a.C., fig. 6, nn. 109-110, apparentemente non di fabbrica campana. Vegas 1991, 40, Schicht p 31, fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C., fig. 12, n. 96, apparentemente non di fabbrica campana. Vegas 1999, 124, Komplex 12, III sec. a.C., fig. 17, n. 24, di possibile fabbrica campana. 124, Komplex 13, seconda metà del III sec. a.C., fig. 19, n. 16, apparentemente non di fabbrica campana. 130, Komplex 14, seconda metà del III-inizio del II sec. a.C., fig. 21, nn. 39-40 'di importazione campana'.

[33] Per la bassa percentuale a Cartagine di contesti archeologici databili nel corso del III sec. a.C. si veda ora Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3.

[34] Cfr. Docter c. d. s. 1, nn. 173-192.

[35] Cfr. Vegas 1999, 124, fig. 17, dal Komplex 12 (III sec. a.C.), n. 24, campano per via degli inclusi neri? 130, fig. 21, dal Komplex 14 (seconda metà del III/inizio del II sec. a.C.), nn. 39-40 'Import aus Kampanien'. I profili di queste due anfore ricordano, a mio avviso, quello dei tipi caratteristici della prima metà del III sec. a.C.

[36] Cfr. i contesti nn. 173-192 elencati in Docter c. d. s. 1, appendice 3. Ricorrono inoltre tre greco-italiche evidentemente residuali, di forme attribuibili piuttosto alla prima metà del III sec. a.C. (MGS V), nonché un'anfora punica residuale di un tipo frequente nella Sicilia occidentale (Ramón/Greco T-4.2.2.7.).

[37] Sul problema della campana A di III sec. a.C. e la sua distribuzione fuori dall'area italica cfr. Morel 1998b, 247-248.

[38] Generico Morel 1982, 47-48 '...Carthage ne reçoit pas la campanienne A encore archaïque de la fin du IIIe siècle...Carthage reçoit...des premiers types de la campanienne A ancienne habituellement exporté...' Per le necropoli Chelbi 1992, 21-22. Per l'abitato Bechtold c. d. s. 1, e Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3.

[39] Cfr. Bechtold 2006, 492 fig. 265; 533-556 fra il materiale rinvenuto nello scavo dell'Università di Amburgo si sono identificati, in aggiunta ai 180 frammenti attribuiti all'autentica campana A, altri 30 esemplari da considerare delle importazioni dall'area campana, ma non pertinenti alla campana A di Neapolis, cfr. cat. 4490-4502, 4504-4509.

[40] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 1.

[41] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3.

[42] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3.

[43] Cfr. Wolff 1986, 147-149, tipo Will d).

[44] Cfr. Morel 1980, 74 e da ultimo si veda Vandermersch 2001, 174.

[45] Cfr. Lancel 1992, 421.

[46] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3. con ulteriore bibliografia.

[47] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, fig. 1, gruppi 1-2 e fig., gruppo 1.

[48] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, fig. 1, gruppo 3 e fig. 3, gruppo 2.

[49] Cfr. Cambi 2003, 148-151 con bibliografia precedente.

[50] I 30 frammenti di anfore puniche raccolte nei 20 siti identificati durante il *survey* del territorio di Calatafimi da parte dell'*équipe* dell'Università di Siena (Cambi 2003) sono stati esaminati da parte di chi scrive. Ho identificato 8 frammenti del tipo Ramón/Greco T-4.2.2.7., nonché 4 frammenti del diretto precursore di questa forma, cioè del tipo Ramón T-4.2.2.6.

[51] 6 frammenti attribuiti ai tipi Ramón T-7.1.2.1./6.1.2.1.

[52] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 161-162, tipi AC 4A e AC 4B, tav. XXXII, nn. 282, 287; AC 6, tav. XXXIII, n. 291.

[53] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 161, tav. XXXIII, n. 288, 340.

[54] Per l'ultimo rapporto preliminare sugli scavi si veda Morris *et al.* 2003 con bibliografia precendente.

[55] Le anfore commerciali rinvenute nella zona A sul Monte Polizzo sono in c. d. s. da parte dell'amica C. Polizzi (Palermo) che ringrazio per avermi consentito una visione diretta degli 8 frammenti di anfore puniche qui citate.

[56] Cfr. Morris *et al.* 2003, 292.

[57] Cfr. Toti 2002, 276-277.

[58] Cfr. Iliopoulos/Alaimo/Montana 2002, 362 e per il tipo T-1.4.4.1. cfr. Toti 2002, 282-283.

[59] Tipo tardivo, di fine del III-II sec. a.C., cfr. Ramon 1995, 197-198.

[60] Cfr. Iliopoulos/Alaimo/Montana 2002, 360, 362.

[61] Cfr. Iliopoulos/Alaimo/Montana 2002, 359, 362. I tipi T-1.3.2.1. e T-3.1.1.2. rappresentano, però, delle forme arcaiche, cfr. Ramon 1995, 171, 182.

[62] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, con analisi minero-petrografica in sezione sottile di 25 campioni.

[63] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 304-307: si tratta sostanzialmente dei tipi Ramón T-4.2.2.6. e Ramón/Greco T-4.2.2.7. (cat. 70-78, cfr. tav. II, 2-3), insieme ad un'anfora Ramón T-7.1.2.1. (cat. 68 da un livello superficiale, cfr. tav. 4) e due frammenti attribuiti alla forma T-7.2.1.1, ma a mio avviso piuttosto classificabili come T-2.2.1.1. (cat. 67, 69), cfr. Ramón 1995, 179-180, figg. 153-154, fabbricato quasi certamente a Tunisia e forse anche nella Sicilia Occidentale e/o a Malta, ultimi decenni del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C. ca.

[64] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 317.

[65] È in preparazione un'opera monografica sull'argomento: M. Palaczyk, *Die Amphoren,* in Studia Ietina.

[66] Cfr. Frölich 1990 che ringrazio per la trasmissione di una copia del suo lavoro.

[67] Cfr. Frölich 1990, 331, n. 539, fase I.

[68] Cfr. Frölich 1990, 334, n. 544, a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica dell'impasto il frammento potrebbe essere di fabbrica nordafricana.

[69] Cfr. Frölich 1990, 338, n. 551.

[70] Cfr. Isler 1993, 23, fig. 36, K 13966.

[71] Cfr. Greco 1997, part. 57 con diagramma a torta per la distribuzione quantitativa dei tipi individuati fra i 63 esemplari analizzati. Nella necropoli punica di Solunto della seconda metà del V-IV sec. a.C. dominano quindi chiaramente le tipologie siciliane Ramón T-1.4.5.1./T-4.2.2.6. (35%) e T-4.2.2.6. (24%), entrambe di probabile fabbrica locale.

[72] Cfr. Alaimo/Montana/Iliopoulos 2003 con bibliografia.

[73] Forma arcaica, cfr. Ramon 1995, 171.

[74] Sembrerebbe trattarsi, però, di una forma tardiva di II-I sec. a.C., cfr. Ramón 1995, 217-218.

[75] Cfr. Falsone 1998, 315, 317, 319-320, R 14-15, qui definito come varietà 3c.

[76] Cfr. Falsone 1998, 314-315, 317, 320, R 16, qui definito come varietà 3a.

[77] Cfr. Falsone 1998, 316 '...possibile che questi tipi di anfore siano prodotti locali...'.

[78] Cfr. Falsone 1998, 315, 318, 320, R 17, qui definito come tipo 5.

[79] Cfr. Falsone 1998, 315-316, qui definito come tipo 6, di ipotetica fabbrica locale. Si veda inoltre Camerata Scovazzo/Castellana 1998, area dei Vivai Gitto, scavo 1980, dalla tomba 28 'della Regina', 224, VG 179-181, 232-233.

[80] Cfr. Di Stefano 1993b, 266-267, figg. 19-20.

[81] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, in particolare 329.

[82] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, 363-364.

[83] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, 369-370, fig. 19, n. 67 e nota 103.

[84] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, 369-372, fig. 20, n. 68.

[85] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 235-236.

[86] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, 372.

[87] Cfr. Vassallo 2003, 372.

[88] Si vedano le anfore arcaiche dei tipi Ramón T-2.1.1.2.,

1.3.2.1. e 1.4.1.1./1.4.2.1., attribuite a fabbriche moziesi, cfr. Vassallo 2003, 366.

[89] Cfr. Helas 1999, I, 17-19; III, 97-101.

[90] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, SL 14996, a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica dell'impasto ('ziegelrot mit weißem Überzug') forse di fabbrica siciliana, da un contesto del secondo quarto del III sec. a.C.; SL 15590, di fabbrica non identificata, da un contesto precedente al 250 a.C.; SL 15629, di fabbrica non identificata, da un contesto del primo terzo del III sec. a.C.; forse SL 15754, a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica dell'impasto secondo me di ipotetica fabbrica nordafricana, ma rinvenuto in un contesto dell'inizio del IV sec. a.C., quando la forma T-4.2.5.1. non dovrebbe comparire prima del secondo, ma soprattutto del terzo quarto del IV sec. a.C.

[91] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, SL 15633, a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica dell'impasto secondo me di ipotetica fabbrica nordafricana, da un contesto del primo terzo del III sec. a.C.

[92] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, SL 15686, di probabile fabbrica siciliana, da un contesto del IV sec. a.C.

[93] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, SL 15708, a giudicare dalla descrizione macroscopica dell'impasto secondo me di ipotetica fabbrica nordafricana, da un contesto del IV sec. a.C.

[94] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, SL805, di fabbrica non identificata, da un contesto precedente al 250 a.C.

[95] Tuttavia, questi frammenti non sono stati riconosciuti da S. Helas come pertinenti alla sua più antica fase della fine del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C. alla quale non sono state associate delle strutture nei quattro sondaggi effettuati, cfr. Helas 1999, III, 99, note 5-6. Per T-4.1.1.3. cfr. Ramón 1995, 185-186, secondo il Ramón prodotto della Sardegna punica. Materiali rinvenuti recentemente nel sito 2 sul Bir Massouda dimostrano, invece, che la forma veniva prodotta anche nella Cartagine dell'ultimo quarto del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C., cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.2. Per T-1.4.5.1. cfr. Ramón 1995, 176-177, V sec. a.C. Per T-4.2.2.1./4.2.1.6./4.2.1.4./4.2.1.1. cfr. Ramón 1995, 187-190, 192, tutti attribuiti ad officine operanti nella Sicilia occidentale, T-4.2.1.1. forse anche all'Africa settentrionale.

[96] Cfr. Helas 1999, III, 101.

[97] Cfr. Jones Eiseman/Sismondo Ridgway 1987, 42-44, tipo 2A, C14-C22.

[98] Per l'identificazione della fabbrica cartaginese cfr. Docter 1995, 502, nota 82.

[99] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 187-188, fig. 159, ultimo quarto del V-primo quarto del IV sec. a.C.

[100] Cfr. Jones Eiseman/Sismondo Ridgway 1987, 44-46, tipo 2E, C23-C28.

[101] Per l'identificazione della fabbrica maltese cfr. Docter 1995, 502, nota 82.

[102] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 179, fig. 153, fine del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C.

[103] In sintesi si veda Paoletti 1995, 125 e 136-142 con aggiornata bibliografia.

[104] Cfr. Paoletti 1995, 130-133.

[105] Cfr. Paoletti 1995, 134-135.

[106] Per questa più antica fase delle operazioni cartaginesi in Sicilia si veda anche Fariselli 2002, 310.

[107] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 279-281.

[108] Importante ricordare a questo riguardo che nell'ampio *dossier* sulla distribuzione delle anfore commerciali nella Sicilia di età arcaica, ma anche classica pubblicato dall'Albanese (1996) non compaiono delle anfore di tipo punico.

[109] Per evidenze per questo rapporto documentato nei dati provenienti dalla necropoli cfr. Bechtold 1999, 279-281.

[110] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4.

[111] Per il periodo compreso fra la metà del IV-metà del III sec. a.C. ca. cfr. Frey-Kupper 2006, 30-34, 51 con figg. 3-4; si veda inoltre Frey-Kupper 2000, 481-483, tabelle 1-2.

[112] La costante associazione fra monete puniche di bronzo e anfore puniche siciliane in alcuni 'insediamenti di altura', interpretati come *phrouria* cartaginesi, è stata osservata dalla Fariselli, cfr. Fariselli 2002, 315, 318, 328, anche se per questi centri fortificati, ubicati in aree eccentriche rispetto al cuore dell'*eparchia*, il fenomeno viene spiegato piuttosto come un indice della colonizzazione militare da parte di Cartagine.

[113] La carta di distribuzione elaborata per Segesta evidenzia, infatti, che la produzione anforica di Lilybaeum (Ramón T-4.2.1.5. direttamente derivato da prototipi cartaginesi) sembra diffusa soltanto nell'estrema cuspide della Sicilia occidentale e forse lungo una parte della costa meridionale, mentre i contenitori commerciali attribuibili a Soluntum e forse anche a Panormus (Ramón T-1.4.5.1., T-4.2.2.6., Ramón-Greco T-4.2.2.7.) si trovano su molti siti indigeni ubicati nella valle del Belice, fino a Segesta. Soltanto la forma finale, di età agatoclea, la Ramón T-7.2.1.2., gode di una diffusione universale, anche extra-regionale, cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, fig. 6. Per la diffusione di questo gruppo anforico prevalentemente sui siti gravitanti sulla costa settentrionale tirrenica cfr. precedentemente Greco 1997, 62.

[114] Per Segesta cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 3, fig. 11, dove la ceramica attica rinvenuta a 'Porta di Valle' rappresenta nel periodo proto-ellenistico (390-300) il 37% di tutta la ceramica a vernice nera attribuita a questo scorcio di tempo.

[115] Si vedano Caflisch 1992, 76 e De Cesare 2003, 254-255, 257, 260.

[116] Per questa problematica cfr. Bechtold 1999, 260-261, 281 e per la cultura materiale della necropoli lilibetana 216-217. Per Entella si veda Michelini 2003, 941, 948-949, 951.

[117] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 205-206, ultimo terzo del III-inizio del II sec. a.C.

[118] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 197-198, ultimo quarto del III-primo quarto o terzo del II sec. a.C.

[119] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 209-211, prima metà del II sec. a.C.

[120] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 162, tav. XXXIII, 290.

[121] Cfr. Bechtold 1999,163, nota 58 con bibliografia per alcuni altri esemplari del tipo rinvenuti a Lilybaeum, tav. XXXIV, 294.

[122] Cfr. Bechtold 1999,163, nota 58 con ulteriore bibliografia. Si veda inoltre Signorello 1995, tav. IV, n. 8, tav. VI, nn. 1, 3-5, tav. VII, nn. 1-4.

[123] Cfr. Iliopoulos/Alaimo/Montana 2002, 359-360, 362.

[124] Cfr. *Entella* 1994, 258, n. 8, tav. L, 7. L'esemplare potrebbe anche appartenere a un'anfora T-7.4.2.1.

[125] Cfr. Canzanella 1993, 279, fig. 43, 2-3, dall'insediamento di 'Quattrocase', II sec. a.C.

[126] Cfr. Signorello 1995, 145, tav. XI, 3-5.

[127] Cfr. Signorello 1995, 147, tav. XVI, 10. Queste anfore, insieme a quelle rinvenute a Pantelleria (cfr. nota precedente), sono state attribuite dalla Signorello ai suoi tipi C2 e C4 che entrano tuttavia entrambi nell'ambito del tipo Ramón T-7.4.3.1.

[128] Cfr. Greco 1997, 65-66, fig. 1, n. 24, '... sembrerebbero costituire una variante ... da ritenersi locale perché modellata nell'impasto tipo *F1*'.

[129] Cfr. Alaimo/Montana/Iliopoulos 2003, 5.

[130] Cfr. Giustolisi 1979, 77-78, tav. A, nn. 17-25.

[131] Cfr. Isler 1980, 27, nota 47, K 4936.

[132] Bechtold c. d. s. 4, figg. 3-4.

[133] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 206-207, figg. 174, e per la diffusione fig. 265.

[134] Per la carta archeologica del territorio di Calatafimi cfr. Cambi 2003. Le anfore puniche sono state studiate da parte di chi scrive.

[135] Cfr. Denaro 1997, 24 esemplari, anche se qui attribuiti, insieme alle anfore relative alla serie Ramón G-7.5, in maniera generica la tipo C della vecchia tipologia del Mañá.

[136] A mio avviso non è affatto da escludere che lo studio analitico di materiali provenienti da coetanei abitati della Sicilia occidentale possa portare a risultati simili.

[137] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 289-293.

[138] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, figg. 5-6.

[139] Per le incertezze sulla produzione di anfore di tipo punico in alcuni centri della Sicilia occidentale cfr. Ramón 1995, 290. Attualmente disponiamo soltanto per Solunto di indizi per la fabbricazione di anfore del tipo Ramón T-7.2.1.1. (cfr. tav. II, 2), cfr. *supra*, nota 128.

[140] Per questo termine ed il suo significato si veda Amadori *et al*. 2004, 39.

[141] Cfr. Pancucci 1984-1985, 639, da una cremazione con *epitymbion* datata al III sec. a.C.

[142] Esemplari inediti: SG 1039, scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani nel 1990, area 5000, US 5406, relativa alla fase di crollo ed abbandono di età imperiale delle strutture abitative di età ellenistica (seconda metà del II-I sec. a.C., cfr. Bechtold/Favaro 1995, 979-995.): frammento di base dall'impasto compatto e depurato, di cottura molto omogenea, caratterizzato da piccoli inclusi rossi, lucicanti e bianchi. Pasta grigia (5 YR 6/1-5/1). Vernice nera esternamente, spessa, coprente ed opaca, di produzione non identificata. SG 6502, sporadico, rinvenuto in occasione del *survey* effettuato sul Monte Barbaro/Contrada Mango nell'estate del 1993: frammento di base dall'impasto completamente combusto, probabilmente granuloso con piccoli vacuola ed inclusi quarzosi? Vernice nera solo all'esterno?

[143] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 74-75, tav- IX, 85, dalla T.148 di Via de Gasperi 1988, datata molto precisamente entro i primi due decenni del II sec. a.C. L'esemplare sicuramente di importazione (ma non riferibile alla classe Byrsa 661, come ipotizzato in orgine!) apparteneva ad uno dei più ricchi corredi del periodo IIIa (200-150 a.C.), relativo ad una sepoltura maschile ad incinerazione diretta entro fossa scavata nella roccia; per altri 2 esemplari ritenuti di importazione si veda Di Stefano 1993a, 33, 45, tav. XXIX, 1-2.

[144] Questo studio non tiene conto, invece, della documentazione sempre crescente di altri materiali archeologici di origine campana, in primo luogo di cinturoni di bronzo, da connettere con la presenza militare italica in Sicilia che risale al penultimo decennio del V sec. a.C. e si chiude con la pace del 241 a.C. Per il mercenariato italico (soprattutto sannitico e campano) sull'isola si veda Tagliamonte 1994, in particolare 126, 127, 132, 154, 159 e 213. Si vedano inoltre Fantasia 2001 e Farisello 2003, particolarmente pp. 292-339. Per il recentissimo rinvenimento di una tomba di guerriero italico ad Entella cfr. Di Noto/Guglielmino 2001, 184, T. 149, datata alla fine del IV sec. a.C.

[145] Per una aggiornata bibliografia sull'attestazione di questa classe in ambito regionale si veda Bechtold c. d. s. 3.

[146] Si vedano De Cesare 1992, De Cesare 2003, De Cesare c. d. s. 1 e De Cesare c. d. s. 2.

[147] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 3.

[148] Cfr. Caflisch 1991.

[149] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, in particolare 85-114.

[150] Cfr. Di Stefano 1992, 262.

[151] Cfr. Caflisch 1991, 76, a proposito della ceramica figurata: 'Sizilische Herkunft ist anzunehmen, auch wenn in einzelnen Fällen die Möglichkeit paestanischer oder kampanischer Produktion nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden kann.'

[152] Cfr. De Cesare 2003, 256-258, 260. Si veda inoltre De Cesare 1992, 982-983 per gli stretti rapporti fra Campania e Sicilia riguardo alla trasmissione di temi iconografici e schemi figurativi. Si veda infine De Cesare c. d. s. 1, nota 62.

[153] Grosso modo contemporaneamente compaiono anche le coppe laziali dell'officina *Petites Estampilles* che rientrano certamente nella stessa ottica di vettori commerciali moventi dall'area centro-italica, ma che non furono prodotte in Campania e di conseguenza non vengono discusse in questa sede. Per una bibliografia aggiornata sulla distribuzione di questa classe nella Sicilia occidentale si veda Bechtold c. d. s. 3.

[154] Per questi termini Morel 1980, 101.

[155] Cfr. Morel 1980, 101 e 1990, 95.

[156] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 327-328, US 1035-55 dall'ipogeo rinvenuto nel 1989 in Corso Gramsci (proprietà Costa), coppa Morel F. 2771; 370, T.190/N/5-6 di Via Berta, piatto Morel F. 1122; 373-374, T.196/4-4 di Via Berta, piatto Morel F. 1521. Per la necropoli lilibetana si veda inoltre Di Stefano 1992, 261: '... dall'area campana alcune imitazioni delle *kylikes* apode attiche, alcune patere (Lamboglia, forme 21 e 22) e la maggior parte delle *lekythoi* ariballiche a vernice nera, con il corpo decorato da una grande palmetta a risparmio.'

[157] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 354, T. 71A-1, 2 di Via Berta, due coppe Morel F. 2784/88 con bollo centrale di rosetta.

[158] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 299-303, tav. IX, 80-81, *guttus* 'angolare' dalla camera ipogeica della Via Cattaneo 1987, IP.2/4/18.

[159] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 358, tav. III, 31, coppa Morel F.2646 dalla T.104/4 della Via Berta 1991.

[160] Sull'occorrenza di ceramica Calena a vernice nera soprattutto a Cartagine, ma anche in Sicilia cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 1.

[161] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 100-101.

[162] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 3, I.6.B.2., 7 frammenti di cui 2 da contesti stratigrafici chiusi datati nel primo trentennio del III sec. a.C. (cat. 437, 439). Forme rappresentate: piatto Morel F. 1315 (cat. 436), coppa vicino Morel F. 2411 (cat. 437), coppetta tipo 'later and light' (cat. 438), 3 piedi di forme aperte di cui uno con quattro bolli di palmette (cat. 439-441) e un *guttus* Morel S. 8150 (cat. 442).

[163] Scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani negli anni 1996-1997 sotto la direzione scientifica della dott.-ssa R. Camerata Scovazzo. Per un rapporto preliminare sui lavori si veda Bechtold 2000. Materiale in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive: T. 20/1 (SG 9609).

[164] MP 01, inv. 1301 dal livello agricolo del locus A. Scavi dell'Università di Stanford diretti dal Prof. I. Morris (2000-2005) il quale ringrazio per avermi affidato lo studio della ceramica a vernice nera. Per l'ultimo rapporto di scavo preliminare si veda Morris *et al*. 2003 con bibliografia precedente.

[165] Cfr. Michelini 2003, 949. D'altra parte, la mancanza di materiali attribuibili alla prima metà del III sec. a.C., come appunto le più antiche ceramiche laziali/campane qui in discussione, è stata osservata, tuttavia, anche per altre classi materiali, ovvero per certi tipi diagnostici a vernice nera, per alcuni tipi di anfore puniche (cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, particolarmente Ramón T-7.1.2.1), nonché per certi tipi monetali, si veda Frey-Kupper 2000, 481-485, 491-492, tab. 1, tav. XCIV.

[166] Cfr. Frey-Kupper 2006, 36-38, 53 con figg. 7-8 (con carta di ripartizione).

[167] Cfr. Frey-Kupper 2006, 36, 54 con fig. 9. Per le emissioni dell'Italia meridionale attestate in Sicilia e per l'effetto della prima guerra punica sulla monetarizzazione di Roma, si veda Frey-Kupper 2006, 30-39, 44, 52-54 con figg. 6-9.

[168] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 260-261. 320-321, è documentato un frammento di piatto del tipo P2 (Morel G. 1300) nella T.125/1 della Via de Gasperi. Si veda inoltre Di Stefano 1992, 261-262. Allo stesso risultato arriva la Di Stefano (1992): 262 '... ipotizzare l'apparizione della "Campana A" nella Sicilia occidentale già dopo la fine della prima guerra punica. Ma è solo alla fine del III sec. a.C. che la circolazione di questo tipo di ceramica diventa partico-

larmente intensa.'

[169] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 3, cat. 442 (*guttus* con protome leonina), forse pertinente alla campana A 'antica' della seconda metà del III sec. a.C.

[170] Area 15000, T. 40/97 (SG 9989).

[171] Area 15000, T. 114/5 (SG 10532).

[172] A questo proposito è tuttavia fondamentale che '... confusioni nella separazione tra ceramiche di Campania e Sicilia sono possibili se mai con anfore prodotte nell'area etnea. Il resto della Sicilia presenta argille con caratteristiche geologiche che non dovrebbero generare confusioni con quelle delle argille campane', cfr. Olcese 2004, 179. Anche soltanto una descrizione accurata macroscopica dei frammenti dovrebbe permettere, quindi, di individuare eventuali anfore campane presentate in pubblicazioni di scavo.

[173] Per questo fenomeno e con ulteriore bibliografia si veda Vandermersch 2001, 174. Cfr. inoltre Vandermersch 1994, 81-87 per le MGS VI, caratteristiche soprattutto di contesti della seconda metà del III sec. a.C.

[174] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003. Un'altra recente classificazione rappresenta l'utilissimo studio di L. Campagna delle anfore rinvenute nella necropoli liparota in Contrada Portinenti che individua per la forma MGS III ulteriori sottotipi, cfr. Campagna 2000, particolarmente p. 444.

[175] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 293-294, 3.2.2.1., tav. LIII, 15-16.

[176] Cfr. Gassner 2003, 189-190.

[177] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 296-297, 3.2.3.1., tav. LV. Per il tipo MGS III cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 69-72.

[178] Per un'ottima discussione sintetica di questa forma si veda Corretti/Capelli 2003, 298-300, tav. LVI-LVII, nn. 39-51, esemplari certamente importati (area calabro-peloritana?). 300-302, tav. LVII, nn. 52-58, esemplari di ipotetica fabbrica locale/regionale.

[179] Per un'ottima discussione sintetica di questa forma si veda Corretti/Capelli 2003, 302-303, tav. LVIII, nn. 60-63, esemplari certamente di importazione.

[180] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 293-294: a Locri la produzione locale di questo tipo è documentata da scarti di fornace. Cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 67-69: 'Sur la base des documents actuellement disponibles, on peut considérer qu'il s'agit d'une production de Campanie méridionale, de Lucanie et du Bruttium.' Si veda inoltre Gassner 2003, 189-190 per Locri, fig. 96c 'Randform 6'; per Reggio Calabria e Messina pp. 191-193, tab. 15. Si veda inoltre Campagna 2000, 445: Locri, ma anche area del Cilento e Selinunte.

[181] Cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 72-73.

[182] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 297 con bibliografia.

[183] Cfr. Olcese 2004, 176, dalle fornaci dell'area di S. Restituta.

[184] Cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 75-76: 'Leur zone de production se situe à l'intérieur du triangle Poseidonia-Tarente-Agrigente.' La produzione delle MGS IV è stata recentemente provata per Ischia, cfr. Olcese 2004, 176, dalle fornaci dell'area di S. Restituta.

[185] Cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 79. A conferma di questa ipotesi cfr. per Ischia ora Olcese 2004, 176-179, dalle fornaci dell'area di S. Restituta.

[186] Cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 179 '... dans des secteurs situés au sud du Silaris'.

[187] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s. , una produzione di anfore greco-italiche anche a Segesta appare altamente verosimile.

[188] Cfr. Olcese 2004, 180.

[189] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, in particolare la discussione alle pp. 326-327.

[190] Cfr. Corretti/Capelli 2003, 303, paste 07, 08 e 18, cfr. 318-319.

[191] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s.

[192] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s., qui definiti 'ad echino', cat. nn. 54, 59, 61, tutti e tre datati alla fine del IV-III sec. a.C., ma residuali in contesti databili alla tarda età ellenistica. Gli impasti 'vulcanici' vengono attribuiti all'area tirrenica (campana, laziale, toscana) e descritti così: 'colore variabile tra il rosato (M. 2.5 YR 6/6), l'arancio (M. 5 YR 6/8) e il beige (M. 5 YR 7/4) in superficie, talvolta con mutamento di intensità in frattura, consistenza dura, ruvido al tatto, frattura non molto regolare, porosità media, inclusi generalmente distribuiti in modo uniforme, di piccole e medie dimensioni (quarzo, ematite, augite, mica, etc.).'

[193] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s., n. 63 dall'US 5612.

[194] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s., n. 69 dall'US 5232.

[195] Cfr. Garozzo c. d. s., nn. 22-24 tutti residuali in contesti databili fra la fine del I sec. a.C. ed il I sec. d.C. Di recente si veda anche Garozzo 2001, 508 e a proposito del repertorio dei bolli anforari attestati a Segesta: '... sottolineare il legame sempre maggiore tra Segesta e la Campania, in particolare Ischia ...' Per l'ipotetica attribuzione del bollo Φιλιπου all'area campana cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 172.

[196] Scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani negli anni 1996-1997 sotto la direzione della dott.ssa R. Camerata-Scovazzo. Il materiale è in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive: 2 anfore della forma MGS III e 6 anfore del tipo MGS V, tutti di ipotetica fabbrica siciliana.

[197] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 158-160, tipi AC 1, AC 2, AC 3A-B, tavv. XXX-XXXII. Per altre anfore greco-italiche antiche/MGS V, verosimilmente databili nello stesso scorcio di tempo, si veda Di Stefano 1993a, fig. 25, 1-4, fig. 26, 5-6.

[198] Pur non essendo localizzata nella Sicila occidentale, ho deciso di considerare anche Lipari, poiché da sempre l'isola assolse una posizione chiave per gli scambi commerciali fra l'area centro italica e la parte occidentale della Sicilia e Cartagine.

[199] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 444, 456: la maggior parte dei 90 esemplari data tra la seconda metà del IV ed i primi decenni del III sec. a.C. (57.8%), mentre un 21.6% si riferisce ad anfore greco-italiche della prima metà del III sec. a.C. Soltanto il 2.2% viene rappresentato da anfore greco-italiche di II sec. a.C.

[200] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 445, 6 esemplari (6.6%).

[201] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 447-449, 40 esemplari (44.44%). 'Le anfore del gruppo MGS III si presentano dunque come una produzione ben distinta sia rispetto alle anfore "pseudo-chiote" e corinzie B, sia rispetto alle greco-italiche, e sembrano rinviare ad un'unica area di produzione o ad aree geologicamente abbastanza affini ... impasti utilizzati ... dissimili ... dai prodotti locali di Lipari ... del tutto diversa appare ad esempio l'argilla impiegata per le anfore di produzione locrese ... si potrebbe pensare a centri di produzione situati sulla costa settentrionale o nella cuspide nord-orientale della Sicilia o al versante tirrenico della Calabria...'

[202] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 449-450, 2 esemplari (2.2%).

[203] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 452. Il Campagna conclude '... che ad un esame diretto le anfore dei Relitti Roghi di Panarea, Capo Graziano B e della Secca di Capistello mostrano argille con composizioni abbastanza simili a quella del nostro tipo F1.'

[204] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 450.

[205] Cfr. Olcese 2004, 182.

[206] Cfr. Olcese 2004, 178.

[207] Per la terminologia MGS VI cfr. Vandermersch 1994, 81-87.

[208] Si veda *Entella* 1990, 496, 4), tav. CX, 2. Entella 1994, 268-269, 11), tav. LIII, 12.

[209] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s., forma 'D': n. 71, dall'US 5206, I d.C.; n. 72 dall'US 5848, secondo/terzo quarto del II sec. a.C.; n. 73

dall'US 5231, fine del II-prima metà del I sec. a.C. Forma 'C': nn. 81-83 dall'US 5715 di età augustea-tiberiana.

[210] Cfr. Polizzi c. d. s., n. 85 dall'US 5216 della fine del I a.c./I d.C, nn. 87, 89 dall'US 5709 della prima metà del I sec. a.C., n. 90 dall'US 5702 da una trincea superficiale, n. 91 dall'US 5715 di età augustea-tiberiana.

[211] Purtroppo, la maggior parte dei frammenti qui in discussione è stata rinvenuta in giacitura secondaria in contesti della tarda età repubblicana o anche della prima età imperiale, fatto dovuto alla continuata attività antropica che ha interessato le strutture connesse con la Porta di Valle. L'indubbia attribuzione di molti frammenti alle forme tarde della Will non lascia però alcun dubbio su una loro datazione fra la seconda metà/fine del III e il II sec. a.C.

[212] Scavi della Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA. di Trapani negli anni 1996-1997 sotto la direzione della dott.ssa R. Camerata-Scovazzo. Il materiale è in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive: 10 frammenti della forma MGS VI/varianti, di cui 7 di ipotetica fabbrica campana e solo 3 di probabile origine siciliana

[213] Cfr. Vaggioli 2001, 451, nota 11, US 4485 (strato eterogeneo, databile in età medievale); nota 13, US 4613 (strato eterogeneo, databile in età medievale); 452, nota 15, US 4617 (strato databile in età imperiale); 454, nota 21, US 4633 (strato databile nel II sec. a.C. avanzato?).

[214] Cfr. Bechtold 1999, 160, tipo AC 3C, tav. XXXII, 281.

[215] Cfr. Campagna 2000, 454, 2 esemplari (2.2%).

[216] Per dei frammentari provenienti da alcuni siti della Sicilia centro-meridionale si veda ora Olcese 2004, 182 dove a Camarina, Poggio Marcato di Agnone/Monte S. Angelo/Portella di Corso e Gela sembrano presenti delle anfore dei tipi MGS V/VI di origine campana.

[217] Per questo argomento si veda di recente Olcese 2004, 179 e nota 38 con ulteriore bibliografia.

[218] Si vedano anche Campagna 2000, 452 e di recente Olcese 2004, 180 '... proverebbe l'esistenza di esportazioni già ben organizzate tra il Golfo di Napoli e il Tirreno meridionale tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del III secolo a.C.'

[219] Si veda qui Vandermersch 2001, 174. Questi depositi siciliani databili fra le due guerre puniche dovrebbero quindi corrispondere, grosso modo, all''orizzonte II' dello Vandermersch al quale l'autore attribuisce i contesti insediativi di Pech-Maho (218-201) e Costantina (fase 250-210). Si veda inoltre la tav. 2 con relitti e giacimenti sottomarini di IV-III sec. a.C. con materiale ceramico di origine centro-tirrenica.

[220] Cfr. Finley 1979, 149-150 '... der erste Punische Krieg war eine Katastrophe für den Westen und Süden Siziliens ... für die nächsten zwanzig Jahre [da intendere dopo il 238 a.C., cioè dopo la conquista della Sardegna in seguito alla ribellione numidica in Africa] sizilianischer Geschichte weisen die vorhandenen Zeugnisse eine Lücke auf ...'. Per Lilybaeum si veda anche Bechtold 1999, 281.

[221] Per questo fenomeno si veda anche Bechtold c. d. s. 3, § II.3.

[222] Per questa ipotesi si veda anche Vandermersch 2001, 174.

[223] Per l'intensificata espansione commerciale romana verso la penisola iberica intorno alla metà del III sec. a.C. cfr. Asensio/Martín 1998, 143.

[224] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 176-177. Per la Sicilia è particolarmente significativa la rappresentazione alla tav. 1 dalla quale risulta che dei sei bolli latini meglio attestati, cinque sono documentati nella Sicilia occidentale che risulta quindi l'area geografica con più documentazioni.

[225] A proposito delle MGS V rinvenute sul sito di Pech Maho (Gallia meridionale) cfr. Olcese 2004, 183 '... un gruppo delle anfore greco-italiche di Pech Maho, Gallia meridionale (tipo Will A) presenta somiglianze, morfologiche, epigrafiche, di impasto e di tecnica artigianale con quelle delle anfore greco-italiche di Ischia (gruppo chimico 2).' È in corso un riesame di tutti i dati da parte di un'équipe francese. Per Ensérune cfr. Olcese 2004, 183 'Le analisi hanno confermato che gli esemplari analizzati hanno composizioni chimiche analoghe a quelle del gruppo chimico 2 del materiale rinvenuto a Ischia.'

[226] Si fa cenno soltanto al fondamentale volume *Les fàcies ceràmiques d'importació a la costa ibèrica*, in particolare p. 70, fig. 1.

[227] Un accenno a questo 'dato anforico'' rilevato in ambito magno greco si trova ora anche in Fariselli 2002, 322.

[228] Per una bibliografia aggiornata del tipo e la discussione della sua diffusione cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 4, cat. 13-20. Per Velia V. Gassner ha identificato fra i materiali provenienti dai recenti scavi alle mura della città bassa 6 esemplari dei tipi Ramón T-7.1.2.1./6.1.2.1., a giudicare dall'esame macroscopico tutti di ipotetica fabbrica siciliana, cfr. anche nota 235.

[229] Si veda anche Lancel 1992, 380; Hans 1983, 109-111.

[230] Sia nelle necropoli che nell'abitato cartaginese della fine del IV-inizio del III sec. a.C. si rinviene, fra l'altro, una certa quantità di ceramica a vernice nera di produzione siciliana, probabilmente proveniente dalla Sicilia occidentale e dall'isola di Lipari. Per le necropoli cfr. Chelbi 1992, 18-19 'Aux alentours de 300 av. J.C., la céramique siciliote semble connaître un essor particulier ... la céramique siciliote a ... pour le 1er tiers du IIIème s., la prédominance sur les autres productions importées'. Molto meno marcata la presenza di ceramica di fabbrica siciliana nell'abitato, cfr. Bechtold 2006, 492, fig. 265, 532-533 (0.3%, ovvero solo 3 esemplari).

[231] Fondamentale a questo riguardo il recente contributo di Olcese 2004, 180-181 con un breve commento sull'ipotetica origine dei corrispettivi carichi.

[232] Per una aggiornata, esauriente bibliografia sull'annoso problema della provenienza del relitto della Secca di Capistello dalla Campania, dalla Sicilia oppure anche dalla zona del Bruzio tirreno cfr. Campagna 2000, 452, nota 83. Ad ogni modo, il Campagna osserva che ad un esame diretto le anfore dei relitti della Secca di Capistello, Roghi di Panarea (fine del IV sec. a.C.) e Capo Graziano B (IV sec. a.C.) mostrano argille con composizione abbastanza simile. Per il relitto della Secca di Capistello si vedano da ultimi Olcese 2004, 181 - 'Si tratta di anfore simili a quelle rinvenute ad Ischia per tipologia, impasto, caratteristiche di lavorazione (ansa con ditata alla base) e come modo di bollare' - e Morel 2004, 81-87 che sembra tuttora favorire una origine siciliana dell'imbarcazione: '...l'origine sicilienne ne fait pratiquement plus de doute, et pointe plus précisément, pour le dialecte et l'onomastique, la Sicile orientale...'. Sulla base di una visione diretta del materiale, il Morel sottolinea soprattutto la disomogeneità del lotto di 300 vasi a vernice nera, molto probabilmente non attribuibili ad un'unica officina come fu allora proposto dal Blanck. Escludendo una provenienza pitecusana della ceramica a vernice nera del relitto della Secca di Capistello, ricorda le affinità tipologiche, tecniche e decorative della forma 10 del Blank (F. 4242) a delle serie ceramiche fabbricate nella Sicilia occidentale (Lilybaeum), cioè delle forme 3 e 8 alla produzione delle fornaci di Kouass (Marocco). Concludendo l'Autore constata che a causa della 'diversité déséquilibrée', 'Je ne suis pas convaincu ... qu'il convient d'insister sur l'homogénéité de la cargaison de la Secca di Capistello'.

[233] Cfr. Morel 1982, 46 e Morel 1998a, 16.

[234] Cfr. Lancel 1992, 383.

[235] Le anfore puniche di Velia sono in corso di studio da parte di V. Gassner (cfr. nota 1, 18) alla quale rimando per questa edizione preliminare della documentazione anforica nella fase E (220-175 a.C.).

[236] Cfr. Vandermersch 2001, 191.

[237] Cfr. Greene 1986, 116.

[238] Cfr. Greene 1986, 141-142.

[239] Vi sono compresi anche alcuni contesti di II sec. a.C. che contengono, tuttavia, in gran parte ceramiche riferibili al IV sec. a.C.

[240] Cioè di probabile provenienza non nordafricana.

[241] Dati tratti da: Maraoui Telmini 2006, context 7453.

[242] All'interno di ciascuna unità stratigrafica, in seguito ad un accurato esame macroscopico, il materiale anforico (sia frammenti diagnostici che frammenti non diagnostici) di ipotetica produzione locale/regionale è stato separato dalle anfore di importazione che sono state divise, a loro volta, secondo le classi di impasto individuate. In tal modo, per ca. 250 frammenti relativi ad anfore di importazione sono stati presi 110 campioni ceramici, in un secondo tempo attribuiti, sempre su base macroscopica (con lente di ingrandimento 8x), a ca. 45 fabbriche diverse. Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare il direttore del Musée de Carthage, Dr. F. Chelbi, per aver consentito lo spostamento temporaneo dei suddetti campioni in Europa.

[243] Ringrazio ancora l'amica V. Gassner per aver trovato il tempo per un confronto macroscopico diretto, nei locali dell'Institut für Klassische Archäologie dell'Università di Vienna, del materiale proveniente da Cartagine (Bir Massouda) e la sua folta campionatura relativa a numerose fabbriche di tipi anforici greci, presentata sotto un profilo archeologico in Gassner 2003 che si basa sui dati delle analisi archeometriche di R. Sauer, ancora inedite.

[244] È previsto, infatti, un progetto relativo alle analisi archeometriche dei campioni provenienti da Cartagine, in collaborazione con l'Institut für Klassische Archäologie dell'Università di Vienna.

[245] Un'attestazione molto simile di anfore orientali (25%) risulta per i contenitori di importazione provenienti dai contesti di fine del V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C. rinvenuti nello scavo dell'Università di Amburgo, cfr. Bechtold 2006, 683, fig. 376. Genericamente per la documentazione di anfore ionie a Cartagine in età classica ed ellenistica cfr. Morel 1998c, 31.

[246] Per una recentissima discussione di questa famiglia anforica si veda ora Gassner 2005.

[247] A proposito delle anfore levantine, estremamente frequenti nella Cartagine arcaica (Docter 1997, 108-115), rimane a mio avviso ancora da controllare, se non si possa trattare di materiale residuale, in giacitura secondaria all'interno di questi contesti di IV sec. a.C. Cfr. anche Morel 1998c, 31 che cita qualche esemplare di V-prima metà del IV sec. a.C.

[248] Cfr. Bechtold 2006, 663. fig. 362, anfore da Corinto/Corcira rappresentano all'incirca il 13% del totale di 31 esemplari di importazione (fine del V-IV sec. a.C.).

[249] Cfr. Morel 1998c, 31.

[250] Cfr. Bechtold 2006, 663, fig. 362. Più generico Morel 1998c, 31, nota 44.

[251] Interessa qui ricordare tuttavia l'ipotetico ruolo di Poseidonia come punto di smistamento ed imbarco per una parte dei trasferimenti di mercenari campani verso la Sicilia del IV sec. a.C., '...ammettendo che i tracciati delle leve mercenarie coincidessero con i percorsi commerciali...', cfr. Fariselli 2002, 329. L'eventuale documentazione di anfore commerciali provenienti dall'area della Lucania settentrionale, ovvero della Campania meridionale non è stata ancora esaminata per i siti della Sicilia centro-occidentale. Allo stato attuale degli studi appare quindi più cauto non collegare i due fenomeni, cioè la presenza a Cartagine di un piccolo assemblaggio di anfore attribuite alle città di Velia e Poseidonia da un lato, e la possibile funzione della stessa Poseidonia come punto di smistamento per mercenari campani in trasferimento verso la Sicilia dall'altro.

[252] Sono presenti diverse fabbriche, in questa fase di lavoro solo genericamente attribuite alla Sardegna punica.

[253] Bisogna sottolineare che a livello macroscopico gli impasti siciliani si distinguono solo con difficoltà dalle fabbriche nordafricane.

[254] Per il contenuto delle anfore chiote cfr. Docter 1997, 243.

[255] Per il contenuto delle anfore samie cfr. Docter 1997, 241.

[256] Cfr. Bechtold 2006, 663, fig. 362.

[257] Da ultimo si vedano Morel 1998c, 31 e Peacock 1986.

[258] Cfr. Greene 1986, 110, fig. 5, 116.

[259] Per i limiti geografici di questo *territorium* si veda Greene 1986, 135.

[260] Cfr. Greene 1986, 118.

[261] Cfr. Greene 1986, 141.

[262] Cfr. Greene 1986, 142-143, 148-149, episodi databili agli anni 201 e 191 a.C..

[263] Cfr. Greene 1986, 151.

[264] Cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, §3.2.3. con una sintesi dei dati pubblicati in *Les facies ceràmiques d'importació a la costa ibèrica*. Sulla penisola iberica anfore cartaginesi dei tipi Ramón T.5.2.3.1. e T-7.2.1.1., più avanti T-7.4.3.1., sono ben documentate a partire dall'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C. insieme a quantità più piccole di anfore grecoitaliche di fabbrica campana, e ceramica fine delle classi campana A e calena a vernice nera. Ricorrono inoltre discrete quantità di ceramica comune di fabbrica cartaginese la cui presenza ha permesso di ipotizzare una rotta commerciale dalla Campania via Cartagine con una partecipazione attiva di commercianti punici, si vedano Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3. e Sala Sellés 1998, 46.

[265] A conclusioni analoghe, ma qui riferite in prima linea ai siti ubicati nel bacino nord-occidentale del Mediterraneo, arriva Olcese 2004, 180. Si veda inoltre Vandermersch 2001, 179, 191.

[266] Cfr. Pinzone 1999, nella sua ricostruzione storica l'Autore constata che le intraprese commerciali italico-campane verso l'area nordafricana risalgono agli anni immediatamente successivi alla prima guerra punica (p. 390), periodo per il quale possiamo già supporre una forte presenza di mercanti romani ed italici nell'isola. In più, il questore lasciato a Lilibeo aveva verosimilmente anche '... compiti di protezione e controllo dei flussi commerciali che interessavano l'ex piazzaforte punica e la Sicilia occidentale in generale', oltre ai doveri di natura militare ed amministrativa, (p. 391 e nota 50 per la precoce presenza di bolli anforari latini ad Erice). Si vedano inoltre le pp. 394-395 e 402 per la presenza di romani ed italici in Sicilia già a partire dal III sec. a.C. Cfr. inoltre Vandermersch 2001, 191.

[267] Cfr. Ramón 1995, 265-266, ipotesi basata soprattutto sul rinvenimento sulle pareti di alcuni esemplari di questi tipi di tracce di sostanze resinose. Da ultimi Tresserras/Matamala 2004, 285. Per il rinvenimento di sostanze nerastre sulle pareti interne di anfore T-7.4.2.1./3.1. rinvenute recentemente a Cartagine cfr. Bechtold c. d. s. 2, § 3.2.3.

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Greek colonists and indigenous populations at L'Amastuola, southern Italy

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Abstract

*The Archaic settlement at L'Amastuola (15 km north-west of Taranto) is considered as a key site for the understanding of processes of colonization and modes of interactions between indigenes and Greeks. In this article, we present some preliminary results of fieldwork carried out between 2003 and 2005 in and around L'Amastuola. The outcomes of our excavations and surface surveys shed new light on the nature and occupation history of the site. During the late 8th century it was settled by indigenous people, who possibly around 670 BC fortified the hill top with a double circumvallation. The site is characterized by a heterogeneous material culture, with 'typical indigenous' items, such as the defensive system, hut plans and ceramic repertoires, fused with 'typical Greek' items, such as house plans, pottery and burial customs. This suggests that L'Amastuola housed an independent community, with a mixed indigenous-Greek background. A highly significant piece of evidence for this is a stele of indigenous type found among burials that are in line with Greek traditions. This situation lasted until the first half of the 5th century, when we witness substantial alterations in the organization of settlement and cemeteries, and in land use. We argue that these changes mark the westward colonial expansion of Taras, and propose that the L'Amastuola area was incorporated in the Tarentine chora not around 675 BC - as some scholars suggest - but only in the course of the 5th century.**

1. INTRODUCTION

The Greek colonization of the 8th to 5th centuries BC constitutes a field of scholarly interest with a long history of research. It is also a field in which from time to time traditional viewpoints are reconsidered and re-evaluated. One of the issues that currently plays an important role in the debate concerns the nature of the Greek presence in Italy and Sicily, especially during the first phases of contact. Since its discovery in 1991, the site of L'Amastuola in the vicinity of the Greek colony of Taras (today's Taranto, in Puglia) has claimed a key role in this debate. The site has yielded remains of both Greek and indigenous inhabitation in the 8th to 5th centuries. Moreover, the archaeological remains are accessible for archaeological research, which is fairly rare for an early colonial settlement. In this article, we present some preliminary results of our fieldwork in and around L'Amastuola during three campaigns in 2003 - 2005. The fieldwork was carried out by the Department of Archaeology of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* (ACVU), in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia*. It consisted of both excavations and field surveys, as well as non-destructive geophysical surveys and geo-archaeological and botanical analysis. The outcomes of the first campaigns have shed important new light on the character of the site, and on the relationships between indigenous peoples and Greek settlers in the Archaic period. We feel that this will also affect our understanding of the development of the Greek colony of Taras and, more generally, the current debate on Greek colonization in southern Italy.

2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF EARLY ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN GREEKS AND INDIGENES IN SOUTH-EASTERN ITALY

One aspect that has thus far remained underexposed in the debate on early Greek colonization concerns the nature of the relationships between Greeks and indigenous populations. According to the prevailing view, these relationships were determined by the cultural superiority of the Greeks and by Greek dominance in economic, military and political matters. If we take the colonization by Greeks in Italy as an example, we see that an active, 'civilizing' role is attributed to the colonists, which is contrasted with the supposedly passive and receptive role reserved for the indigenous people.[1] However, this perspective on early Greek colonization is currently being reconsidered in the wake of a more general tendency towards cultural relativism. One of the results is a stronger emphasis on the interaction between Greeks and indigenous populations and on the two-sided character of the relationships.[2]

Two important outcomes of this new interest can already be observed. One concerns the creation of a different or at least a more diversified picture, not only of the Greek presence in Italy, but also of the encounters between Greeks and various indigenous populations. Some scholars have challenged the picture of Greek dominance[3] or have advocated a model of peaceful interactions between Greeks and natives on an equal footing.[4] Others have argued that during the phase of first contact in the 8th and 7th centuries, Greek encounters with south-eastern Italy in particular was a phenomenon that took place on the margins of a developing cultural and political landscape dominated by indigenous communities.[5] Yet other students of Greek colonization conclude that here and in other parts of southern Italy and Sicily, there is evidence of colonial expansion of a warlike nature, which included the expulsion or subjection of natives.[6] It is also held that the initiative to undertake this kind of colonization was taken by members of the Greek warrior elite. For this elite, the foundation of a colony and the forceful acquisition of land were activities that were closely connected with the prevailing aristocratic ethos.[7]

Another important result of the new interest in Greek-indigenous interactions is the greater significance attributed to the archaeological source material. In the wake of this, written sources are being re-examined in the light of archaeological data. Written testimony appears to contain information that frequently contradicts archaeological findings. This has led to an evaluation of textual and archaeological data, and a to re-evaluation and contextualization of the ancient source material. The greater importance attached to archaeological sources has also stimulated a critical re-evaluation of the concept of colonization itself. In the traditional view, which rests on the ancient literary tradition, the founding of a Greek colony is perceived as a single action or a sequence of individual actions involving the transplantation of a new population and a new culture to foreign soil. More recently, however, there has been a tendency to consider Greek colonization as a form of migration that is to be analysed not so much as a single event but as a long, drawn-out process. Or, referring to the Annales School paradigm,[8] there is a shift away from considering colonization in terms of *événements* to a point of view that considers migration and settlement abroad in terms of *conjonctures*. This process encompasses the movements of people (not necessarily in a single wave or originating in one particular place), interactions with local populations (in different contexts, at various social levels and with differing outcomes), the negotiation of local identities, the redefinition of material culture, rearrangements of the landscape, the organization and frequent reorganization of the colonial landscape and territory, etc. It is archaeology in particular that has the potential to study such long-term processes.

The debate on these issues has not yet been concluded. What is becoming increasingly clear, however, is that archaeological data are necessary to test different models and hypotheses. One of the problems concerning the current state of the archaeological record is the relatively limited number of excavations of indigenous or Greek sites belonging to the earliest phases of Greek colonization and, more importantly, the often fragmentary state of the remains. These problems are further aggravated by the fact that the earliest habitation layers are often buried under later settlement remains. This especially concerns colonial settlements, which tend to have a long occupation history. Here, Taras/Taranto is a particularly telling example. What is more, little research on a regional scale has been carried out, which makes it difficult to put Greek-indigenous interactions in the wider perspective of settlement systems, land use, and the natural and cultural landscape in general.

Seen in this context, L'Amastuola - which lies to the north-west of Taranto - is an important site with considerable potential. Earlier trial excavations by the *Soprintendenza* provided evidence of both indigenous and Greek occupation, contemporary with the foundation of nearby Taras and the following, formative period of this colony. Moreover, the site is readily accessible, since only a small part is covered by later buildings. The site therefore provides a very rare opportunity to investigate pre- and proto-colonial settlement remains. It is potentially a key site that will allow us to test existing viewpoints regarding the character of first contact situations in this part of Italy. Moreover, the surrounding landscape offers opportunities for field surveys as a contribution to a regional study of the site's setting.

With respect to L'Amastuola, there are at least two possible models at hand that may help to understand the interrelationships between Greeks and indigenes. One model presupposes peaceful coexistence between colonists and the indigenous population. Seen from this perspective, L'Amastuola is comparable to other contemporary settlements bordering the Gulf of Taranto, including

L'Incoronata and Siris.[9] The other model incorporates the idea of violent actions and warlike encounters between Greeks and natives, resulting in mutual relationships in which the Greeks were dominant. At the outset of our research project the latter model seemed to have the best credentials. Trial excavations at L'Amastuola had produced evidence that seemed to suggest that a first, indigenous occupation phase came to a violent end due to the arrival of Greek colonists (see section 5 below). Moreover, the ancient tradition has it that the oracle of Delphi made the following promise to the Spartan party that was going to settle at Taras in 706 BC:

> I have given to you Satyrion and Taras, a rich country
> to dwell in and to be a plague to the Iapyges.[10]

In ancient Greek parlance, 'Iapyges' designate the indigenous people living in this part of southern Italy. The expression 'to be a plague to the Iapyges' (πήματ᾽ Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι), which has a decidedly Homeric ring to it (cf. *Il.* 22.421-22), suggests that the Spartan colonists during the act of founding the colony and probably also afterwards had the heroic and, in essence, holy obligation to expel the indigenous population.

3. L'AMASTUOLA: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONS

L'Amastuola is located some 15 km north-west of the modern city of Taranto (*fig. 1*). The site is on a flat-topped, elongated ridge that reaches an altitude of 200-213 m above sea level (*fig. 2*). The ridge consists of grey dolomite in the shape of a spur, and is in fact a continuation of a larger dolomite massif situated more to the east. The site derives its name from a *masseria* (landed estate) that crowns the highest point of the ridge (*fig. 3*). It was built mainly in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries of our era, but ceased to function some decades ago.

Especially on the south and south-west of the L'Amastuola ridge, the hill slopes are steep, which makes access to the site from these directions especially difficult. Here, there is a crescent-shaped plateau - the so-called south terrace - where until now all archaeological excavations have been con-

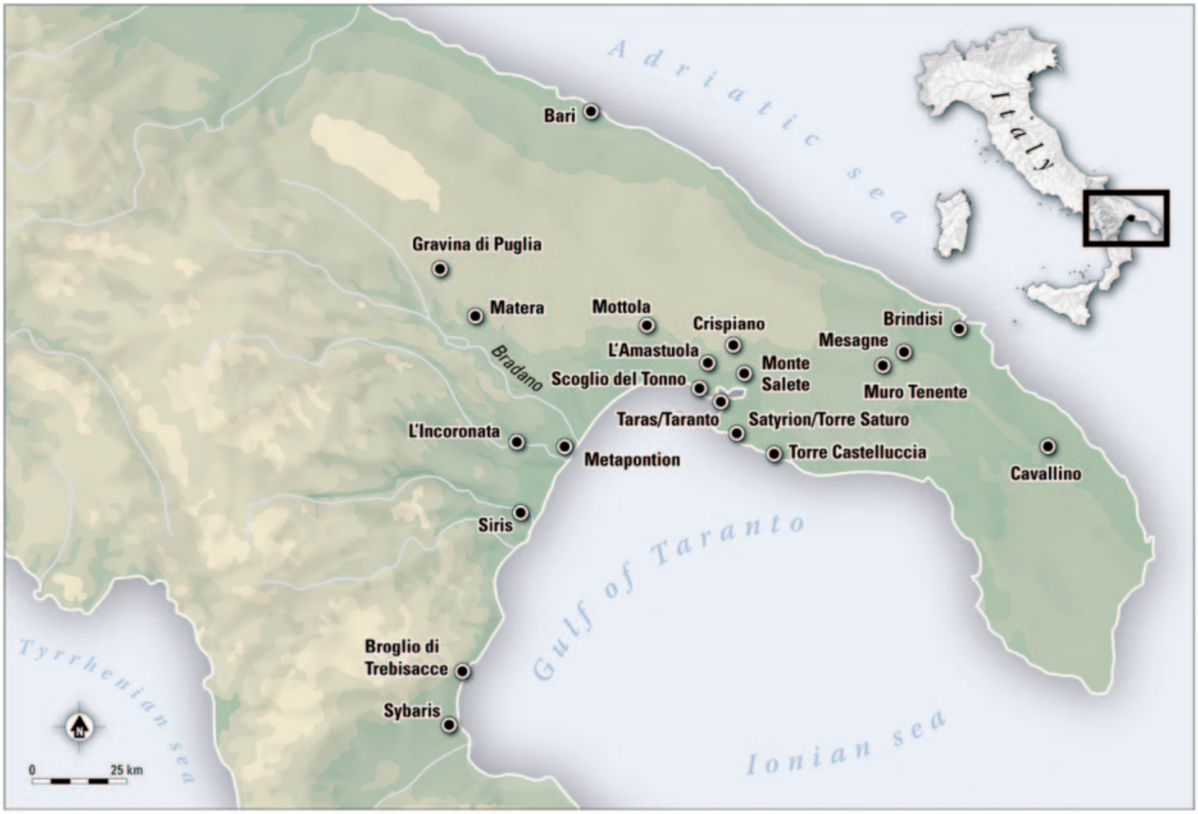
Adriatic sea
Italy
Bari
Gravina di Puglia
Matera
Mottola
Crispiano
Brindisi
Mesagne
L'Amastuola
Monte Salete
Bradano
Scoglio del Tonno
Muro Tenente
Taras/Taranto
Satyrion/Torre Saturo
L'Incoronata
Torre Castelluccia
Metapontion
Cavallino
Siris
Gulf of Taranto
Broglio di Trebisacce
Sybaris
Tyrrhenian sea
Ionian sea
0
25 km

Fig. 1. Regional map of south-east Italy (with sites mentioned in the text).

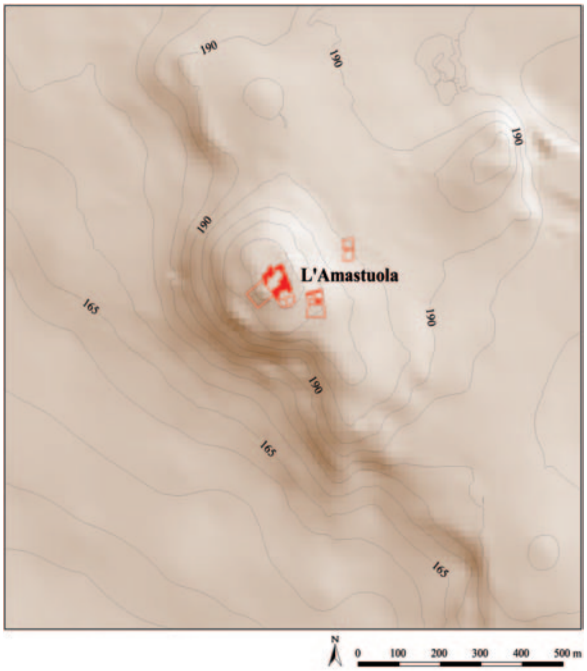

Fig. 2. Contour map of L'Amastuola and environs.

centrated. This is generally flat terrain (200-205 m), although the east part of the terrace clearly constitutes somewhat higher grounds (205-210 m). The terrace is delineated in the south by terrace walls, three to five metres high. It was used as arable land, most recently for the cultivation of barley. To the south-east of this terrace there is a second terrace, at a slightly lower elevation (ca 200 m). The steep, southern slopes of the L'Amastuola ridge are nowadays peppered with maquis bushes and incidental olive trees. Further to the south, at about a kilometre from L'Amastuola, the dolomite rock comes to the surface over a long strip of land, which is covered by maquis. It is in this area that a number of cemeteries are located (*fig. 34*). To the north and north-west of L'Amastuola, the hillsides are less steep, giving relatively easy access to a shallow, sheltered valley that is part of an upland plain that stretches almost all the way to Crispiano.

The wider landscape around L'Amastuola can be divided in three zones (see *figs. 1, 27*). The first is the coastal zone, characterized by flat to slightly sloping lands, consisting of conglomerates. Next comes the undulating landscape of which the

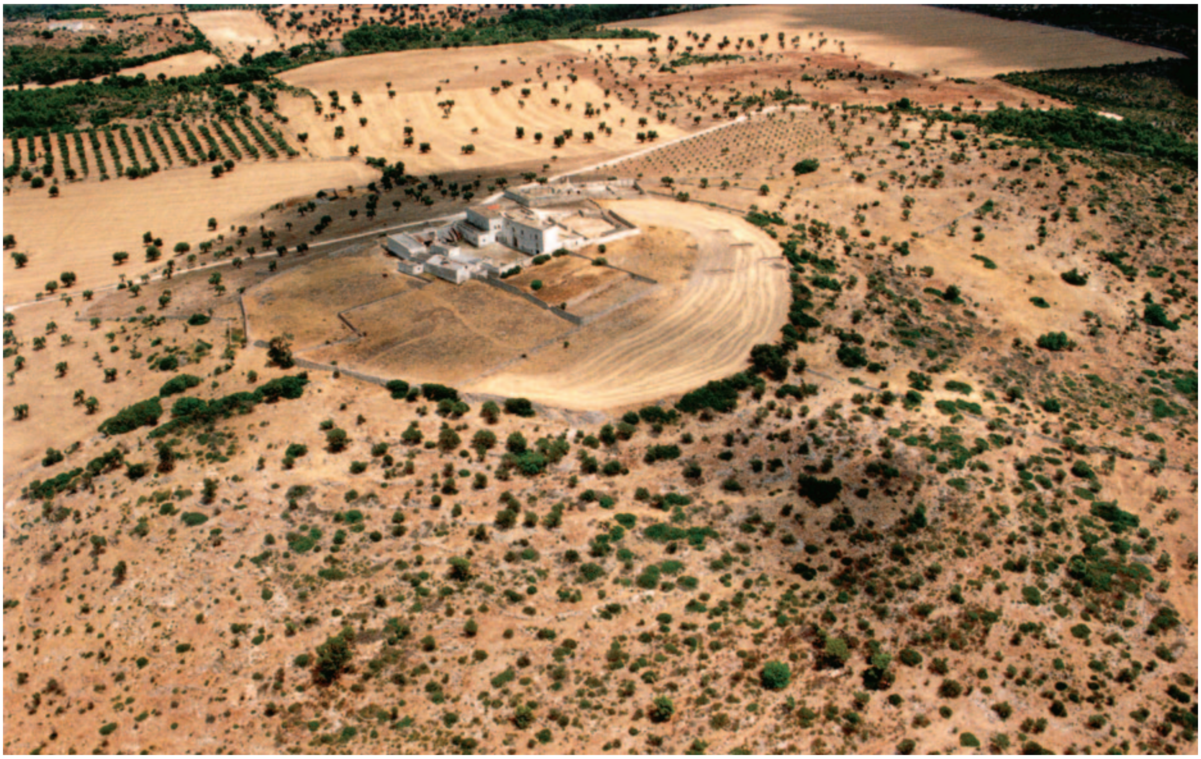

Fig. 3. Aerial photo of the L'Amastuola hilltop (from W/NW).
Photograph published with kind permission of the Società Kikau.

L'Amastuola hill is a part. It consists of clayey yellow lime-arenite and forms a transitory zone between the coastal area and the upland Murge (the tableland that extends from the Bari district in the north-west to the Salento peninsula in the south-east). Nowadays, wheat, olives, vines and vegetables are grown in this area, although some decades ago the entire coastal region (both flat lands and sloping grounds) was covered with olive trees. The Murge plateau with its upland plains at an average altitude of 400-500 m forms the third zone. It has poor soils on a rocky subsurface of dolomite.

In the coastal plain there are many small riverine gullies, while the undulating landscape that surrounds L'Amastuola is cut by deep canyon-like river valleys. One of these is the Gravina di L'Amastuola, which is situated at some distance to the east of the site (*figs. 28-29*). It is a particularly deep gorge that runs north-south/south-east. The majority of gorges in the region are dry for most of the year. Both the banks and the floors of these canyons were used as overland routes in pre-modern times, and some - like the ones around Crispiano - are still used for this purpose.

4. PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Archaeological research at L'Amastuola started in 1988, when in response to severe looting activities Grazia Angela Maruggi, *ispettrice* for the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia*, investigated tombs located in the area some 800 m south of the L'Amastuola hill. These tombs are part of an extensive necropolis, comprising, as Maruggi estimates, some 1000 graves, the large majority of which have been plundered (*figs. 34-35*). A total of 154 tombs have been excavated. About half of these belong to children or infants. Some thirty tombs were undisturbed and contained grave goods. The pottery found in them (Middle Protocorinthian to Middle Corinthian) indicates that they span the period from the second quarter of the 7th century to the first decades of the 6th century. However, fragments of black gloss skyphoi and intact but empty tombs - which have parallels in Taranto - suggest that the cemetery was still in use during the 5th century. According to Maruggi, both the grave goods and the burial practices testify to an exclusively Greek milieu.[11]

In 1991, Maruggi carried out trial excavations at two locations on the south terrace of L'Amastuola (see *fig. 5*: 'sopr. a', 'sopr. b'). These yielded evidence of indigenous and Greek inhabitation of the site. On the basis of Maruggi's preliminary reports it is possible to distinguish three main phases in the occupation history of the site (*fig. 4*). Phase 1 (dated between ca 730/720 and 690/680 BC) is represented by the remains of a fortification wall (*agger*) that follows the south side of the terrace, and by part of a curvilinear wall that belongs to a hut, below a later construction (building α); associated with these hut remains are traces of burning. This first phase is attributed to a Iapygian settlement that is believed to have been completely destroyed by Greek colonists. Phase 2 (dated from ca 680 BC onwards) is attributed to the arrival and settlement of Greeks, thought to be connected with the first territorial expansion of the colony of Taras. During what here is called Phase 2a, three small buildings of Greek type were constructed. They are one-room buildings, consisting of a dry-stone foundation that probably supported walls made of mudbrick. The two largest buildings - which Maruggi designated as *oikoi* β and γ - presumably had a domestic function, while the smallest (building α) was possibly used as a storage facility or pen. After some time, during what we may call Phase 2b, an enclosed area was created south of *oikos* β. During the ensuing Phase 3 (dated to the end of the 7th century BC), a large, more or less rectangular building was constructed close to the entrance to *oikos* β, but seems to take into consideration the existence of buildings α and β. Possibly it was covered entirely or partially by a tiled roof; its function, however, remains obscure.[12] According to Maruggi, the ceramics associated with these three phases cover a period mainly between ca 730 and 575 BC. She supposes that indigenous pottery found in strata connected to Phases 2 and 3 can be interpreted as 'residue material' from the first, indigenous phase.[13]

5. AIMS OF THE L'AMASTUOLA RESEARCH PROJECT

In 2003, the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* resumed fieldwork in and around L'Amastuola. The aim of the fieldwork project is to generate a larger and more complete data set by means of a combination of excavations and systematic field surveys of the surrounding region, supplemented by data obtained from geophysical prospection and archaeobotanical and zoo-archaeological research. One of the major attractions of L'Amastuola is that it has the potential to yield important information about diachronic developments in the use and organization of landscape and settlement during the pre-colonial and early colonial phases. This in its turn can provide an important, new contribution to the current debate about the background and

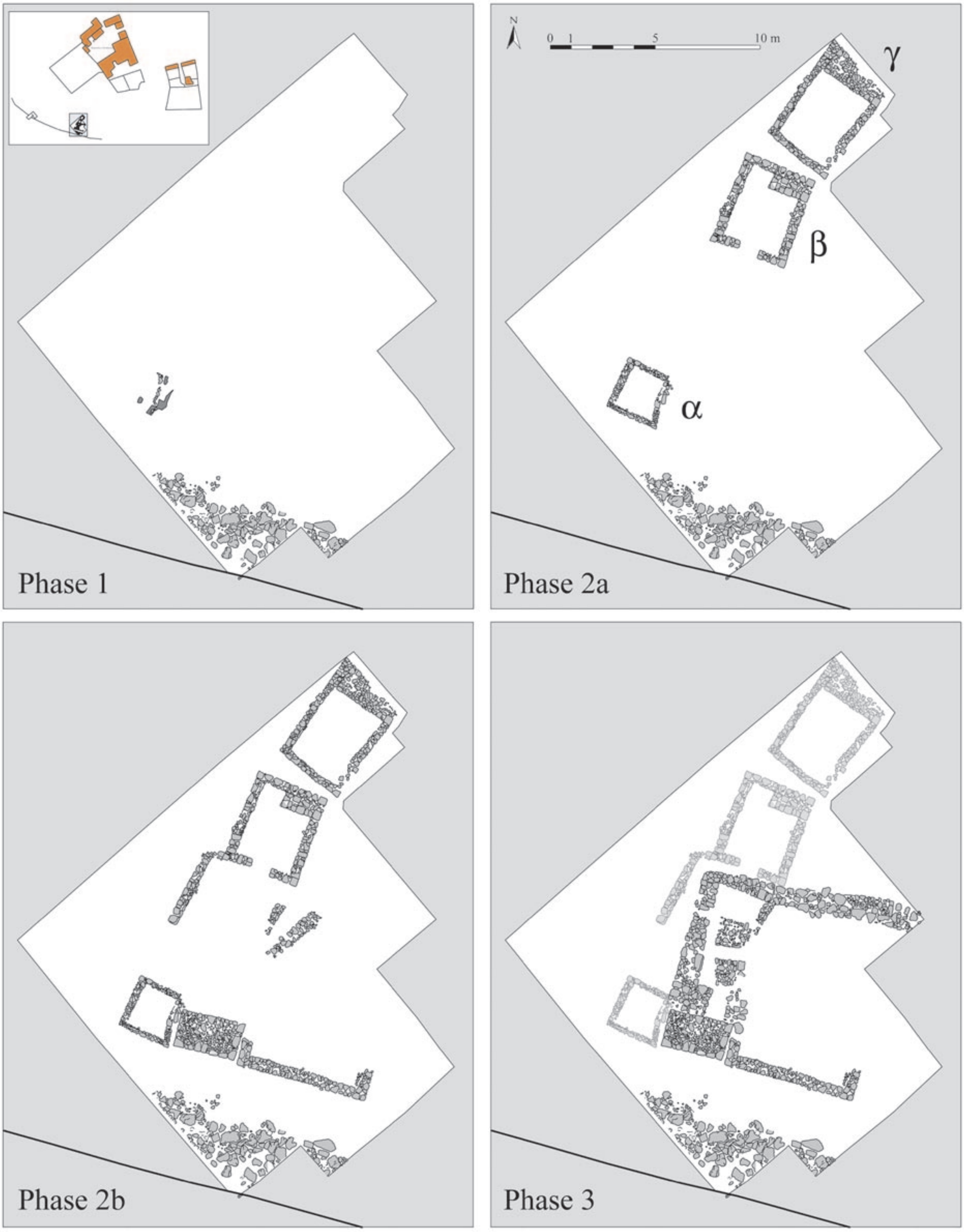
N
0
1
5
10 m
γ
β
α
Phase 1
Phase 2a
Phase 2b
Phase 3

Fig. 4. L'Amastuola, south terrace: plan of four occupation phases represented in central trench excavated by G.A. Maruggi.

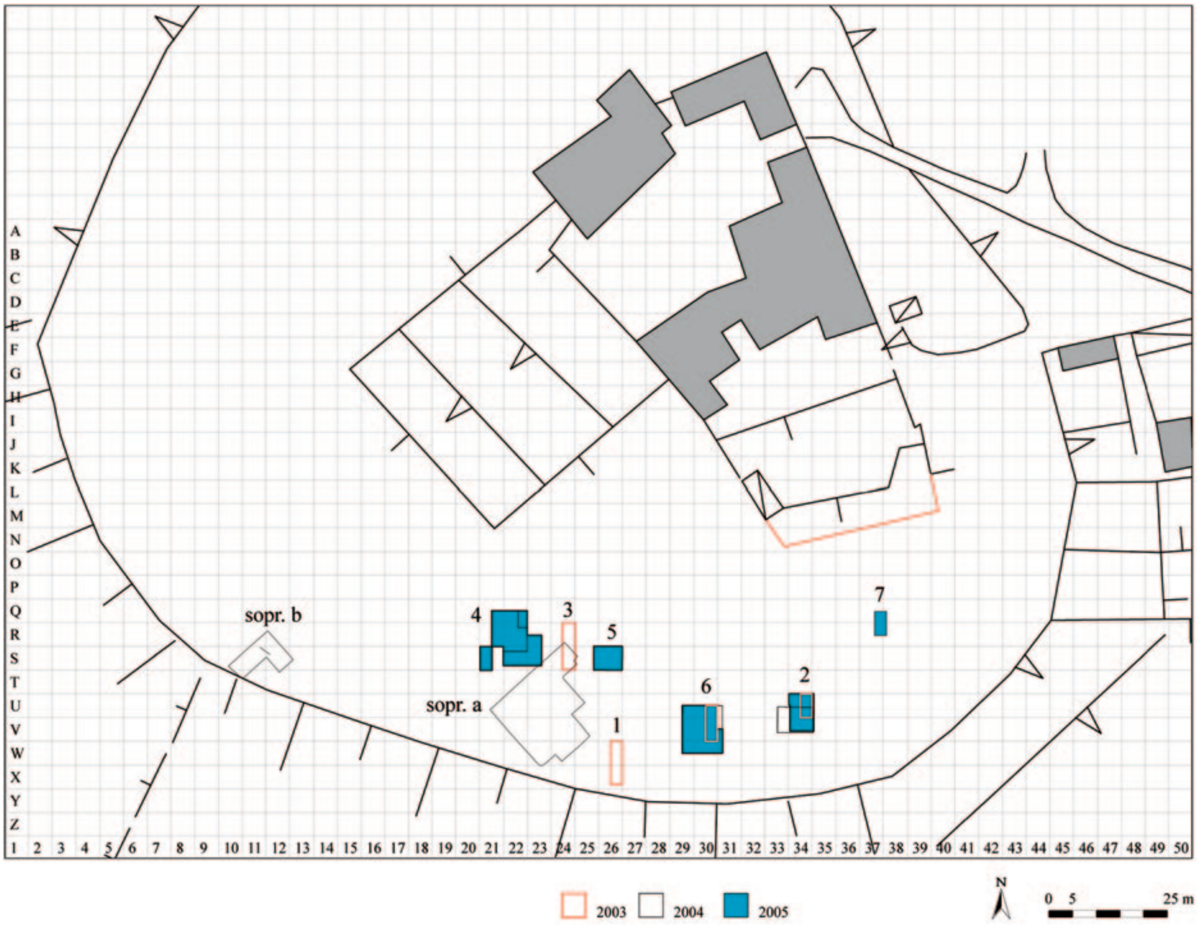

Fig. 5. L'Amastuola, south terrace: location of trenches.

character of Greek colonization in southern Italy in general and the expansion of Taras in particular, bringing explicitly into the discussion the indigenous presence in the region and the interactions between indigenous populations and Greek settlers. Within this general framework, we are focusing on four sub-themes.

1. Indigenous inhabitation

In southern Italy, indigenous settlement remains from the pre- and proto-colonial periods have been little investigated; archaeological research has traditionally focused above all on the colonial Greek enclaves along the Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas. As a consequence, it is difficult to construct a comprehensive picture of indigenous settlement patterns and the dynamism of settlement systems and land use. Nevertheless, such a picture is vital for the understanding of the context that Greek migrants encountered in this region and to Greek-indigenous relations in general.

Some scholars perceive the indigenous societies in southern Italy as underdeveloped, static and passive. In these views, Greek involvement is considered to have been a dominant factor even in the period preceding colonization. It is suggested that in that phase, Greek trading activities prompted indigenous groups to settle on hilltop sites near the shores.[14] Recently, such views have been critically reassessed, notably with regard to the Sybaris region. Thanks mainly to the decades-long systematic fieldwork carried out by Renato Peroni's Roman School of Prehistory at Broglio di Trebisacce and environs, the indigenous societies of the Sybaris region can now be argued to have been characterized by dynamic processes of social competition and, associated with this, of settlement expansion, prior to the Greek colonization movement.[15] It can even be suggested that Greeks were attracted to the Sybaris shores by this dynamism. A similar argument has recently been proposed for other parts of southern Italy and should also be addressed with regard to the indigenous inhabitation at L'Amastuola.

2. Greek-indigenous relationships

A crucial question that needs to be addressed concerns the nature of interactions between Greeks and indigenes, especially during the first phase of Greek settlement in Italy (late 8th-late 7th century). As referred to in section 2, different modes of interaction have been suggested, varying from violent confrontation to peaceful coexistence and integration. For examples of violent confrontations, we refer to some parts of southern Italy and Sicily where the indigenous population was expelled or subjected. A possible case of more peaceful interactions between Greek settlers and indigenous inhabitants can be found in the coastal regions along the Gulf of Taranto, of which L'Amastuola forms a part. The archaeological data have recently been suggested to present a picture of small numbers of Greek migrants settling initially in or next to existing indigenous settlements. This raises the question whether L'Amastuola fits into this regional pattern. What seems to counter this is the literary evidence (see Taras' foundation oracle in section 2) and the trial excavations by the *Soprintendenz*a, which might indicate the replacement of the indigenous inhabitants by Greek settlers. But then again, our literary sources are relatively late and it is uncertain whether the oracular response to the Spartan colonists is authentic.[16] With respect to the excavations, it remains to be seen whether the part of the settlement investigated is representative of the whole site.[17] In this respect, it is crucial whether at L'Amastuola there is a clear-cut division between strata containing either indigenous or colonial material remains, or whether we find that there was a certain overlap (for instance, in the simultaneous use of indigenous and colonial Greek pottery) that could be taken as evidence of the coexistence of indigenous inhabitants and Greek settlers.[18] Obviously, fieldwork is the key to answering these questions. Fieldwork is even more desirable, since other sites in the Tarantino that yielded possible indications of Greek and indigenous presence have been destroyed (Scoglio del Tonno), are inaccessible due to later occupation (Taranto: *città vecchia* and Borgo Nuovo) or have been excavated but published in an unsatisfactory manner (Satyrion/Torre Saturo).

3. Early colonial material culture

Settlement organization and architecture of both a public and a private nature can be reckoned among those aspects of early colonial material culture that are especially informative for the scale and nature of early colonial enterprises. However, architecture from the first phases of Greek settlement in southern Italy is still little known.[19] Further research to fill this lacuna is particularly relevant, as the late 8th and 7th centuries BC are generally regarded as a formative period for Greek culture, both at home and abroad. This period saw a number of interconnected developments, such as changes in house architecture ('from huts to houses'),[20] and the rational planning of town and country, which may or may not be connected with the rise of the polis.[21] It is generally acknowledged that sending Greek *apoikiai* overseas was an important catalyst that set in train - both in the colonies and in the mother cities - the conceptualization of the city, the polis and the polis community.[22] One of the aims of the excavations at L'Amastuola is to arrive at a detailed analysis of domestic and related architecture and, more generally, of the settlement's spatial organization. An important question in this connection is related to the determination of the nature and function of the settlement as a whole and of its place within a larger settlement system. An important aspect of this type of research is the spatial and functional analysis of pottery and other small finds. It is important to take into consideration synchronic as well as diachronic dimensions, for instance to determine similarities and differences in the corpus of ceramics that was in use during the indigenous and Greek phases of inhabitation at L'Amastuola. Special attention is given to indications of the fusion of elements of indigenous and Greek culture, and the possible backgrounds to this fusion. In general terms, we may say that the supposed opposition between 'Greek' and 'indigenous' has obfuscated our view of processes of cultural fusion in colonial contexts.[23] Thanks to the recent development of 'post-colonial' perspectives, students of ancient colonialism now have an eye for such processes as creolization[24] or the adaptation of elements of the indigenous material culture in order to create new, colonial identities.[25]

4. Layout of the colonial landscape

In the ancient Greek world, town and country formed an indissoluble unity. For this reason, the key to the study of the development of colonies lies in the development and exploitation of their territory (*chora*). In the case of the early Spartan colony of Taras, it was recently suggested that its territorial organization was polycentric, that is, it was not dominated by a single urban centre at Taras, but broken up into a number of *komai* (villages). This settlement pattern would be more or less analogous to that in the homeland of the Spartans, who are said to have been living in scattered hamlets (Thuc. 1.10.2: '*kata komas*').[26] The implementation of such an organization is argued to have been induced not only by traditional forms of habitation and exploitation in contemporary mainland Greece, but also by the need to define the colonial territory and to defend it against the indigenes. The results of the *Soprintendenza*'s trial excavations at L'Amastuola have been adduced in support of the above hypothesis. In relation to this, the argument goes that the *chora* of Taras came to differ fundamentally from that of neighbouring Metapontion. The latter colony started to exploit its territory from the second half of the 6th century onwards by means of a regularly laid out grid of land plots. Each of these plots held a farmstead belonging to one nuclear family.[27]

It may be noted that reconstructions of settlement organization and land use in the Metapontine region are based on systematic fieldwork carried out in the area of the ancient city as well as in the countryside. This situation stands in marked contrast to the present state of knowledge concerning Taras and the Tarantino. In order to draw firm conclusions about settlement patterns and the organization of the colonial landscape, and to make comparisons with adjacent regions, it is necessary to carry out a series of excavations of such sites as L'Amastuola, in combination with field surveys of the surrounding landscape. Only then the above hypothesis of a 'typical Spartan' settlement pattern of dispersed habitation in hamlets can be tested, and comparisons can be made with results obtained from excavations and surveys in and around Metapontion.

In the following sections (6-8), we present some preliminary results of the excavations, geophysical prospections, field surveys and mapping of the necropolis area, all of which was carried out between 2003 and 2005.[28] In section 9 we present some preliminary conclusions by reflecting upon the sub-themes delineated in this section. In section 9, we also attempt to compare, confront and combine the data of the excavations and surveys, and to incorporate the preliminary results of pottery analysis and the geophysical and archaeobotanical research.

6. OVERVIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS ON THE SOUTH TERRACE (2003-2005)

The principle aim of the excavations on the south terrace is to obtain information about the following aspects:

a. site-formation processes and post-depositional processes;
b. the stratigraphy of this part of the site;
c. the occupation history of this part of the site, with special attention for the specific periods represented, the size, nature and density of the occupation in different periods, the nature and chronology of domestic architecture, spatial organization of the settlement, and, finally, diachronic developments in architecture and use of space.

This section provides a brief overview of the excavation activities carried out between 2003 and 2005 (*fig. 5*). For each trench, a brief statement of the aims and a summary of the results are given.

Trench 1 (W26bd/X26bd)

Excavated: 2003. Location: on southern edge of south terrace, almost abutting the terrace wall. Aim: to locate and document the *agger*, find clues for dating, and trace associated architectural remains.

Part of the indigenous fortification system (*agger)* was located at a depth of approximately 1 m below surface level (*fig. 6*). The *agger* - which is 2-2.75 m in diameter and slopes down to the south - is not a standing wall but takes the shape of a glacis or rampart. It consists of large fieldstones laid in an irregular fashion, with smaller stones placed on top and in between them. Amidst these stones, pottery fragments of indigenous and colonial Greek (Middle Protocorinthian) type were found that provide a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the wall in the second half of the 7th century. A stratum connected with the *agger*'s 'foundation' provides an even clearer indication for dating: it contains fragments of *impasto* and matt-painted pottery (*fig. 7*), the majority of which date to the first quarter of the 7th century, although some are attributable to the second quarter, suggesting that the *agger* was built around 670 BC. The area north of the *agger* contained layers identifiable as filling material as well as wall remains that were much disturbed, dating mainly to the 6th and 5th centuries.

Trench 2 (U34-V34ab)

Excavated: 2003-2005. Location: on south-eastern part of terrace, on somewhat higher ground. Aim:

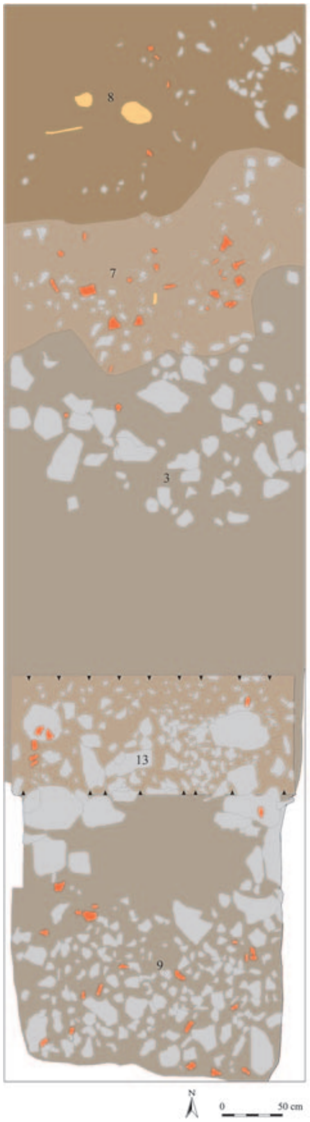

Fig. 6. Trench 1: plan showing outer agger *(un. 9, 13).*

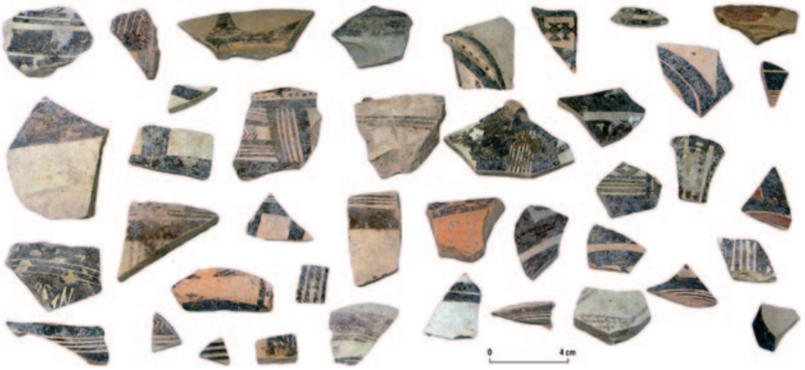

Fig. 7. Trench 1: matt-painted pottery from level near base of agger *(un. 13 #39).*

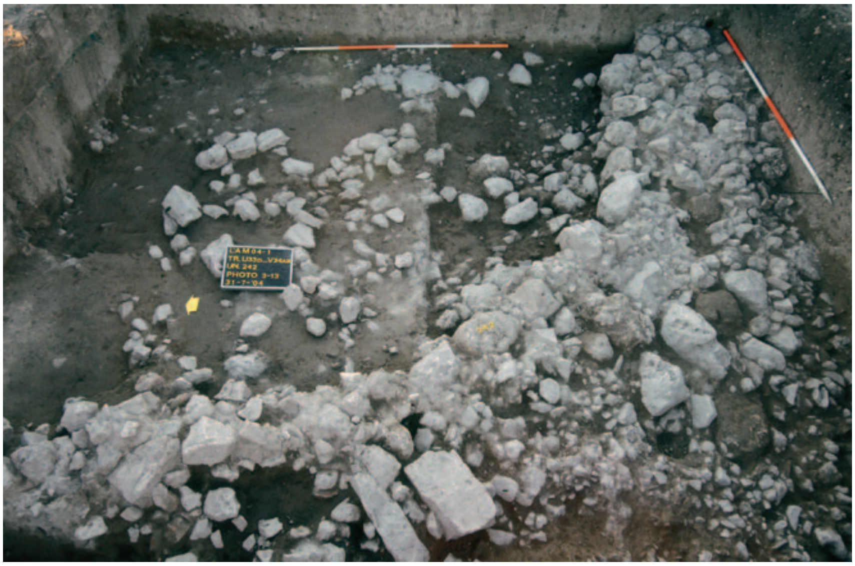

Fig. 8. Trench 2: photo of inner agger *(from W).*

to obtain insights into site-formation and post-depositional processes, stratigraphy, and the nature and date of architectural remains.

The most salient feature brought to light here is a large, curving wall, excavated in the south-western part of the trench (*fig. 8*). It slopes down to the south and south-west and consists of large fieldstones that are set close together, especially near the wall's northern edge. In size/diameter and construction technique it is strongly reminiscent of the *agger* bordering the south terrace in the south. To the north-east of the curving wall, the remains of an oval hut came to light (*fig. 9*). The hut's central axis is almost at a right angle to the curving wall; in the north the hut abuts part of the bedrock, which here rises to a somewhat higher level. In the north-eastern part of the hut, a large concentration of sherds was found. Some of these were burnt, and they were mixed with burnt material, including botanical remains (wheats and pulses; see further section 9.3 below). The pottery concentration consists of hundreds of fragments of matt-painted pottery of indigenous type, but only one colonial Greek piece and virtually no *impasto*; other finds included a spindle whorl, loom weight and spool of terracotta, and two whetstones (*fig. 10*). Apparently, high-quality pottery and specific objects (connected to gender?) had been selected; this, in combination with the burnt organic remains, suggest that this was an intentional deposition, possibly of a ritual nature. The indigenous pottery is partly of a local or regional

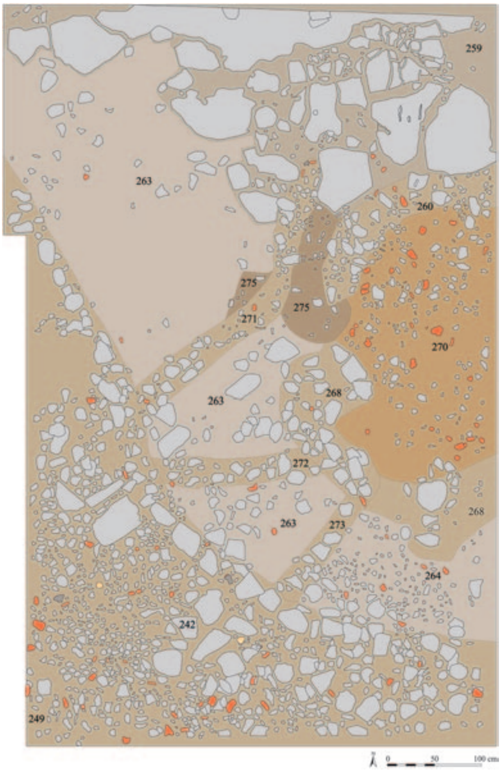

Fig. 9. Trench 2: plan showing inner *agger* (un. 242) and remains of curvilinear hut (wall: un. 260, 268; floor matrix: un. 270).

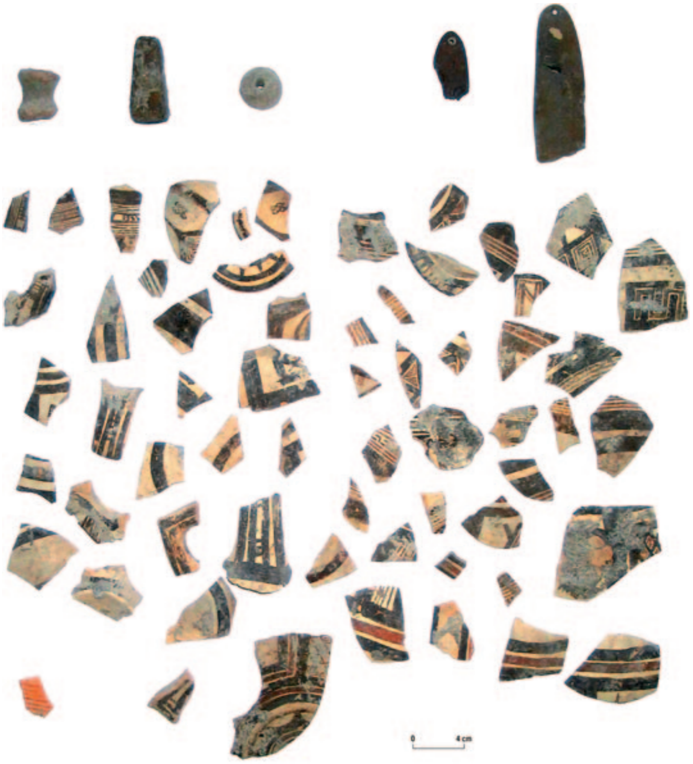

Fig. 10. Trench 2: sample from dump of matt-painted pottery and small objects (un. 233 #567) found inside curvilinear hut.

origin, but also includes Salento Late Geometric (late 8th-early 7th century). The most recent material, however, is of a type that was found in the inland region of Matera around the middle of the 7th century or even later (*fig. 14c*). This indicates that the oval hut was used until at least the third quarter of the 7th century, and provides a terminus ante quem for the *agger*-type of wall that encloses the hut.

After the discovery of the *agger*-type of wall in this trench, a large part of the south terrace was systematically surveyed with the help of a magnetometer. Computer analysis of the measurements shows not only the course of the *agger* following the south side of the south terrace, but also that parallel to this runs a second, inner *agger* that branches off to the north-west exactly at the point where Trench 2 is located (*fig. 11*: yellow line) and continues in that direction.

Trench 3 (R24bd/S24bd)
Excavated: 2003. Location: directly north of *oikos* γ, already excavated by the *Soprintendenza*. Aim: to verify the suggested date and to trace possible remains that either can be connected to *oikos* γ or constitute continuation of occupation northwards.

Directly north of *oikos* γ, the *Soprintendenza* partly excavated a pavement of large flagstones (*figs. 12-13*). This has been further exposed. In the stratum overlying the pavement and almost resting on one of the stones, a black gloss kylix handle was found that can be dated to the late 6th century or even the first half of the 5th century. This find may indicate that the pavement was accessible and perhaps in use until the late 6th century or even later. The area more towards the north has suffered a lot from erosion and agricultural activities. This area is intersected by a much disturbed wall that is a continuation of the north-west wall of *oikos* γ. It is less carefully constructed than the latter and can be interpreted as a partition or terrace wall (cf. the wall south of *oikos* β added at a later stage to create a courtyard; see section 4, with *fig. 4*). In niches in the south face of this wall, the remains of two or three small ovens were excavated (*fig. 13*); these ovens were presumably utilized in connection with food preparation. Botanical analysis of samples taken in the immediate vicinity of

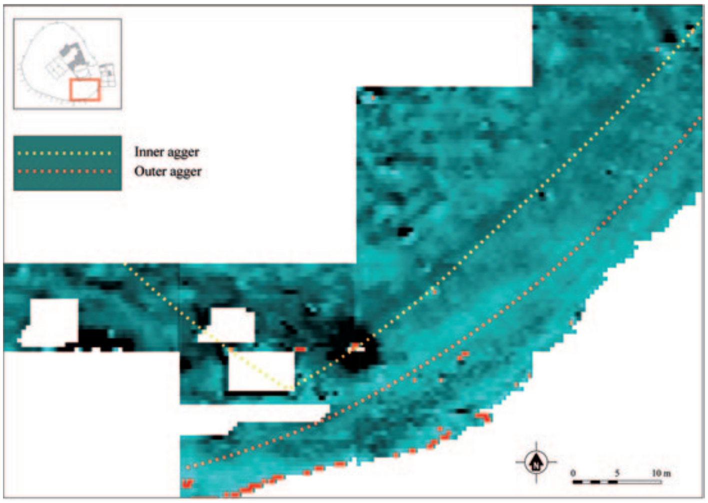
Inner agger
Outer agger
0
5
10 m

Fig. 11. South terrace:
results of magnetometer survey showing inner and outer agger.

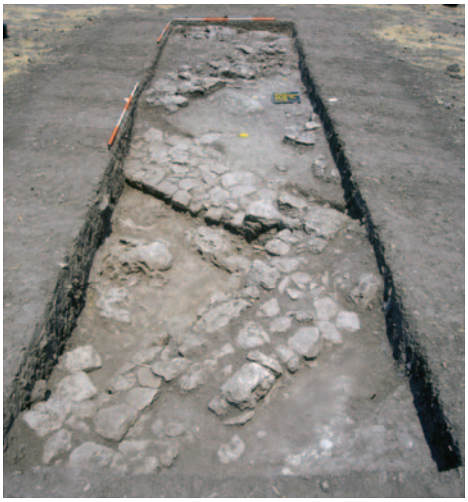

Fig. 12. Trench 3: photo of oikos *γ (east wall), stone pavement, and possible partition wall (un. 104) (from S).*

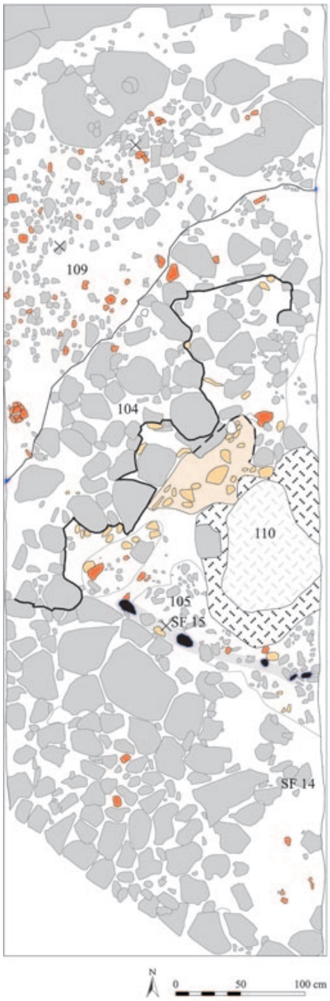
109
104
110
105
SF 15
SF 14
N
0
50
100 cm

Fig. 13. Trench 3: plan showing stone pavement, possible partition wall (un. 104) and remains of ovens (un. 110: ash deposit).

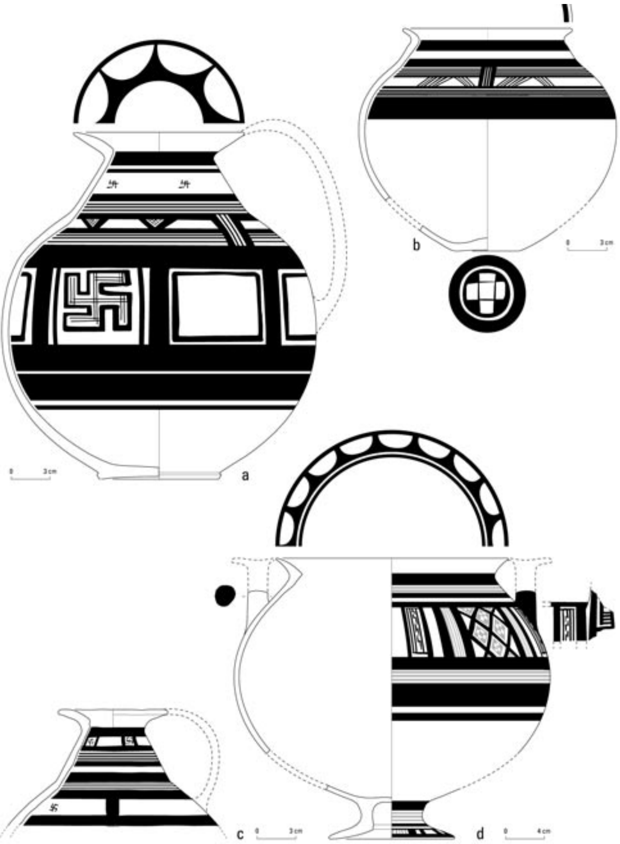
a
b
c
d
0
3 cm
0
3 cm
0
3 cm
0
4 cm

Fig. 14. Digital reconstructions of matt-painted pots: a. conical necked jug (Trench 3: un. 104 #274 SF11); b. olletta *(Trench 3: un. 107 #269 SF7); c. narrow-necked jug. (Trench 2: un. 229 #536); d. krater (Trench 3: un. 107 #269 SF7).*

these ovens shows that these contained emmer wheat and barley. Both sorts of cereals can be grinded into flour, which lends support to the idea that these ovens were bread ovens. The pottery associated with the ovens is mainly of colonial Greek type. North-west of the partition/terrace wall a number of strata were identified, one of which contained pieces of burnt loam and traces of burning as well as fragments of smashed vases, which later appeared to be restorable to a large extent. These included the lower part of a small, undecorated container or storage jar that contained charred botanical material, seemingly found *in situ*, although this is not entirely certain due to the disturbed nature of this area. The other smashed pots were matt-painted vessels, including an *olletta* attributable to the beginning of the 7th century (*fig. 14b*), a jug of the second or third quarter of the 7th century (*fig. 14a*), and a krater dating to the mid or even later 7th century (*fig. 14d*).

Trench 4 (Q22cd ... S23a)
Excavated: 2004-2005. Location: directly north-west of the *Soprintendenza*'s central test trench. Aim: to find evidence of continuation of occupation in a north-westerly direction, and to determine the size, nature and density of occupation and diachronic developments in architecture and use of space.

The foundations of a small building (building δ) were uncovered in the western part of this trench (*fig. 15*). The building's entrance faces north-west. Its walls are only one stone thick; the north-east wall is constructed of much smaller stones. The building has a floor of beaten earth mixed with lime. Tile fragments found on the floor indicate that it once had a tiled roof. A division wall, set against the north-east wall, divides the interior space into two. In the inner room, a hearth was set against the south-west wall. Also set against the inner face of the walls were a stone mortar (near the entrance), fragments of a storage vessel, and the parts of hydriae (*fig. 24b-c*); of most of the hydriae only the upper part was preserved which was lowered into the floor and presumably served as pot stand.[29] The pottery associated with the use of this building allows a date in the late 6th century. North of the building, there was a small courtyard with a small oven set against the exterior face of the north-east wall (*fig. 15:* un. 142). This building δ, which measures 2.8 x 4.8 m, is too small for a one-room house. Considering its inventory, it functioned as a kitchen facility and may have been part of a larger domestic complex. A trial trench excavated to the south-west, however, failed to provide evidence that the building extended in this direction. Continuation to the north-east is more plausible, but here the archaeological layers appear to have suffered much from agricultural activities.

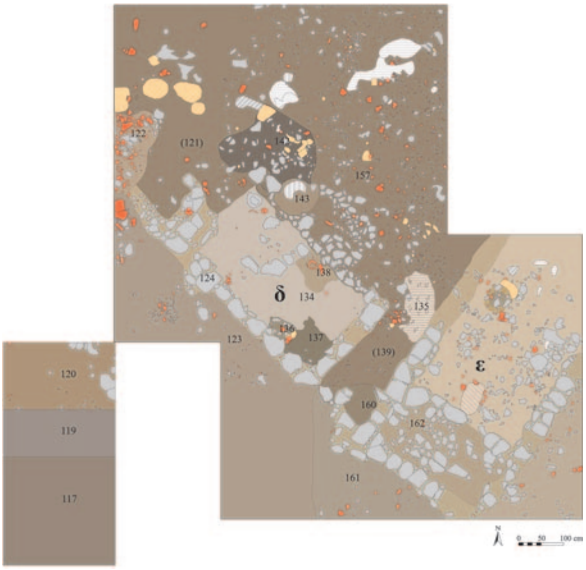

Fig. 15. Trench 4: plan showing building δ and oikos ε.

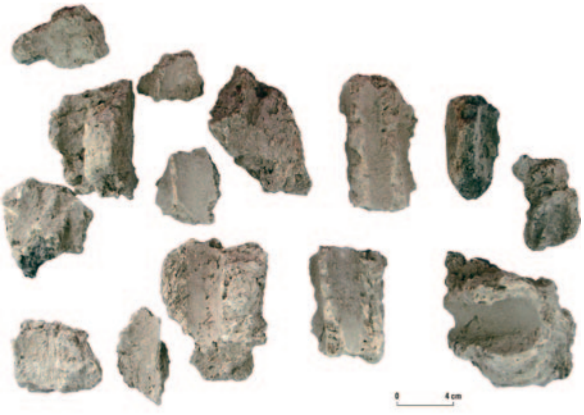

Fig. 16. Trench 4: burnt loam showing impressions of wood.

In preparation for the construction of building δ, the area was levelled by dumping earth and various types of other material (*fig. 18c*). Different dumps could be localized, containing tile fragments but also numerous lumps of burnt loam showing impressions of wood (*fig. 16*), that is, parts of roof covering or, more probably, of walls consisting of plaited branches, daubed with clay (wattle-and-daub). The pottery from these dumps is mainly of indigenous and colonial Greek type, spanning the period from the late 8th to the late 7th centuries.

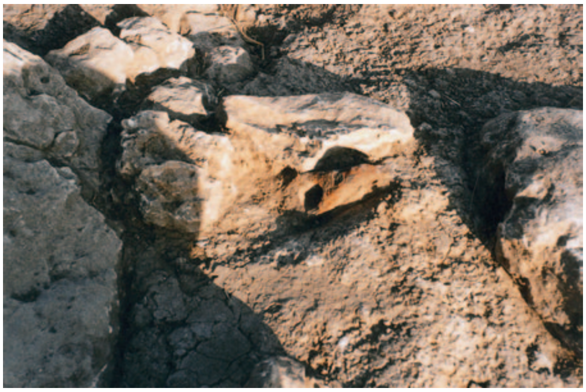

Fig. 17. Trench 4: iron double-axe found in oikos ε *(*in situ*). Photo: Esther Nijland.*

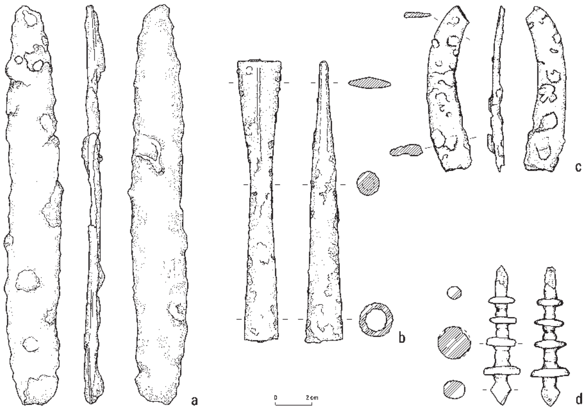

Fig. 18. Fragments of iron objects: a. long knife or small dagger (Trench 4, oikos ε*: un. 159 #391 SF17; b. spear head (Trench 2: un. 258 #582 SF26); c. curved knife (Trench 4: un. 144 #370 SF4); d. dress pin (Trench 2: un. 257 #579 SF22).*

South-east of building δ, and separated by a stone-paved alley, lay the foundations of *oikos* ε (*fig. 15*). The entrance must have been in the south-west wall, where there is a portico or antechamber paved with large stones. Finds from the inner room (such as spindle whorls and a grinding stone) indicate that the building fulfilled a domestic function. Its most salient elements, however, are linked to the secondary production of iron. Spread on the floor of the inner room were found a small double-axe (*fig. 17*), a pickaxe and a long knife or small dagger (*fig. 18a*) - all made of iron and all in remarkably good condition. In the northern part of the inner room, a small oven was located (*fig. 19*), presumably for smelting metal, while a configuration of large, flat stones against the south-east wall can be interpreted as the remains of workbench-cum-anvil. Outside the building, to its south-west, pieces of metal bloom were found. *Oikos* ε is preliminarily dated to the late 6th century, to which it should be added that the floor and the floor matrix still await excavation.

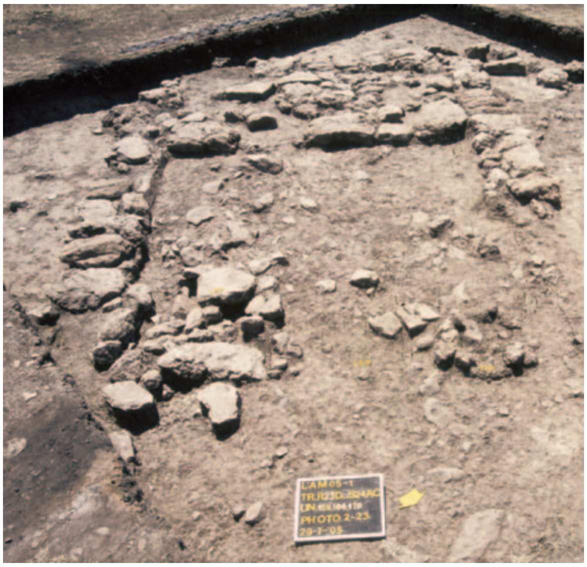

Fig. 19. Trench 4: oikos ε *(from NE), with remains of oven (un. 170, right side of photo).*

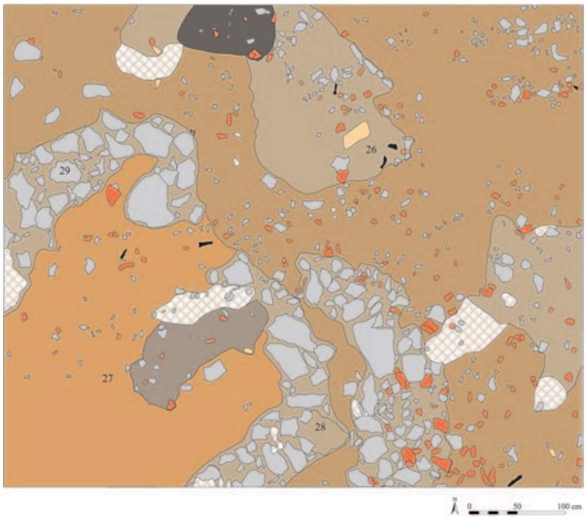

Fig. 20. Trench 5: plan showing walls of possible building (un. 28, 29) and terrace wall.

Trench 5 (Q22cd ... S23a)

Excavated: 2005. Location: directly north-east of the *Soprintendenza*'s central test trench, and east of Trench 3. Aim: to find evidence of continuation of occupation in a north-easterly direction, and to determine the size, nature and density of occupation and diachronic developments in architecture and use of space.

Until now, only layers of plough soil have been removed in this trench. Wall remains in the south-western part seem to constitute a rectangular room (*fig. 20*), which - similar to buildings α-ε (cf. *fig. 48*) - is oriented along a north-east/south-west axis. To the east lies a heavier, curving wall that is less carefully constructed and may be a terrace wall that possibly continued to the north/north-west. Here the soil is very thin and stones seem to have been removed by a plough; only a loamy feature is preserved, which can be interpreted as a clay bedding in which the stones of a wall had originally been set. Perhaps there is an entrance to the room in the north-east, which may correspond to a possible opening in the terrace wall.

Trench 6 (U29 ... V31)
Excavated: 2003-2005. Location: between Trench 2 and the central test trench of the *Soprintendenza*. Aim: to obtain insights into site-formation and post-depositional processes, stratigraphy, and the nature and date of architectural remains.

This trench produced evidence of at least three occupation phases (see *fig. 21*). Phase 1 is represented by levels only touched upon in the south part; they are the earliest thus far encountered in this trench. The associated architectural remains are preliminarily interpreted as the foundation walls of an indigenous hut with a figure-of-eight plan. A number of very large flagstones were utilized for its walls; some of them were apparently reused for the construction of a division wall during the ensuing occupation phase. Also dating to this first phase are large patches of ash and burnt material. Levels that constitute Phase 2 directly overlie Phase 1 strata. The principal feature during Phase 2 is a walled court or yard. From the present state of excavation it can be deduced that it was larger than 9 x 7 m. Initially (Phase 2a), this space housed a potter's workshop. This contained one large kiln, situated in the south-east part, and two smaller examples, on the other side of the yard (*fig. 22*); all three were supported by stone walls. In the south-east corner, against the courtyard wall, a stone container was constructed, perhaps functioning as a levigation tank; a large lump of hard-packed material south-west of it may be interpreted as a store of clay, awaiting further processing. Directly to the south of the tank and at a slightly higher level, a mass of stones was found, encased by stone walls. Two circular features can be discerned that possibly formed the stone bedding for two rounded basins that presumably originally had a clay lining. To the south-east of this feature, three large stone blocks with hewn-out conduits were found. Several objects discovered in this trench are associated with the pottery production process, including L-shaped stack pieces, test pieces (*fig. 23*), and misfired pots (*fig. 24a*; possibly also *42b*). No pottery was encoun-

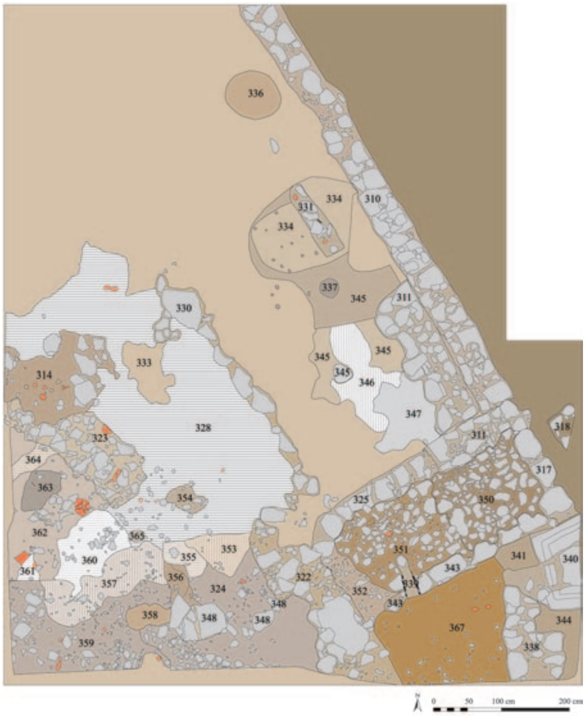

Fig. 21. Trench 6: plan showing various structures, including two pottery kilns (un. 314, 323; un. 331, 334, 345), partition wall (un. 330), levigation tank (un. 311), and two rounded basins within stone casing (un. 350, 351).

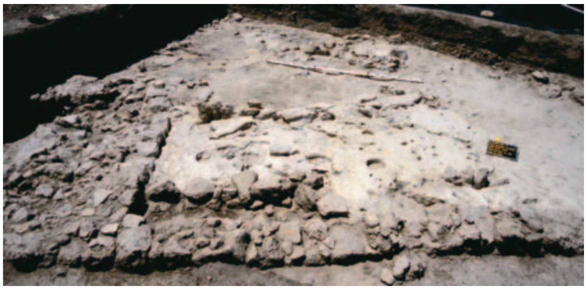

Fig. 22. Trench 6: photo showing remains of large kiln with partition wall (smaller kiln visible in the background) (from NE).

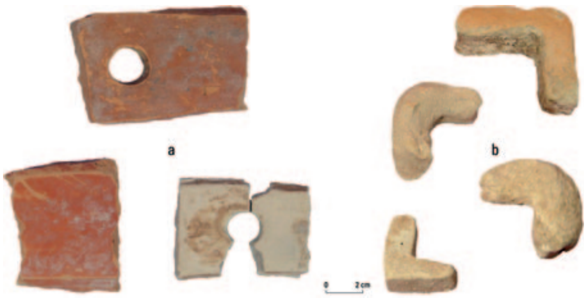

Fig. 23. Trench 6: a. test pieces (Trench 6: un. 313 #873 SF104, un. 319 #875 SF 101, un. 316 #868 SF107); b. stack pieces (Trench 6: un. 305 #867, 313 #861).

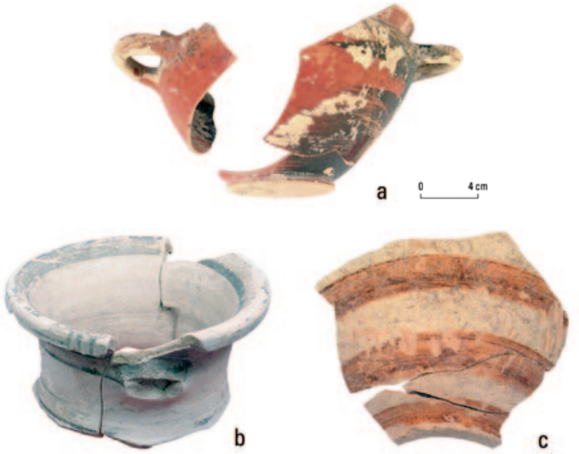

Fig. 24. Archaic pottery: a. misfired skyphos (Trench 6: un. 313 #873 SF113); b. neck of large, banded hydria (Trench 4: un. 138 #360 SF16); c. lower part and ring-foot base of large, banded hydria (Trench 4: un. 134 #358 SF11).

tered *in situ* in the kilns, but the misfires give a good impression of the nature of the pottery production and its chronology. The production included fine wares, as is indicated by a skyphos of a type also known from Metapontion but made of what seems to be local clay (*figs. 24a, 44a*); it can be attributed to the early 5th century. During a later stage of the same phase (Phase 2b), most of the workshop's area seems to have been covered by a thick floor. Finds made on top of this possible floor or just below its surface constitute a 'typically domestic' assemblage that includes a large number of loom weights, cooking pots, a variety of drinking vessels, transport and storage jars, and a lamp (*figs. 39a-b, d, 41d, h, 42b, e, 43b, c, 44a, g, 45f, g, 46b*), suggesting that at this stage the yard and/or rooms around it fulfilled a domestic function. An unusual find in this context is a *phiale mesomphalos* (*fig. 25*). It is made of a reddish clay and painted in a polychrome manner, but is not well fired all around.

Trench 7 (S25bd-S26)
Excavated: 2005. Location: eastern part of terrace. Aim: to verify the existence of a possible structure identified by magnetometer.

Excavations falsified the possible existence of a built structure in this area. It appeared that the magnetometric response had been caused by the bedrock, which at this spot shows a somewhat regular pattern of risings and depressions.

7. OVERVIEW OF FIELD SURVEYS (2003-2005)

1. Aims and methods

Whilst the excavations are carried out to study the functional and spatial details of early settlement and material culture at L'Amastuola, field surveys are employed in order to provide information on a wider geographical and chronological scale. In the context of the L'Amastuola project, intensive, systematic field surveys take place at various geographical scales.

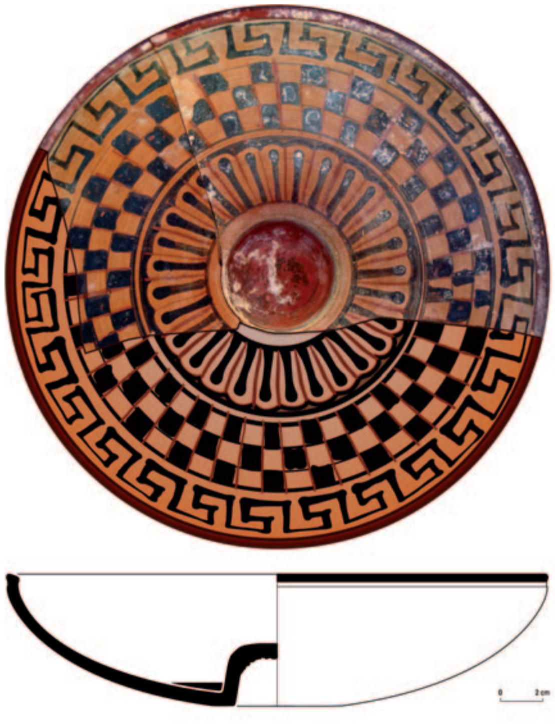

Fig. 25. Trench 6: terracotta phiale mesomphalos *(partly digitally reconstructed; un. 313 #861 SF66).*

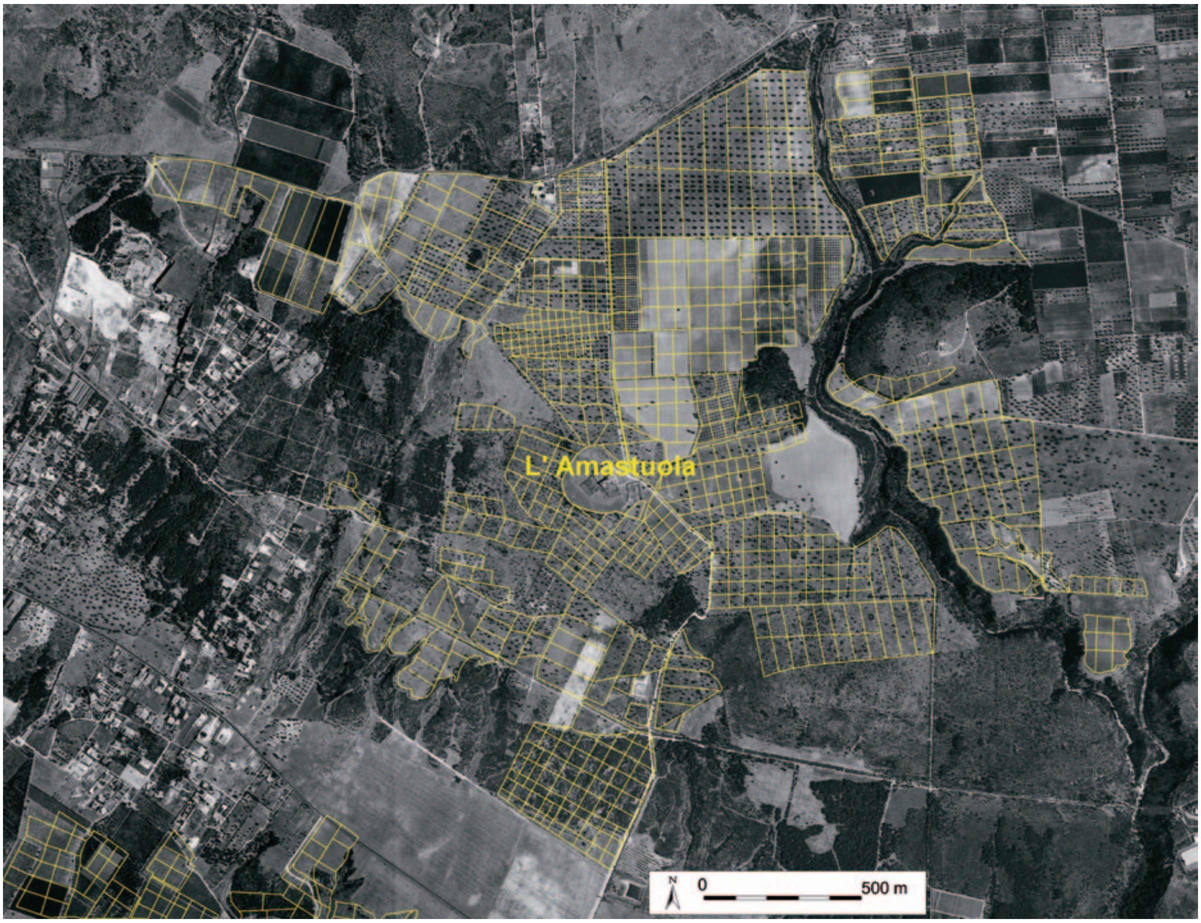

Fig. 26. Survey area at L'Amastuola: aerial photograph with grid system.

The first level is constituted by the site of L'Amastuola and its immediate environs (*figs. 1, 27*). In 2003 and 2004 an area of some 2 km^2 around L'Amastuola was systematically surveyed; this area will be extended in the near future. The aim of these surveys is to define the total extent of the settlement, in order to allow a diachronic study of its spatial and functional arrangement and also of the organization and exploitation of its catchment area. To that end, an artificial grid was laid out all over the area (*fig. 26*). Line walking within these limits took place in the form of an artefact survey, which was intended not only to locate the range of surface scatters spread out over the hilltop, but also - and more specifically - to highlight the fluctuations in density of the major range of artefact classes present.

The undulating karstic landscape surrounding the hilltop of L'Amastuola is located on the southwestern verge of the uplands of the Murge. The southern part of this plateau - the Murge Basse - constitutes the second level of analysis related to our field surveys. To investigate this regional level, in 2003 we started the Murge Tableland Project.[30] This project departs from a physical-geographic research of the various land systems in the Murge area, which was carried out in combination with an evaluation of the suitability of these systems for specific agricultural and pastoral activities. To investigate the possibility of differentiation in the human arrangement of this Murge landscape, in the context of this project it was decided to survey sample zones in a transect crosscutting all relevant land systems defined in this way (*fig. 27*). These surveys together offer the possibility to study the vicissitudes of the settlement at L'Amastuola in its wider regional context. Special attention, again, is given to the major issues discussed above.

The field surveys are carried out using a method that was developed and successfully employed in the context of the Regional Pathways to Complexity Project.[31] All of the sample areas are systemat-

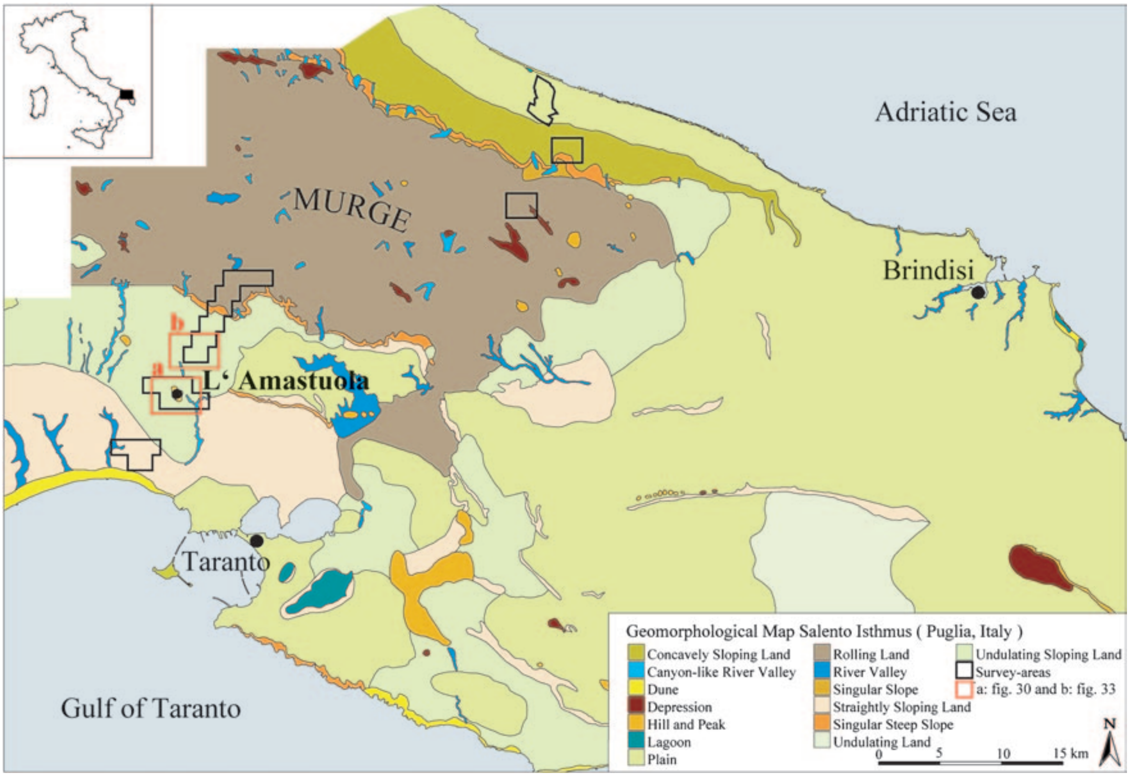
Adriatic Sea
MURGE
Brindisi
L' Amastuola
b
a
Taranto
Gulf of Taranto
Geomorphological Map Salento Isthmus (Puglia, Italy)
Concavely Sloping Land
Canyon-like River Valley
Dune
Depression
Hill and Peak
Lagoon
Plain
Rolling Land
River Valley
Singular Slope
Straightly Sloping Land
Singular Steep Slope
Undulating Land
Undulating Sloping Land
Survey-areas
a: fig. 30 and b: fig. 33
0
5
10
15 km
N

Fig. 27. Geomorphological map of Salento isthmus with sample areas investigated through field surveys. a = sample area at L'Amastuola; b = sample area in the undulating sloping land.

ically line-walked in gridded units at 10 m intervals (20% coverage). In this standard survey procedure, all non-recent objects are collected per unit. Further passes are employed in order to define, map and sample any qualitative or quantitative anomalies encountered during the first pass. Samples from these further passes are taken within the context of the above-mentioned gridded units. The aim of these second samples is either to determine the density of material at various locations within a concentration or to collect additional diagnostic material for chronological, functional and spatial analyses.[32]

The regular field surveys are focused not only on mobile surface artefacts: during the same first standard run, upstanding archaeological features and structures are signalled as well. These *immobilia*, which range from graves to quarries, are revisited at a second stage, when they are documented graphically/photographically and described in more detail. The L'Amastuola catchment area in particular turned out to be rich in this regard, as part of it has not been touched by large-scale destructive agricultural or building activities, which are so damaging elsewhere.

Below, we first discuss the results of the surveys carried out at and around L'Amastuola, then those concerning the other sample areas investigated.

The start of settlement at L'Amastuola

Both the field surveys and the excavations suggest that the settlement at L'Amastuola started in the late 8th century BC; surface concentrations dating from that time onwards have been detected lying dispersed over the ca 1.3 ha of the south terrace behind the *masseria*, where definitely earlier artefacts were conspicuous for their absence. The ceramic repertoire encountered among the Iron Age surface scatters consists largely of characteristic indigenous coarse impasto and fine matt-painted wares. Since more than half of the hilltop could not be investigated due to the presence of the *masseria*, it is impossible to tell how much more of the hilltop terrace had actually been inhabited. However, we can positively deduce from the field surveys that, by and large, the early settlement at L'Amastuola was confined to the ca 3.3 ha hilltop; only a very limited number of isolated contemporary artefacts were found on the hill slopes or in the fields surrounding the top. Significantly, sites of this phase could not be pinpointed elsewhere in the transect that we surveyed in the Tarantine *chora*. On the basis of our systematic investigations, we must conclude that until the 5th century, settlement in the north-western Tarantino was rather nucleated.

In order to appreciate the importance of the indigenous settlement at L'Amastuola, an examination of earlier debris is imperative. The field surveys have made it clear that the Iron Age site was not the first human settlement in the area: earlier occupation debris was found on the slopes of the hill and beyond. This pre-Iron Age debris comprises a series of scatters that are composed almost entirely of fragments of handmade *impasto* ceramics (*fig. 28*). Preliminary analysis of these scatters indicates that these ceramics date to the Bronze Age facies. One of these Bronze Age scatters is located on the northern slope of the L'Amastuola hill, some 50 m below the top (*fig. 28*: A). As is the case on all slopes of the hill, soils have almost completely eroded here; the scatter of reddish-brown/black *impasto* sherds could be easily delineated on the greyish bedrock. This also holds good for the second scatter that was found under similar conditions, 50 m to the south-east of the hilltop (*fig. 28*: B). Finally, a third scatter was identified on a small terrace at the foot of the same hill, some 500 m to its south (*fig. 28*: C).

In view of the relatively high degree of soil erosion on the hill slopes, one might hypothesize that the above-mentioned Bronze Age scatters do not correspond to actual settlement sites. They may have slid down from the central hilltop, in which case one must consider the existence of a relatively nucleated Bronze Age settlement here, underneath the 8th-/7th-century layers discussed above. However, there are several arguments against this hypothesis. First, according to this scenario, one would have expected the excavations and surveys on the hilltop terrace to have found Bronze Age settlement layers and/or surface debris, which is not the case. Second, one would have assumed 8th-/7th-century debris to have eroded from the hilltop in a similar degree, but no such dispersion was encountered. Third, the three Bronze Age concentrations identified by the surveys are very similar in their limited extent and coarse *impasto* assemblages. They were easy to delineate because of their relatively high artefact density, which stood out sharply against the almost non-existent background noise; no halo whatsoever of contemporary low-density scatters was encountered. From the absence of such a halo one can deduce that site displacement must have been minimal (otherwise there would have been a much more diffuse scatter). Indeed, there is nothing to suggest that the scatters discussed here constitute the debris of a hilltop settlement that has eroded downhill; instead, the scatters must be interpreted as the residue of separate Bronze Age settlement nuclei. A more detailed chronological study is needed to subdate the scatters and to establish whether or not they were occupied contemporaneously, together forming a large, dispersed village. However, on the basis of the preliminary artefact analysis it can be ascertained that they predate the final phase of the Bronze Age and, consequently, that there is no continuity between the Bronze Age occupation and the late 8th century settlement at L'Amastuola. One can conclude that towards the end of the 8th century a new settlement was founded in a landscape that had not been used, or only marginally so, for centuries.

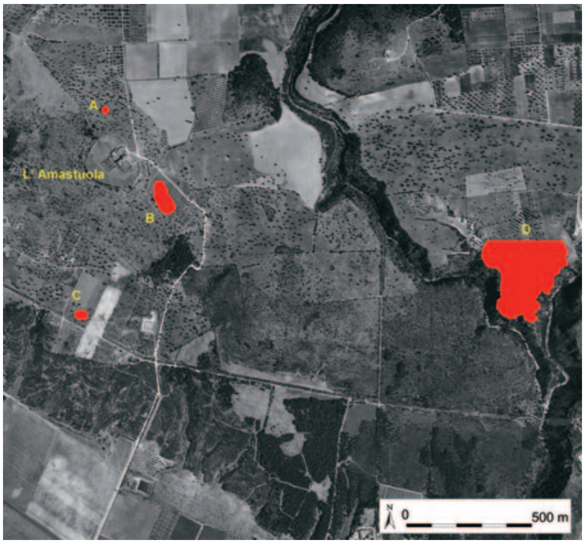

Fig. 28. The Bronze Age scatters in the L'Amastuola survey area.

Other evidence for the presence of a large Bronze Age village site has been identified 1 km as the crow flies east of L'Amastuola (*fig. 28*: D). Diagnostic samples from the ceramic assemblages discovered here have been preliminarily dated to the Late Bronze Age; in this case, too, there is no continuity with the Iron Age settlement at the L'Amastuola hill. This site deserves discussion in the present context particularly because of the apparent contrast in location with the L'Amastuola settlement.

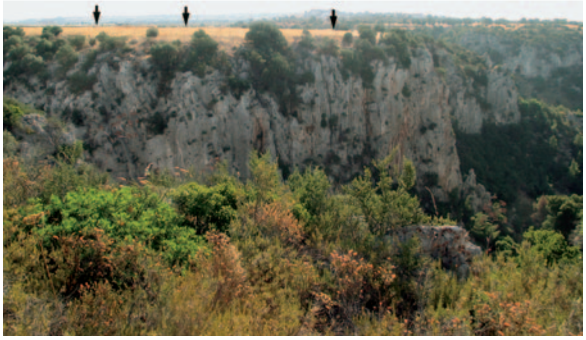

Fig. 29. The Bronze Age 'ravine' site in contrada Masseriola (from W).

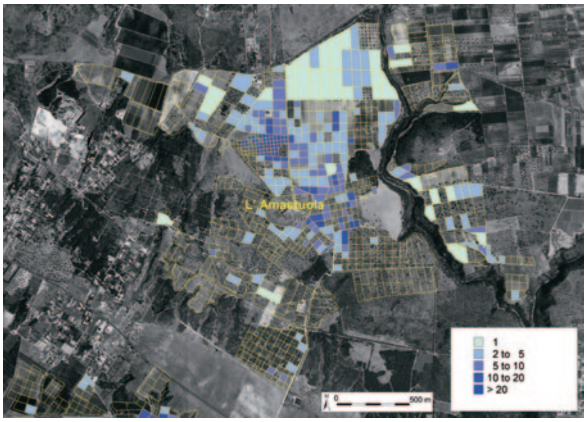

Fig. 30. Survey area at L'Amastuola. Grid system with densities per unit (corrected) of late Classical and Hellenistic surface finds.

The larger part of this Bronze Age site is located in the contrada Masseriola, on a natural platform at the confluence of two ca 50 m deep ravines, the Gravina di l'Amastuola and the Gravina di Triglio (*fig. 29*). During our campaigns, the platform was covered by stubble and consequently visibility was low. Nevertheless, using the standard field survey procedures it could be established with relative ease that the larger part of the ca 6 ha platform is thoroughly covered by *impasto* sherds; a more detailed intra-site analysis performed during a second visit revealed a high-density central nucleus in the southern half of the platform. On its east, west and south sides, the platform is entirely sealed off by the almost vertical walls of the aforementioned ravines. It is impossible to approach or to leave the platform from these sides; this 'ravine' site can be approached only from the north. Not only is access to the site limited on most of its sides, but so too is any view of the platform, either from the Taranto plain or from the Murge uplands: the view is blocked by the ridges of the ravines, as the ridges rise slightly higher than the platform itself.

In all these respects, the site contrasts strikingly with the one at L'Amastuola (see *fig. 3*): the L'Amastuola hilltop can be approached from more than one side and be viewed from the high Murge as well as from the coastal plain as far as Taranto. The difference in geographical setting and, closely related, accessibility and visibility, could hardly be more pronounced. Seen in the context of this local, highly differentiated landscape, the choice for either of the two localities can be called significant, inspired by almost contrasting motivations. Whereas in the case of the 'ravine' site it is difficult to renounce the hypothesis that defence (and refuge?) was a major locational choice, in the case of L'Amastuola one must above all emphasize its dominant central location: any settlement located at the latter site was meant to control and to be seen, and could be reached relatively easily.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that in the 8th century the L'Amastuola landscape was reclaimed for human occupation after a long phase of marginality; somewhere during the second half of that century, a local community founded a settlement *ex novo* on one of the visually most dominant hilltops in the entire Taranto region, within easy reach of both the coastal plain and the Crispiano valley immediately to the north-west.

Settlement changes in the Classical period

Also for the succeeding period the field surveys provide important information that serves to contextualize the excavation data. First, the surveys have demonstrated that at least up to the 5th century BC a significant part of the L'Amastuola hilltop terrace was occupied, as was the case with the earliest Iron Age settlement. However, during this phase - as in the preceding decades - the settlement seems to have been largely confined to the south terrace: contemporary artefacts are scarce amongst the dense concentrations of settlement debris detected beyond the hilltop (*fig. 30*). Apart from this hilltop, the only area with unambiguous Archaic and Classical traces is the necropolis area (discussed in section 8 below), which is located some 800 m south of the settlement site.

It is highly significant that we discovered this situation to be radically different from that of the Hellenistic period. Whereas there is a total lack of Hellenistic artefact scatters on the L'Amastuola hilltop, they can be found in large numbers and high densities all over a relatively large area covering the terraces below the L'Amastuola hill, notably to its east and north (*fig. 30*). This leads to the inevitable conclusion that at some point during the intervening phase a remarkable transformation took place, namely that a new settlement was laid out on the surrounding, lower terraces north and east of the hilltop. Preliminary artefact analysis suggests that this transformation dates to the mid-late 5th century BC, but further examination is needed to confirm and specify this observation.

Pending stratigraphical soundings, it is not entirely clear whether the lower terraces hide Archaic layers that have not yet been ploughed up to the surface. However, incidental Archaic surface finds here suggest that, to a limited degree, this is in fact the case. Notwithstanding, considering that earlier materials - such as Bronze Age *impasto* sherds - were found in relatively large quantities at the lower terraces, it is fairly safe to conclude that in many cases the plough did in fact reach the deepest stratigraphical units, and apparently there were very few Archaic ones among them. Significantly, the latter argument also goes for the relative dearth of Hellenistic artefacts on the hilltop itself. If they were once present, Hellenistic artefacts should have been attested among the debris on the top, considering that the debris from deeper, earlier layers has been found in relatively high densities.

A thorough shift in settlement location is not the only transformation suggested by the field survey data: the extent and nature of the artefact scatters recorded on the lower terraces are such that one can assume that the reorganization was accompanied by an expansion of the settlement. The surface scatters around the central L'Amastuola terrace are definitely much more extensive than the Archaic ones on top of the hill. The majority of these scatters clearly date to the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC. These Hellenistic scatters can be shown to have spread out over much of the lower terrace that encircles the L'Amastuola hill (*fig. 30*). This is definitely the case to the north and east of the hill. North of it, up to 500 m, a continuum of high density scatters could be delineated. The same goes for the eastern side of the terrace, where the scatters reach the spurs of a second, lower hilltop that borders the Gravina di L'Amastuola. Finally, the scatters continue south of the latter hill, where concentrations are found up to 200 m from the *masseria* L'Amastuola. Significantly, the total extent of the scatters thus delineated amounts to between 10 and 15 ha.

If the extent of Hellenistic surface scatters can be held to coincide more or less with that of the built-up area of the Hellenistic period, then the latter was indeed clearly much larger than the earlier settlement. However, one would be prudent not to jump to conclusions about the relationship between surface debris and sub-surface record, considering again also post-depositional processes, and in particular recent earth levelling operations. In fact, many of the scatters found along the 200 m contour line are not necessarily related to structures *in situ*; instead, they possibly originate from ruins that once stood higher up on the terrace, having eroded downhill and deposited on the lower slopes of the terraces. Therefore, it is wisest at the moment not to overestimate the settlement expansion discussed above. Test trenches are needed to evaluate the various hypotheses that have been formulated on the basis of the survey data.

However, the 2004 surveys produced other evidence that can be taken to confirm the presence of settlement areas on the lower slopes, at least east of the L'Amastuola hilltop. First, in 2004, during the construction of a new road in this area, a bulldozer brought to the surface two parallel series of large, carefully dressed blocks, clearly parts of monumental structures that were still partly *in situ* (*fig. 31*). Second, at various other spots within 100 m to the east of L'Amastuola, similar blocks turned up in the process of lifting century-old olive trees. Judging by the ceramics that popped up together with the stone blocks, these structures can be hypothetically dated to the late Classical or Hellenistic period. Third, our extensive geophysical prospections in the area seem to confirm the presence of such features, highlighting definite anomalies in the local magnetic field, which can be interpreted as monumental stone structures.

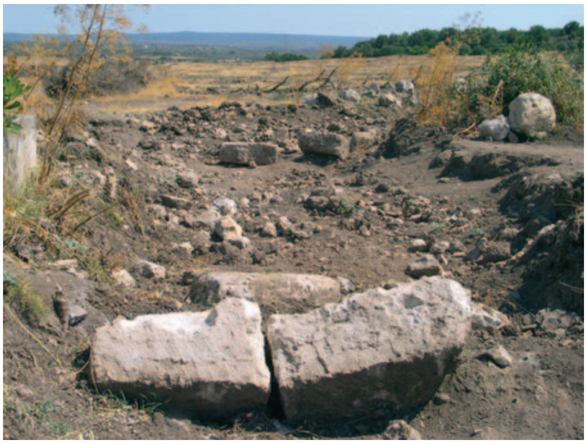

Fig. 31. Survey area at L'Amastuola: monumental stone blocks ex situ *(from W).*

Less evident among the late Classical/Hellenistic scatters on the lower terraces are those that can be unequivocally interpreted as funerary debris. Such scatters were found only in relation to apparent tombs, that is, in two spots east and north-east of the hill, in each case at a distance of 500-600 m from the L'Amastuola hilltop. Whereas east of the hill the surveys located a series of holes dug illegally into the cover slabs of cist tombs, in the north-east they discovered a number of similar cover slabs in a recently ploughed field. Without doubt, the surveys have lifted only the tip of the veil of the contemporary cemeteries, which can be expected to cover much larger areas. However, there is already some ground to believe that these graveyards do not coincide with the Archaic necropolis south of the L'Amastuola hill. Neither our field surveys nor the investigations by the *Soprintendenza* have discovered evidence that this necropolis was utilized after the Classical period. Together with the settlement at the L'Amastuola hilltop, the south necropolis seems to have been abandoned in the course of the 5th century BC.

Other land systems surveyed

As mentioned, in the context of the Murge Tableland Project field surveys are also carried out in a series of sample areas in other land systems. These sample areas, which cover 1-2 km², are all located within a north-south transect that cross-cuts all the major land systems of the Murge plateau. On the western, Taranto half of the Murge Basse, apart from the L'Amastuola environs, three major sample areas have been investigated hitherto (*fig. 27*). The most westerly one covers the first coastal terraces just behind the ancient dunes and lagoons of the Ionian coast. On the Murge side, the most easterly sample area is situated on the Murge plateau itself, just beyond the cliff-like interface with the coastal terraces. Finally, the third land system investigated hitherto is the undulating sloping land, situated just beneath this same cliff-like ridge, covering the fertile soils of the highest terraces (*fig. 32*). Here, we shall limit ourselves to providing a generic summary of the major survey results.[33]

As to the Iron Age and Archaic phases, we have discovered surface remains in none of the sample areas other than the L'Amastuola area discussed above. Our preliminary thesis is that the contemporary settlement pattern was of the nucleated type, centred on villages as at L'Amastuola. This is likely to have continued throughout much of the Classical period. Significant transformations occurred only towards the late 4th century BC, when a rural infill that had set in in the late Classical phase definitely took off. In fact, notably in the sample area surveyed in the undulating sloping land system, the early Hellenistic period is the phase of maximum expansion, with isolated and clustered rural sites distributed throughout the landscape (*fig. 33*). This late chronology of rural settlement seems to contrast with that south of Taranto, which is conventionally thought to constitute the southern part of the chora of Taras. Here, topographic prospections and incidental finds suggest a boom of isolated rural sites as early as the 6th century.[34] In our sample areas north-west of Taranto, however, the rural infill seems to be contemporary with the changes in settlement configuration at L'Amastuola discussed at length above. Taken together, the data proffered by both the field surveys and the excavations seem to highlight a pronounced change in the organization of settlement and landscape in the second half of the 5th century BC.

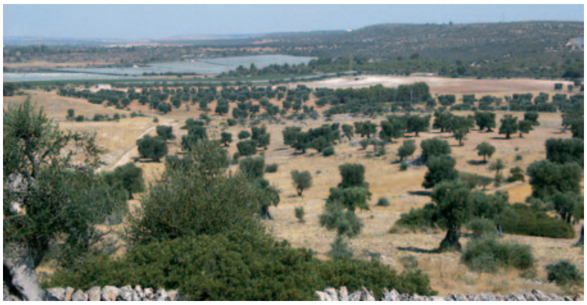

Fig. 32.
Survey area in the undulating sloping land system.

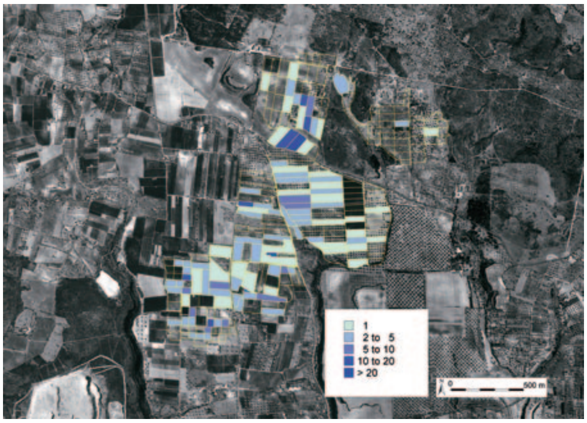

Fig. 33. Survey area in the undulating sloping land system; grid system with densities per unit (corrected) of late Classical and Hellenistic surface finds.

In striking contrast to the survey results in the undulating sloping landscape are those regarding the Murge tableland proper. Whilst in the former we have detected relatively high artefact densities and large numbers of sites and scatters, almost no archaeological artefacts whatsoever have been found in the sample area on the Murge. This absence cannot be explained by referring to sedimentation cover or to other bias factors, such as intensive mechanized agriculture or visibility. In fact, there is good reason to posit that this sample area was actually completely void of ancient settlement; future research will establish whether it was in fact used or frequented by those living in nearby but as yet undiscovered nucleated settlements. However, if one is to rely on the available information, the area can have been used only marginally. This situation indeed recalls the marginal use of this landscape in recent times. For most of its more recent documented past, the Murge plateau was never intensively exploited or settled. It seems, then, that our surveys have documented in a systematic way the borderline between the cultivated territory of the lower terraces and the marginal world beyond.

8. SURVEY OF THE CEMETERY AREA

Judging by the results of the field surveys, the many rural sites discovered in the transect between the Murge proper and the Ionian sea were generally accompanied by small burial plots, although larger graveyards are also found. The largest graveyard found in this landscape is located some 800 m south of the L'Amastuola hilltop site (*fig. 34*), and has been partly excavated by the *Soprintendenza* (see sections 1 and 4 above). This necropolis is covered by only a thin layer of typical Mediterranean *macchia* bushes; the area is almost completely void of soil, with the calcarenite bedrock surfacing almost everywhere. Consequently, if one removes the macchia, the graves - which have all been cut into the bedrock - can be easily identified (*fig. 35*). Detection is facilitated by the fact that many of them have been looted; they have been opened and their cover stones have been tossed into the *macchia* bushes. Also clearly visible are the graves excavated by the *Soprintendenza* in 1988. According to the excavator, Maruggi, the necropolis dates between 675 and the mid 5th century BC. This would closely link the graveyard to the contemporary settlement on the hilltop of L'Amastuola. Incidentally, our field surveys have established the physical link between the

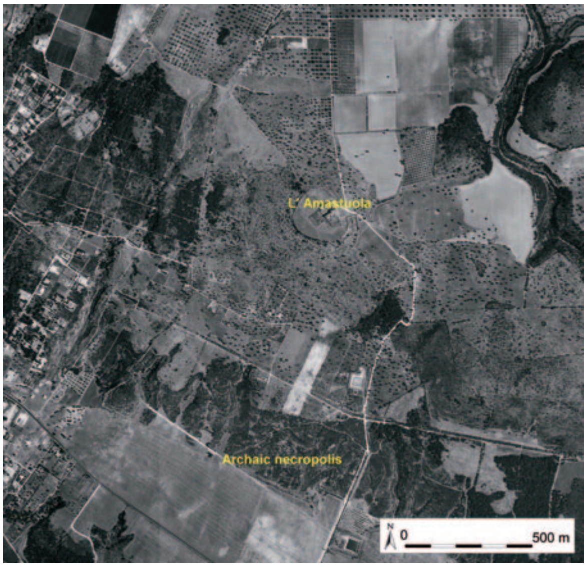

Fig. 34.
Location of Archaic necropolis near L'Amastuola.

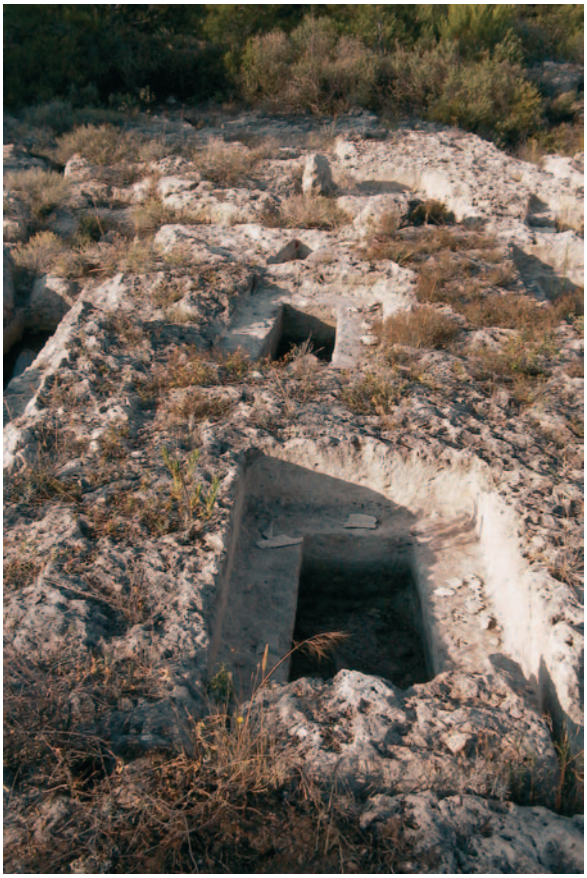

Fig. 35. Part of Archaic necropolis.

two, namely an interconnecting road that was cut into the bedrock and can still be followed along an approximately 14 m long section (*fig. 36*). The road is 3 m wide and runs north-south, and shows some faint traces of parallel wheel tracks. This road, which was almost completely covered by *macchia* bushes, was discovered by chance during the 2004 field survey campaign.

During the 2004 campaign, we also made a start on a systematic inventory of the visible traces of the necropolis. The area was gridded and subsequently line-walked according to standard survey procedures. The aim of this first pass was to identify not only surface scatters but also the extant tombs, as well as other related features and structures. This survey served as the basis for a more detailed investigation carried out with the help of a Total Station. The latter research was started in 2005 and will be continued in the near future. The aim is to produce a plan of the visible remains of the necropolis and to document the basic properties of the tombs for further analysis.

Hitherto, we have documented 259 graves, most of them of the *a fossa* type, cut into the bedrock and covered by one or more stone slabs (*fig. 37*). A first conclusion of the systematic mapping operation is that the necropolis covers an area that is at least 250 m wide. However, it was not entirely covered with tombs; rather, the tombs seem to be grouped in clusters that are located on top of slight elevations and are separated by small gullies. Within each of the three major clusters identified so far, dozens of burials have been found, of both adults and children. These burials have close parallels in the polis centre of Taras, underneath modern Taranto. As yet, we have not found any evidence to contradict the dating of the necropolis proposed by Maruggi and we must conclude that it was probably abandoned during the 5th century, contemporaneously with the settlement changes discussed above.

Of special interest to the central issue of our project is the discovery of a human-size stele made of local stone (*fig. 38*). The stele was found in one of the cemetery nuclei, but not *in situ*. It had broken into two pieces, which were lying face-down among many other cemetery-related features such as cover stones. Both the front and the back of the stele are carefully dressed, as are the two slightly concave flanks. At its top, left and right, the stele carries upward-pointing projections, which, however, are partly broken off. The current height of the stele is ca 1.75 m, which is high in comparison to its average thickness of only 0.15 cm; consequently the stele is rather fragile. Of its total height, approximately one third is made up of a base, which was only roughly worked. Perhaps this base was set in one of the rectangular cavities that were found hewn out in the mother rock near a number of grave clusters.

The form of the stele conveys an anthropomorphic impression. In this regard, a parallel may be found in the well-known Daunian stelae, the anthropomorphic identification of which is confirmed by all kinds of incised decoration such as hands, cloths and personal ornaments. However, on the L'Amastuola stele, decoration is limited to zigzag motifs. Most evident is the double zigzag line that runs horizontally along the middle of the stele, which can possibly be interpreted as a waist belt. The same zigzag pattern runs all along the border of the front of the stele, as well as on both flanks. This kind of decoration, as well as the form of the L'Amastuola stele, has its closest parallels in neighbouring indigenous Salento, amongst others at the sites of Cavallino, Mesagne and Muro Tenente. Unfortunately, here too they were not found *in situ*. In the case of L'Amastuola, its presence in the midst of an extensive necropolis clearly relates it to funerary practices. A similar conclusion is reached by Mario Lombardo with regard to the Salento stelae.[35] As to dating, the chronological limits of the L'Amastuola necropolis also fit in with recent studies of the other Salento stelae.[36] If this is accepted, it will be observed that the presence of a stele is at odds in an otherwise Greek-type funerary context, as stelae are commonly defined as indigenous. Below, we discuss this in the context of the four major research themes of our project.

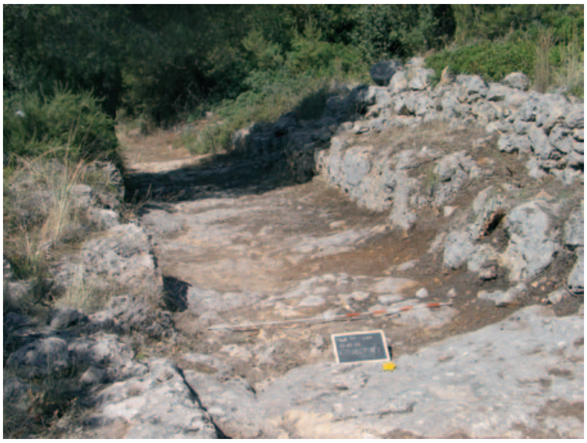

Fig. 36. Road connecting settlement at L'Amastuola and Archaic necropolis (from E).

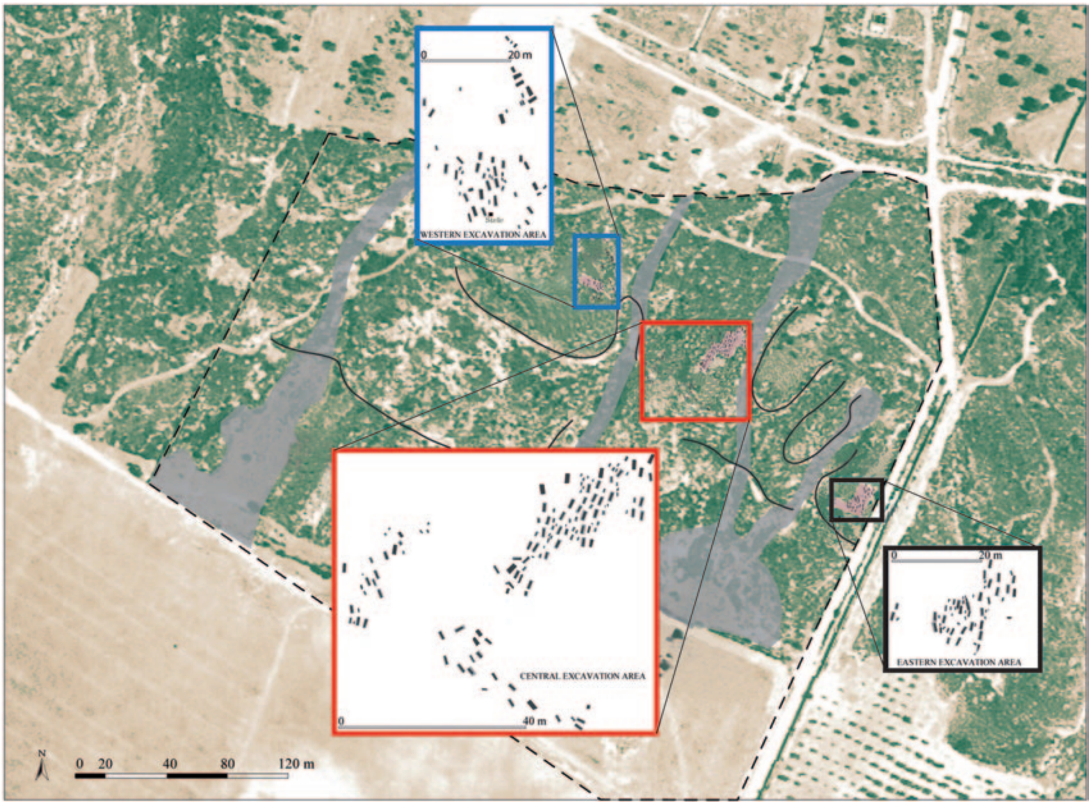

Fig. 37. Plan of Archaic necropolis: survey focusing on three zones excavated by Maruggi in 1988. Shaded areas represent gullies and other depressions, black lines the contours of the elevations.

9. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

In this section, we present some of the main preliminary outcomes of the fieldwork carried out thus far. We start with some observations about the site formation processes and the post-depositional processes that are a prerequisite for an evaluation of the archaeological findings on the L'Amastuola hill. We then present some results of the analysis of the pottery found during the excavations.

a. Site-formation processes and post-depositional processes

The bedrock of the L'Amastuola hill consists of grey dolomite, which erodes relatively easily and consequently is characterized by an irregular surface. The hilltop is crowned by the *masseria* built in modern times (see *fig. 3*). Around this lies a zone where the soil is very thin and the naked rock surfaces;[37] further downhill (and especially in the south part) is the south terrace, which contains a deposit of soil that becomes gradually thicker towards the edge of the terrace. There is positive evidence of soil movement in antiquity and later times, although it is clear that even during the 1st millennium BC the rock was never

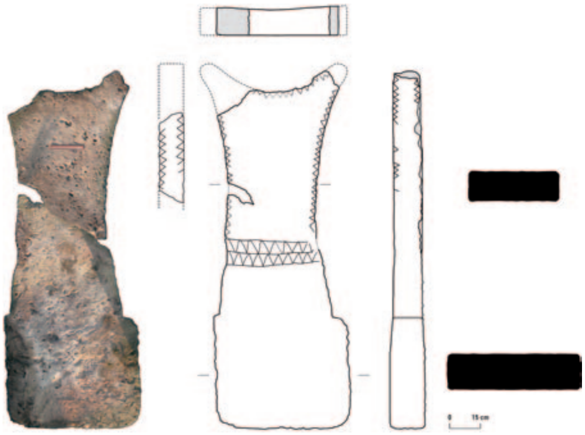

Fig. 38.
Archaic necropolis: photo and line drawing of stele.

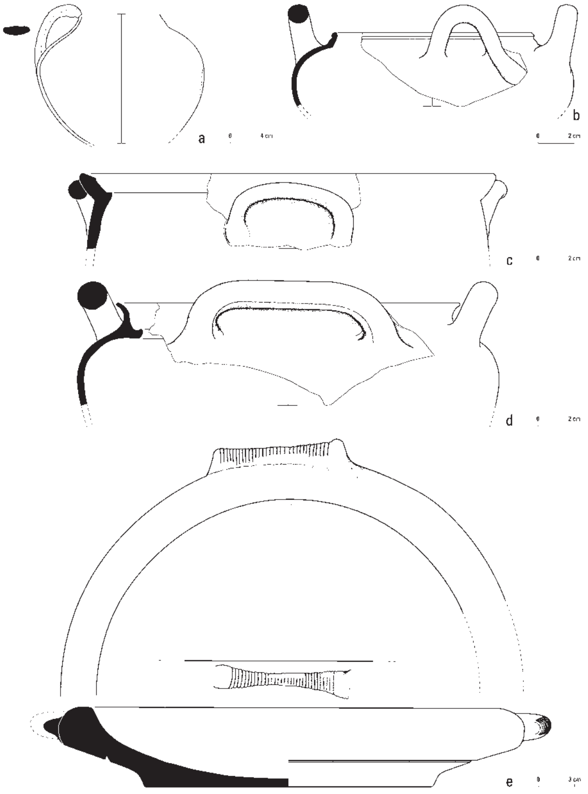

Fig. 39. Drawings of undecorated medium and coarse wares from Trenches 2 and 6: a. cooking pot with rounded base (Trench 6: un. 313 #877); b. pyxis (Trench 6: un. 313 #858); c. cooking pot (Trench 2: un. 241 #561); d. cooking pot (Trench 6: un. 313 #831 SF36); e. mortar (Trench 2: un. 206 #512 SF5).

entirely covered with earth. This is shown by the fact that every time we reached bedrock, early indigenous sherd material (especially *impasto*) was encountered in the grooves and holes that erosion had left in the rock surface. It is likely that from an early stage onwards, terrace walls were constructed to facilitate inhabitation on the rocky hill slopes (see Trenches 3 and 5); probably the *agger* walls also helped to create level areas for habitation.

The stratigraphy found especially in Trenches 2 and 6 shows that the archaeological layers are covered by thick deposits of relatively homogeneous material containing large quantities of sherds and tile fragments. This colluvium must have been deposited in phases, although probably not gradually but incidentally, that is, with substantial quantities of material being deposited during each phase. We have not encountered the type of inverse stratigraphy that one would expect when younger layers start to wash down and, once deposited on a spot lower on the hill slope, become covered by ever earlier material that starts to slide down the hill slope only when overlying layers have washed down. Instead, we found that large objects (e.g. an almost intact mortar of terracotta [*fig. 39e*] or very large fragments of roof tiles) or concentrations of archaeological material, often only slightly worn, washed down together with the colluvial material, probably in the form of mud streams or landslides. The massive impact of this can also be gathered from the damage done to the architectural remains, as is clear especially in the southern part of Trench 6. The origin of this colluvial material is to be sought not so much in debris formed by erosion of the bedrock but in material that had been deposited on the hill slope by human agency, such as the loam used in mud bricks or earth brought up as levelling material for building terraces. We can distinguish at least two large colluvial deposits, of which the youngest (colluvium II) was deposited in the 5th century and the eldest (colluvium I) possibly in the 6th century. Geochemical analysis shows that the upper part of colluvium I is rich in phosphates, suggesting that after the alleged land or mud slides part of the site was used for agricultural activities that required manuring. Colluvium II can be linked almost certainly to the phase of abandonment of the south terrace and relocation of the settlement to the north and north-west of the hilltop.

b. Pottery analysis[38]

The excavations at L'Amastuola have yielded large quantities of ceramics, partly from stratified archaeological contexts and partly from colluvial deposits. The ceramic spectrum covers especially the period from the late 8th century to the middle of the 5th century. This is also the period that is represented by architectural remains. The upper limits of the spectrum is marked by, for example, Corinthian Late Geometric (*fig. 40a-d*), and the lower limits by, for instance, an Athenian red-figure vase fragment attributable to the Pan Painter or his circle (ca 480-460; *fig. 41i*)[39] and fragments of B2 cups, Bloesch C cups (ca 520-450) and Metapontine skyphoi (ca 470-450 BC; *figs. 42, 44b*). In addition, there are a few sporadic and unstratified sherds datable to the latter half of the 5th century and the late 4th or early 3rd century. The entire period between the late 8th and the mid 5th century seems to be evenly covered. A great diversity in vase shapes is represented, e.g. kitchen wares (*fig.*

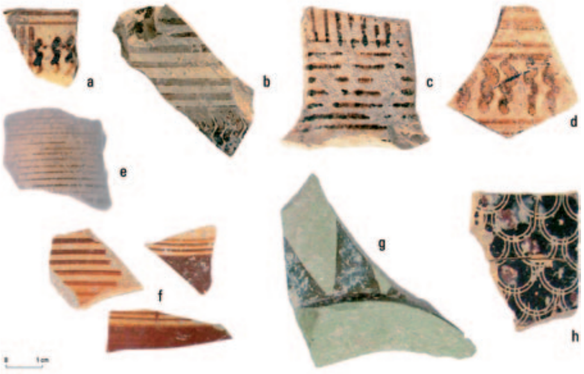

Fig. 40. Fragments of Corinthian wares from various trenches: a. LG soldier-bird kotyle (Trench 4: un. 116 #297); b. LG oinochoe (Trench 4: un. 122 #317); c. LG or EPC oinochoe (Trench 4: un. 131 #348); d. LG/EPC closed vessel (Trench 2: un. 234 #543); e. globular aryballos (Trench 2: un. 210 #519); f. EPC-MPC cups (Trench 6: un. 321 #876); g. EC(?) kotyle (Trench 6: un. 341 #939); h. EC/MC oinochoe(?) (Trench 6: un. 305 #852).

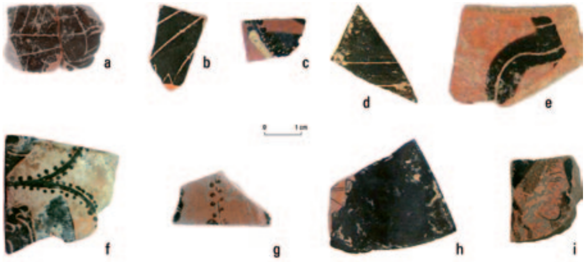

Fig. 41. Photo of black- and red-figure vase fragments from various trenches. a., g. (Trench 2: un. 208 #516); b. (Trench 2: un. 236 #546); c. (Trench 2: un. 236 #573); d. (Trench 6: un. 313 #835); e. (Trench 2: un. 230 #538); f. (Trench 7: un. 15 #52 SF11); h. (Trench 6: un. 313 #861); i. (Trench 2: un. 202 #506).

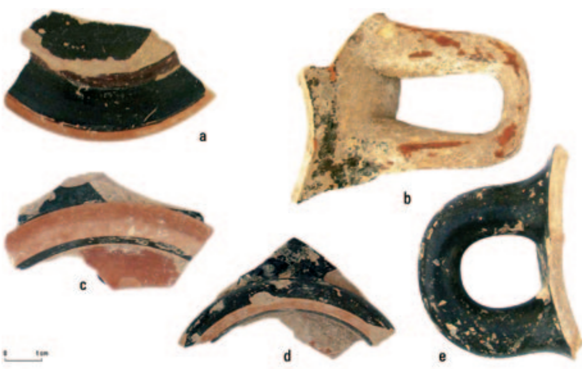

Fig. 42. Base and handle fragments datable to first half of fifth century BC: a. Bloesch C type cup (Trench 2: un. 236 #548); b. Bloesch C type cup, seemingly misfired (Trench 6: un. 313 #835); c. Attic-type skyphos (Trench 6: un. 305 #881); d. Apulian black gloss (Trench 2: un. 236 #547); e. Apulian/Lucanian black gloss skyphos (Trench 6: un. 313 #835).

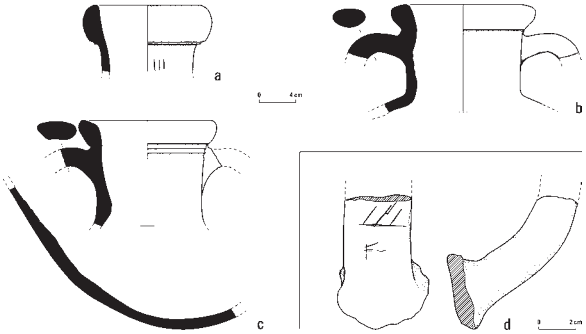

Fig. 43. Fragments of Corinthian type B amphorae: a. lip and neck, with incised marks (Trench 4: un. 121 #315); b.-c. upper part and base (Trench 6: un. 313 #858 SF67, #861 SF77); d. inscribed handle (Trench 4: un. 117 #298 SF2).

39), transport amphorae (*fig. 43*), hydriae (*fig. 24b-c*), kraters (*fig. 44d*), dinoi (*fig. 44f*) and fine drinking wares (*figs. 40-42, 44-45*), as well as less common shapes such as a lamp (*fig. 44g*), aryballos (*fig. 40e*), pyxis (*fig. 39b*) and phiale (*fig. 25*), and one or more relief-decorated vases (*fig. 46b, e*). The indigenous repertoire consists especially of *impasto*, medium wares and matt-painted pottery (*figs. 7, 10, 14*), sometimes of high quality, as well as several fragments of *ceramica indigena 'incisa'* (*fig. 46c*).[40] The indigenous pottery covers the period between the late 8th century and the late 7th or even early 6th century. In the course of the 7th century, colonial Greek wares were more frequently utilized. They became dominant in the 6th century, and towards the end of that century, these wares were produced on the spot (*figs. 24a = 44a, 42b, 45f-g*). There is, however, evidence of a certain continuity in pot-making traditions. This is provided, for instance, by a fragment of a *scodella* shown in fig. 47a. The type has an indigenous origin, but this specific example is not handmade but was thrown on the potter's wheel. On the other hand, it is not very well fired, which is a characteristic of indigenous pottery.

There is also a variety of imports among the pottery finds. To the first phase of occupation belong fragments of Corinthian type A amphorae

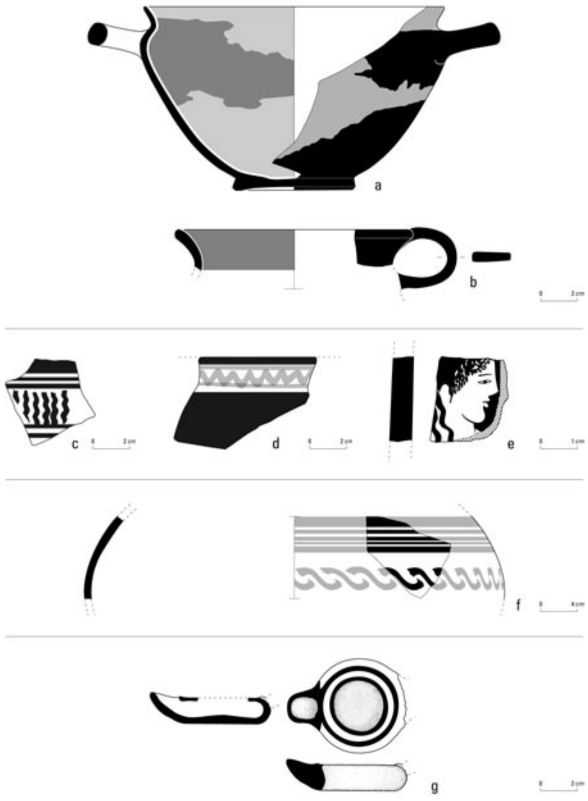

Fig. 44. Fragments of various fine wares and lamp: a. misfired skyphos (Trench 6: un. 313 #873 SF113; see also fig. 24.a.); b. rim and ring handle of black gloss jug ('Phidias juglet'; Trench 4: un. 122 #314); c. large, open vessel (dinos or stamnoid krater?; Trench 4: un. 144 #375); d. rim and part of wall of colonial stamnoid krater (Trench 4: un. 144 #375); e. fragment attributable to Pan Painter or circle (Trench 2: un. 202 #506; see also fig. 41.i.); f. dinos (Trench 6: un. 321 #876); g. lamp (Trench 6: un. 313 #869 SF83).

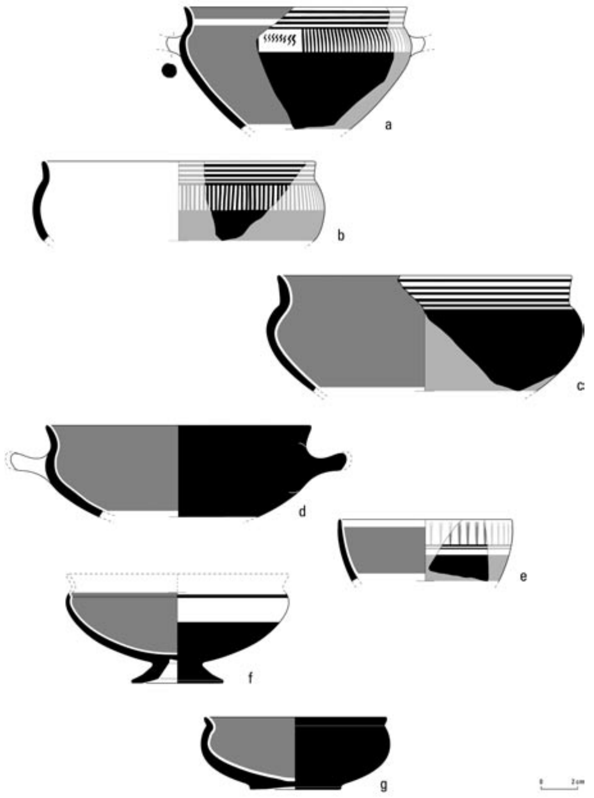

Fig. 45. Fragments of various fine wares: a. colonial-Greek version of EPC/MPC cup (Trench 6: un. 305 #881 SF115); b. MPC cup (Trench 1: un. 4 #13); c. coppa a filetti *(Trench 6: un. 317-318 #853); d. solidly painted cup (Trench 4: un. 125 #330); e. rim kotyle (Trench 2: un. 236 #548); f. 'Ionian' B2 cup (Trench 6: un. 313 #831 SF37); g. small cup with traces of horizontal handles (Trench 6: un. 313 #831 SF35).*

and even a piece of 'Devoll ware' (*fig. 47c*) that was imported from what is now Albania. Other imports originate from eastern Greece (painted fine wares [*fig. 47b*] and medium wares, amphorae), Corinth (aryballos, fine wares, type A amphorae; *figs. 40, 43*), Attica (black- and red-figure vases; *fig. 41*; possibly also *fig. 42a*) and adjacent regions in southern Italy (L'Incoronata [*fig. 44c, f*], Metapontion [*figs. 42c, e, 44d, f*], Sybaris [*fig. 43c*], Taras [*figs. 42d, 45e*][41] and perhaps Kerkyra [*possibly fig. 43a*]).

In addition to imports, another important indication of external contacts are foreign influences on locally or regionally manufactured pottery. The style of the indigenous pots clearly displays features characteristic of the Matera region, i.e. the hinterland of Metapontion. These decidedly regional features can be observed on the earliest matt-painted wares found at the site dating to ca 710-680 BC (see e.g. *fig. 14b*); these have close parallels at the Materano sites of Matera and Gravina di Puglia.[42] More recent matt-painted ceramics in which these regional features are more pronounced, abound at the site. These can be dated to around the middle of the 7th century (see e.g. *fig. 14a, c*) and the later 7th century BC (e.g. *fig. 14d*).[43] Stylistic interconnections between the matt-painted wares from L'Amastuola and the pots decorated in the regional Salento style of nearby Taranto and the Salento peninsula, however, are decidedly weak. The matt-painted wares excavated at L'Amastuola can thus be solidly placed within the regional style of the Materano ('Bradano matt-painted'). In a way, this orientation westwards continues during the succeeding phase. Ceramics in line with a colonial Greek tradition also show ties with regions west of L'Amastuola (L'Incoronata, Metapontion and Siris); for the time being, Tarentine imports and influences seem to have become more frequent only during the latest phase of the site's occupation (first half of the 5th century).

In the remaining part of this section, we present the preliminary results of our fieldwork by focusing on the four sub-themes that were set out in section 5. In doing so, we try to integrate the outcomes of our excavations and surface surveys, supplemented with information from geophysical and botanical analyses.

1. Indigenous inhabitation

Hitherto, the importance of the indigenous settlement traces at L'Amastuola had been underexposed, mainly because attention was focused on the Greek occupation of the site. However, the data proffered by our fieldwork provide reason to reconsider the phase of indigenous occupation. Not only was the site occupied by indigenous inhabitants already in the late 8th century BC, but this indigenous community continued to live there throughout the 7th century, when at some point Greek migrants must have started to move in. In the field surveys, indigenous occupation is attested in the form of ceramic surface concentrations. The excavations on the L'Amastuola hill have produced traces of indigenous occupation in the shape of the remains of two or three curvilinear huts (in the *Soprintendenza*'s central trench, in Trench 2 and, possibly, Trench 6), the *agger*-type of circumvallation (in both *Soprintendenza* trenches, and in Trenches 1 and 2), and pottery that has been found *in situ* on ancient surfaces (Trenches 2 and 3).

In more than one respect, our fieldwork has changed dramatically the picture of indigenous occupation at L'Amastuola. Firstly, the *agger* turned out to be part of a much more complex defence system. Secondly, it appeared that this was created some 50 years later than previously thought (perhaps ca 670), while the hut remains with possible ritual deposition in Trench 2 also provides evidence of continuing indigenous occupation at the site. Thirdly, especially revealing is the discovery of a stele in the midst of the necropolis area south of L'Amastuola. Parallels for this stele are to be found in indigenous contexts in the Salento region. The context of the necropolis suggests a date for the stele of between ca 675 and the 5th century BC. The context shows that some of the tombs must have belonged to indigenous occupants, among whom were individuals who enjoyed a high status - although the tombs generally seem to have been of Greek type and contained Greek pottery and other burial items.[44] Fourthly, the matt-painted pottery seems to suggest that indigenous material culture was oriented towards the north or west (Materano) rather than the east (Tarantino).

The 7th-century continuity of indigenous presence at L'Amastuola is discussed below. To assess this presence and, more generally, the issue of indigenous-Greek relationships, it is imperative to first discuss the earliest, formative phase of the settlement. It is highly significant that towards the later 8th century BC an indigenous group founded a settlement *ex novo* on one of the visually most dominant hill peaks in the entire Taranto region, one that is within easy reach of both the coastal plain and the Crispiano valley. The implications of the above data and interpretations are far-reaching: indigenous reclamation seems to have shortly preceded the Greek presence at L'Amastuola.

Unfortunately, in the Taranto area little systematic research has been carried out to contextualize these findings. Still, other Iron Age traces have actually been attested at a range of sites in the Taranto province. In contrast to L'Amastuola, some of these were shown to have been continuously occupied from the Bronze Age, such as Taranto/Scoglio del Tonno, Torre Castelluccia, Torre Saturo and Monte Salete.[45] Others seem to be new foundations. Although for the majority of these new sites a more precise date of their origins could not be given, the few that have undergone systematic excavation offer stratigraphical proof of a foundation in the course of the 8th century.[46]

If the evidence for 8th-century settlement expansion in the Taranto region is still relatively scarce, it should be underlined that similar conclusions are increasingly being drawn for other regions in southern Italy that have seen a recent upsurge of systematic investigations, such as the Sybaritide (discussed in section 5.1 above). This also applies to the Salento peninsula.

In Salento, it was D'Andria who, mainly on the basis of incidental discoveries, first pointed out an exponential increase in site densities during the 8th century.[47] Subsequent excavations and field surveys carried out by Lecce University, the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia*, and a range of Italian and foreign institutions have all but falsified this hypothesis by showing that both inland and coastal landscapes were gradually filled in particularly in the later 8th century BC. If these observations withstand the scrutiny of future fieldwork, one must conclude that in the course of the 8th century the indigenous populations of these regions were engaged in processes of settlement expansion and reclamation of previously not or only marginally exploited landscapes.[48] These processes seem to have involved a wide range of landscape units, including the first terraces of the Taranto Murge, where a pioneer settlement was founded on the dominant hilltop of L'Amastuola.

Various hypotheses can be proposed to explain the developments outlined above. Population growth, socio-economic differentiation and the related elite proliferation, as well as the quest for control over agricultural and pastoral resources, were presumably among the most prominent factors. One almost inevitable conclusion is that the transformations in the arrangement of settlements and landscape indicate a redefinition of territorial boundaries within the local communities, territorial expansions and - correspondingly - a series of related conflicts between local communities. It is in this context and setting that groups of Greek migrants came to settle in the Taranto area, constituting yet other elements in the ferment of contemporary shifting power factions.

2. Greek-indigenous relationships

In the preceding section we argued that the outcomes of our fieldwork in and around L'Amastuola provide good grounds to revise the picture of short-lived indigenous occupation that came to an end due to the arrival of Greek settlers. Instead, we have found clear evidence of indigenous presence at the site for much of the 7th century and possibly even part of the 6th century. This revised image of the nature and length of the native occupation has direct repercussions on the way we picture relationships between Greeks and indigenes. Our excavations have not yielded evidence that would allow us to conclude that Greeks were taking over the site in ca 675 BC, let alone that something like a destruction layer was attested in various parts of the settlement, which would testify to violent encounters. In Trench 3 we did discover traces of burning but these probably date to the middle or latter half of the 7th century, while remains of burnt loam deposited as filling material in the area of Trench 4 are presumable still later in date (late 7th or 6th century). Apparently, these traces of fire and destruction date to different moments in time and are thus hard to link to one specific 'historical event'. What our archaeological data suggest is that during a period of at least one century after the traditional foundation date of Taras, a flourishing community existed at L'Amastuola that sported some distinct features of indigenous material culture. The construction of a defence system of indigenous type can perhaps be seen as a reaction to Tarentine activities in the general region. To this it should be added that during the subsequent period the material culture shows traces not so much of change or disruption but of continuity. It is certainly true that local culture and customs bear testimony to Greek influences but this seems to involve a rather long-term process. The necropolis provides one of the earliest contexts in which Greek presence or influences are expressed: location of the burial grounds, tomb type, manner of deposition and grave inventory are all in line with a Greek tradition,[49] which seems to be manifest right from the point that the necropolis came into use (ca 675 BC, following Maruggi's findings). Possibly slightly later (during the later 7th and the 6th century), Greek influences are also visible in domestic architecture, that is, if buildings α-γ were indeed constructed in a period somewhat later than previously suggested. The pottery repertoire displays a related development: initially, decorated wares are in line with an indigenous tradition (*impasto* and matt-painted pottery), but in the course of the 6th century pottery of Greek type becomes dominant and is even produced on site at the end of that century. However, the find of an indigenous stele in the necropolis area provides evidence of a juxtaposition or, indeed, an amalgamation of indigenous and Greek traditions. A similar situation may have occurred in the domain of domestic architecture if there is a chronological overlap between the hut remains found in Trench 2 and Maruggi's *oikoi* β and γ.

It is evident that the Archaic occupants of L'Amastuola maintained close contact with the Greek milieu. At the same time it is clear that the model of violent domination and submission does not apply to the data generated by our fieldwork. Yet the question remains whether it is possible to identify the presence of Greeks at the site at some point in the 7th or 6th century. In this context it is important to note that the new findings from L'Amastuola underline the fact that we should be very careful about making *a priori* assumptions of the type 'rectangular house plan = Greek' or 'rock-cut *fossa* + Corinthian pottery (or Laconian, for that matter) = Greek'. On the other hand, the Greek influence on burial customs, house types, and the use and production of pottery must have been so fundamental that one is forced to reckon with a form of very intense contact, for instance in the shape of the coexistence or intermingling of indigenes and Greeks. In that case, L'Amastuola would follow the model of L'Incoronata or Siris. We have already seen that both the indigenous matt-painted wares of the 7th century and the colonial Greek pottery of the 6th century found at L'Amastuola indicate that the settlement was oriented towards the west, and this could support the hypothesis that also in the domain of sociocultural interactions L'Amastuola followed the developments and traditions of the Materano.

A clear break in settlement pattern and material culture is attested for the first half of the 5th century. The architecture in Trench 6 and the formation of colluvium in Trenches 2 and 6 provide reasons to assume that during this period the south terrace was used less intensively. Around the mid 5th century, we witness a shift in settlement location and see that a larger area around the hilltop becomes occupied. It is from this point in time onwards that habitation is no longer limited to the L'Amastuola hilltop and its direct vicinity, but - as the field surveys indicate - the surrounding landscape is now inhabited and exploited by means of small, rural settlements or farmsteads (late 5th to 3rd centuries). Possibly, these fundamental changes around the middle of the century can be connected to Tarentine expansion. Literary and epigraphic sources indicate that during the first decades of the 5th century a series of violent confrontations took place between the Greeks of Taras and indigenous peoples. The Tarentines claim to have won victories over the Messapioi, and over the Peuketioi and their allies, the Iapyges under King Opis, and they erected monuments at Delphi from tithes of the spoils to commemorate these events (Paus. 10.10.6, 13.10). The inscriptions on both monuments are dated on epigraphic grounds in the first half of the 5th century.[50] However, after an attempt to destroy indigenous settlements in Iapygia (covering the heel of Italy, or modern Salento), a confederacy of indigenous peoples led by Iapyges annihilated an army of Taras and Rhegion during what was the 'greatest Hellenic slaughter ever' (Hdt. 7.170). From Diodorus Siculus (11.52) we learn that this out-and-out battle between Tarentines and Iapyges happened in 473 BC, after years of skirmishes and raids on each other's territory. After this defeat, which involved the killing of a great many notables, democratic reforms were carried through at Taras (Arist. *Pol.* 5.3.7 [1303a.3]). Possibly from the mid 5th century onwards the city flourished.

Combining this historical information with our findings at L'Amastuola, we propose as a working hypothesis that the L'Amastuola area was incorporated in the Tarentine *chora* not around 675 BC but only in the course of the first half or around the middle of the 5th century. It is possible that during the first two and a half centuries of its history, Taras expanded to the east and the south. In this period, L'Amastuola may have housed an independent, fortified settlement inhabited by a mixed Greek-indigenous population. This settlement was oriented towards the west, where there were a number of comparable sites during the 7th century (especially L'Incoronata and Siris).

3. *Early colonial material culture*

Before reflecting upon this aspect, a proviso must be made. Until now, the excavations have been concentrated on the south terrace, but it is well possible that only one portion of the 8th to mid 5th century settlement was located there. It is very likely that the most prominent part of the hill - the hilltop on which today the *masseria* stands - was also inhabited. The material that makes up the colluvial layers attested in Trenches 2 and 6 may originate in this part. It cannot even been ruled out that the hill top housed buildings with a representative or ritual function. This may at least be deduced from some of the finds that washed down and were retrieved as part of the colluvium or were found on the surface along the northern edge of the south terrace (i.e. not far from where the bedrock surfaces and relatively close to the hilltop). These include fragments of, for instance, a terracotta figurine (*fig. 46a*), a possible *antefix* and disc *akroterion* (*fig. 46d*), aryballos (*fig. 40e*), miniature vases, Laconian kraters, and such iron objects as a spear head and dress pin (*fig. 18b, d*). The possibility that a prominent portion of the settlement was located near the hilltop raises the question whether the finds made on the south terrace render a picture that is representative of the site as a whole. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to outline a number of developments in early colonial architecture and other domains of material culture that hold good at least for the part of the settlement that was located on the south terrace. As far as domestic architecture is concerned, we see a change from curvilinear 'huts' to rectangular 'houses', with a possible overlap during the third quarter of the 7th century, when these two types of domestic structures were perhaps in use simultaneously. Supposedly after some time, the space in front of the rectangular houses was delineated with the help of a division wall (*oikos* β in central trench *Soprintendenza*; *oikos* γ in Trench

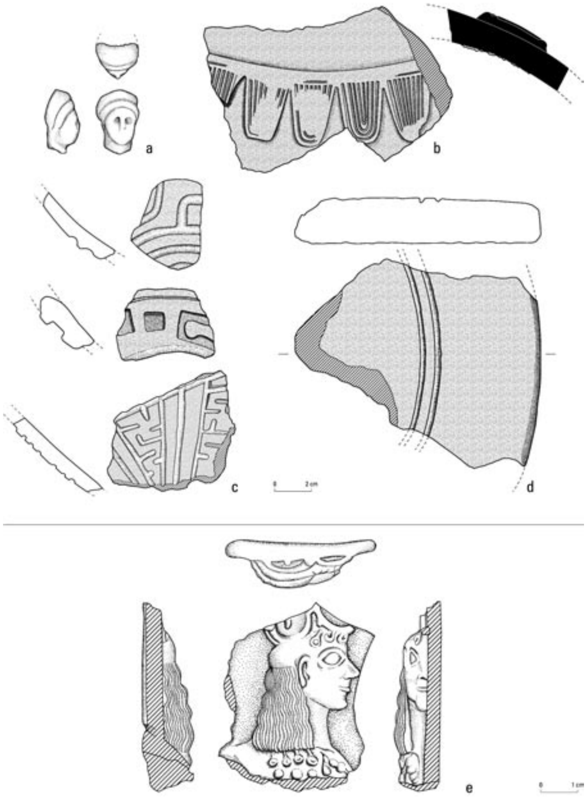

Fig. 46. Various fragments: a. head of terracotta figurine (surface find); b. relief vase(?) (Trench 6: un. 313 #858 SF69); c. ceramica indigena 'incisa' *(Trench 2: un. 201 #502, 202 #505-506; Trench 5: un. 16 #55 SF16); d. disc akroterion(?) (Trench 6: un. 300 #755 SF18)): e. relief vase (Trench 5: un. 17 #59 SF4).*

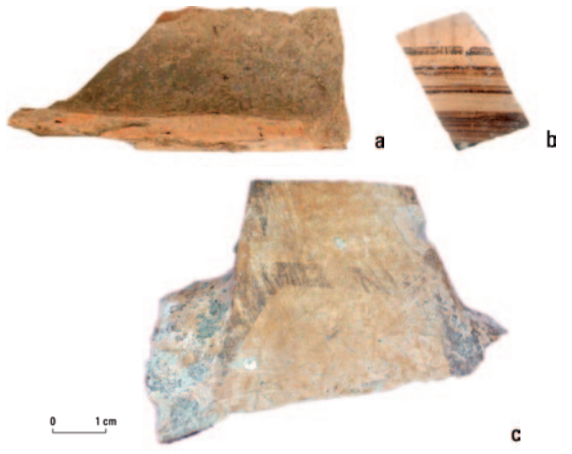

Fig. 47. Various pottery fragments: a. scodella *(Trench 2: un. 240 #356); b. East Greek ('Samian') cup (Trench 2: un. 214 #522); c. two-handled* olletta, *'Devoll ware' (Trench 1: un 13 #39).*

3; see *figs. 4, 12-13*), which helped to create a sort of courtyard. A next step in this development was the construction of separate rooms or buildings around the courtyard, which we witness at a slightly earlier point in time also in other places in the Greek world. This development is connected with a tendency towards the segmentation and relative specialization of internal space for different functions, activities, individuals and genders. The result of this development is a more complex form of domestic architecture, the so-called courtyard house.[51] This tendency towards a functional differentiation of space can be observed when we compare Trench 3 (*fig. 13*) - where food preparation seems to be mainly an outdoor affair - and Trench 4 (*fig. 15*), where *oikos* δ represents a room that is exclusively utilized for the storage and preparation of food and drink, and possibly originally functioned as the kitchen of a courtyard house. Further excavation may establish whether the walled space encountered in Trench 6 (*fig. 21*), which first housed a potter's workshop and later seemingly was reserved for domestic activities, was part of a similar courtyard house. However that may be, it is clear that this represents a type of architecture that was built on a larger scale and had a more spacious layout compared to earlier architecture found in other trenches.

Due to the relatively limited size of the area of excavation and the destruction of earlier remains by later building activities, it is difficult to say anything certain about the size, density or spatial organization of the occupation (see *fig. 48*). In any event, it is hardly plausible that inhabitation ever covered the entire area of the south terrace. Perhaps we should reckon with, parallel to the internal organization of the necropolis area, several clusters of houses or separated habitation nuclei.

The hut remains found in the central trench of the *Soprintendenza* and in Trench 2 are located close to the *agger* walls (see *figs. 4, 9, 48*). During a later stage, a strip of two to three metres wide was left devoid of inhabitation (both *Soprintendenza* trenches; Trench 1; see *figs. 4, 6*), which could be taken as an indication of a more carefully planned settlement layout. The construction of division walls (*oikos* β in central trench *Soprintendenza*; *oikos* γ in Trench 3) suggests that settlement space was used more intensively or that there was a need to make a clearer separation between public and private space. As mentioned, during the final occupation phase the architecture was built on a larger scale and was characterized by a more spacious layout, and part of the south terrace seems to have been used for agriculture or horticulture.

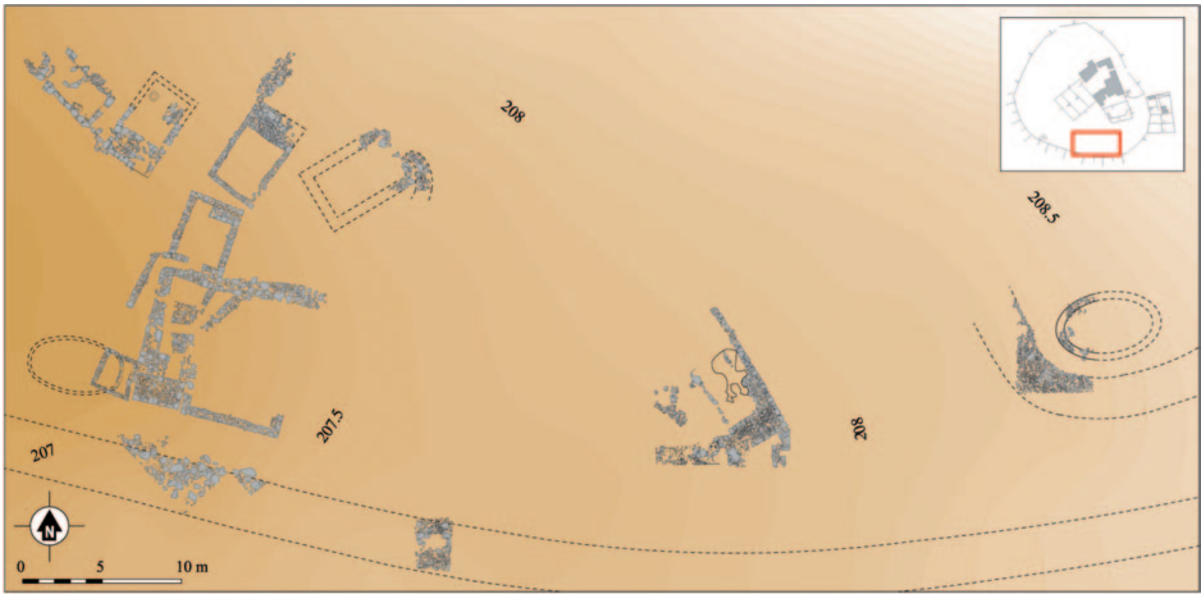

Fig. 48. L'Amastuola, south terrace: overview of structures from various occupation phases with some tentative reconstructions.

It should be pointed out that the rectangular, single-room houses are rather small. The table below gives the internal dimensions:

building	**function**	**lenght (m)**	**width (m)**	**floor space (m²)**
α	pen/storage	2.0	1.9	3.8
β	domestic	3.6	2.7	9.72
γ	domestic	3.6	2.8	10.08
δ	'kitchen'	4.2	1.9	7.98
ε*	workshop	2.7	>4.15 (?)	>11.20 (?)

* i.e. rear room; NW part not preserved

The small size of building α might indicate that it functioned as a storage facility or pen. *Oikoi* β and γ fulfilled a domestic function, while *oikos* ε functioned as a blacksmith's workshop, possibly combining certain domestic functions. The internal area of each of the three buildings is approximately 10 m². Cross-cultural research indicates that 10 m² of roofed space per person can be considered a minimum. To draw some comparisons, domestic structures in Early Iron Age Greece average 40-70 m²; if nuclear families of four to five individuals can be taken as normative residential units, we arrive at 8-10 m² to 14-17.5 m² of roofed space per person.[52] This relates to the 'Dark Ages'; in the course of the Archaic period the average space available per individual steadily increased.[53] *Oikoi* β, γ and ε at L'Amastuola are small, certainly by Archaic standards and even compared to what was common in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age. These structures can be ascribed to small households (of one or perhaps two individuals), who presumably were of low status. If the 1.6 x 0.75 x 0.4 m stone bench in *oikos* β is indeed a single bed, this may be another indication that we are dealing with a one-person household. However, before we draw more general conclusions about the settlement at L'Amastuola, it should be emphasized once more that it is uncertain whether the occupation on the south terrace provides a representative picture of the settlement as a whole.

Our picture of the settlement's means of subsistence and other aspects of its economy is much less equivocal. Agriculture and stock-breeding will have catered for its main necessities. Some of the iron tools and implements found in Trench 4 (double-axe, pickaxe, curved knife; *figs. 17, 18c*) and Trench 5 (hoe) are clearly connected to various agricultural activities. Botanical samples that have been analysed thus far have yielded a variety of cereals.[54] Among these are macrorests of wheat, mostly emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), but also some oats (*Avena sativa*) and a few grains of wild grasses, namely *Bromus sp*. With only two finds of free-threshing wheat, *Triticum aestivum/compactum*,[55] the inhabitans of L'Amastuola seem to have lived mostly on the hulled grains *Triticum dicoccum* and *Hordeum vulgare*. The wheat grains that were found near the bread ovens in Trench 3 may therefore have been carbonized accidentally during processing: hulled grains can be dehusked from their persistent enclosing hull by parching. After that, the grains were probably hulled using pestle and mortar, like the one found in Trench 4. This has probably also happened to the barley grains that were found in a soil sample taken from the domestic context encountered in Trench 6. This sample also yielded a considerable amount of charred emmer wheat. On the whole, hulled grains and some pulses seem to have been the predominant crops in the early stage of the settlement. 7th-century contexts have so far mainly provided hulled wheat and hulled barley, but also large amounts of seed crops, in particular bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*). It may be pointed out that over half of the macrorests from L'Amastuola analysed so far consisted of legumes, in particular bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*). As its name implies, the seeds of bitter vetch are bitter and even toxic to humans and some animals. The poisonous substance can, however, be removed by soaking the seeds in water. The finds at L'Amastuola seem to indicate that this vetch was part of the inhabitants' diet, since we have found some 700 seeds of *Vicia ervilia* in and around an undecorated container or storage jar that came to light in Trench 3, in the same context that also contained a monochrome *olletta* (*fig. 14b*, first half to mid 7th century) and a bichrome, footed krater (*fig. 14d*, mid to later 7th century; see further section 6 above).[56] Bitter vetch was also among the finds in the earlier colluvium layers in Trench 2, together with some barley, emmer wheat and a single grain of oat (*Avena sativa*), and in more recent contexts in Trench 6.

Trench 6 has yielded a considerable amount of macrorests, most of them similar to the ones found in earlier strata. Particularly noteworthy are the contents of a cooking pot with relatively narrow neck (*fig. 39a*). It appeared to contain some 170 seeds of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), next to emmer wheat, pulses (*Vicia sp.*), grains of wild grass (*Bromus sp.*), a single grain of bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum/compactum*), and ten fragments of charred olive stones (*Olea europaea*). This closed context gives us an impression of how an everyday meal in 5th-century L'Amastuola may have looked - presumably like a sort of gruel. This is the only context so far in which we have found olive stones. Their fragmented state could be the result of pounding, using a pestle and mortar, in order to extract some of the fruit's oily juices.[57]

As for the charcoal remains, the macrorests analysed thus far are attributed to olive (*Olea europaea*), holly oak (*Quercus ilex*) and mastic (*Pistacia lentiscus*). The carbonized fragments of olive wood that were found in a dump next to the (bread-) ovens in Trench 3 might have been burnt in the oven itself, but at this point it seems too early to draw conclusions.

The zoological material contains, not surprisingly, many bones of sheep/goats, but also quite a lot of cattle bones. Evidently, sheep were raised not only for meat consumption but also for wool, which was produced in a domestic context (attested by large amounts of spindle whorls and loom weights; especially in Trench 6, last phase). The find of a large bronze fish-hook (in Trench 6) suggests that the maritime environment incidentally provided additional, non-agricultural resources to supplement the diet (although shells and fish bones are remarkably rare among the faunal remains).

In the later 6th century and the earlier 5th century, the inhabitants of L'Amastuola produced and repaired pots and forged their own iron agricultural implements. We may conclude that the settlement was in an economic sense highly self-sufficient, adding that in this respect the picture is especially complete for the final phase of occupation. If we want to characterize the socio-political and economic importance of L'Amastuola, we can say that it fulfilled the role of central place for the surrounding area.

The importation of pottery and such bulk goods as wine or olive oil that travelled to L'Amastuola in transport amphorae provide interesting, additional information about the site's subsistence during the Archaic period. Apparently, its means were plentiful enough to use a part of the surplus to purchase foreign goods. Imported wine, which no doubt was often consumed in connection with imported drinking services, and perfumed oil, sprinkled from exotic oil flasks, were part of a luxurious, 'internationally' oriented lifestyle.[58] Another indication that L'Amastuola was not a backward, isolated locality appears from the find of writing. Graffiti have been found on a handle of a Corinthian type B amphora (first quarter of the 5th century; *fig. 43d*) and on the lower body and base of what was probably a small flask of local manufacture. If the latter identification is correct, this indicates that there were members of the L'Amastuola community who could read and write.

4. Layout of the colonial landscape

Both the excavations and the field surveys suggest that the site of L'Amastuola was of the nucleated type, at least until the 2nd century BC. Its dominant, central place role has already been emphasized: the settlement was meant to control and to be seen, while the various land systems could be easily reached from the site. The coastal area offered space for herding, whereas its immediate agricultural catchment area most probably should be identified with the undulating valley between the site itself and the modern village of Crispiano.

Our surveys suggest that until the 5th century the inhabitants of L'Amastuola worked their fields by commuting on a daily basis: in the various sample areas throughout the landscape, there is no evidence of Archaic/early Classical rural dwellings. Small rural sites start to appear only in the later 5th century, whereas in the early Hellenistic period they expand all over the Crispiano valley and beyond; in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC this undulating sloping land was dotted with isolated farmsteads. The presence of graveyards in the immediate vicinity of these sites indicates that the farms had become permanently inhabited. We suggest that this rural infill is related to the northward and westward expansion of the Taranto *chora*, discussed above; in connection with this, we propose as a working hypothesis that prior to that phase the *chora* was more restricted and less rigid.

Future problem-oriented research is needed in order to evaluate the strength of this hypothesis as an alternative to the dominant view, to which we have already referred. The L'Amastuola landscape is commonly contended to have been incorporated into a stabile *chora* already soon after the reported date of colonization, at the end of the 8th century (section 5.4 above). This colonial territory is thought to have extended 10-20 km inland, stretching out along the coast to the south-east for some 30 km and to the west up to the Bradano river, where it borders the territory of Metapontion. The settlement of L'Amastuola is even argued to have played a dominant role in the formation of the *chora*, in tandem with Taras. In relation to this, the territorial organization of the early Spartan colony has been defined as polycentric (see section 5.4); other, similar villages are suspected on the basis of a number of reports of incidental Archaic finds elsewhere.

As may be clear from the above, we do not wish to question the nucleated pattern of inhabitation for the Archaic period. Rather, the issue is the identification of ethnic groups and territories. The delineation of an extensive Greek *chora* is based largely on sporadic finds attesting a Greek type material culture. In contrast, the landscape beyond the supposed border is generally considered to have belonged to autochthonous communities. Here, indigenous material culture elements are judged to be more pronounced. Interpretation of the archaeological record mainly figures in terms of a rigid indigene-Greek dichotomy; it is induced by a few problematic written sources that stress indigene-Greek conflict in specific phases.[59] Thus, archaeological contexts are valued according to their adherence to sets of allegedly contrasting typologies that are interpreted in ethnic terms and corresponding political-territorial configurations, that is, they are projected on to the map as belonging either to Greek or to indigenous territory.

Concluding observations

We conclude from our fieldwork that the issue is not as clear-cut as it may seem. From a cultural-historical perspective, the site of L'Amastuola is characterized by a very heterogeneous material culture, with 'typical Greek' items - such as house plans and burial customs - fused with 'typical indigenous' items, such as the defensive system, hut plans, ceramic repertoires and, not to forget, the stele. It will be difficult to identify such contexts as proof of the presence of an ethnically Greek settlement controlling an extensive Greek territory. In contrast, and in line with more recent, cross-cultural studies of colonial encounters, it seems prudent to allow for the complexity of such encounters and to identify mixed groups and hybrid identities. In our view, the Archaic L'Amastuola community should be interpreted in such terms, as it was composed of a mixture of groups of various backgrounds, who redefined material culture and rearranged the local landscape in order to negotiate identity and socio-political status. There is no evidence to suggest that this community was dependent on neighbouring Taras.

NOTES

* The L'Amastuola project is directed by Gert-Jan Burgers (field surveys) and Jan Paul Crielaard (excavations). Staff members: Dorota Biesiekirska (analysis of pottery from survey), Bert Brouwenstijn (object drawing and photography), Jaap Fokkema (surveyor), Douwe Yntema (advisor, pottery analysis). Other team members: Gerard van Aalbersberg (geo-archaeological research, 2004), Wendy Deitch (find processing, 2005), Alet Kattenberg (advisor on geophysical prospection, 2004), Karel-Jan Kerckhaert (geophysical prospection, 2004), Daphne Lentjes (botanical analysis, 2004-5), Filiz Songu (pottery analysis, 2003), Jitte Waagen (survey of cemetery,

2005) and Alfred Wagtendonk (on behalf of the VU-Spinlab; advisor on digital field survey procedures). Trench supervisors: Roena van Ams, Leonie van Esser, Juanita Kiburg, Esther Nijland, Edwin de Vries and Jeroen Weterings. Survey team leaders: Martijn Kalkwarf, Maurice de Kleijn, Francesca Laera, Jeremia Pelgrom, Michele Roccia and Yolande Spoelder. The fieldwork was sponsored by the Faculty of Arts of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*, and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). We are grateful to the various staff members and organizations for their contributions to the project. We also wish to thank all students and other volunteers for their invaluable help in the field. Drawings and maps for this article are produced by Bert Brouwenstijn and Jaap Fokkema; we like to thank them for their outstanding work. In Italy, our gratitude goes to the municipality of Crispiano for the hospitality shown to us, and to the *Società* Kikau for letting us excavate its fields. We are also particularly grateful for the constant collaboration of our colleagues of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia* and of the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e Medievale* 'Dinu Adamesteanu' of the University of Lecce. Last but not least we wish to express our warmest thanks to dott.ssa Grazia Angela Maruggi of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia* for her kind permission to continue fieldwork at the site that she discovered and investigated first.

[1] See e.g. Dunbabin 1948; Boardman 1998, esp. p. 8.

[2] E.g. Gruzinski and Rouveret 1976; Morel 1984; Gualtieri 1987; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; D'Andria 1991; Lombardo 1991; 2002; Herring 1991; Semeraro 1997; Burgers 1998; Yntema 2000.

[3] For south-east Italy, see e.g. D'Andria 2002; Burgers 2004.

[4] Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989 using a core-periphery model; Herring 1991 applying the model of peer polity interaction.

[5] Yntema 2000.

[6] E.g. Guzzo 1982; Osanna 1992; De Juliis 1996; Greco 2001; Lombardo 2002.

[7] E.g. Crielaard 1992-1993; 2000.

[8] Braudel 1958, with Bintliff 1994.

[9] See Yntema 2000.

[10] Diod. 8.21.3, with Parke and Wormell 1956, 72-73. Cf. Lombardo 1992, 10-11/59. Also Malkin 1987, 47-52; 1991, 50-51, and Lombardo 2002 for references to other ancient sources and further discussion.

[11] Maruggi 1996, 201.

[12] Maruggi 1996, 202-216.

[13] Maruggi 1996, 213-217.

[14] Notably Guzzo 1982, 146-151.

[15] Peroni 1988; 1994; Vanzetti 2000; 2002. Cf. Kleibrink 2001.

[16] Parke and Wormell 1956, 72-73, suggest that it is authentic.

[17] A warning example is the site of L'Incoronata, which is located inland of the later Greek colony of Metapontion. Initially, the excavators interpreted the evidence in the light of presumed Greek aggression vis-à-vis the indigenous inhabitants, but further excavations provided indications of a pattern of peaceful coexistence. Another instructive example is provided by the colony of Syrakousai. On the islet of Ortygia, rectangular buildings dating to the 8th/7th century BC were found on top of indigenous huts that had been destroyed by fire - a situation that might be comparable to that at L'Amastuola. The archaeological record was thought to corroborate literary sources that relate that Greeks had expelled the indigenous Sikouloi by force, until some years later indigenous hut remains were found close by that were contemporary with the early colonial settlement; see Wilson 1988, 111; 42, 1996, 67.

[18] Cf. Yntema 2000, 17, 33.

[19] See e.g. Bara Bagnasco 1996, 44-45; more generally Fusaro 1982.

[20] See Mazarakis Ainian 2001.

[21] Snodgrass 1991; Lang 1996; Crielaard forthcoming.

[22] De Polignac 1995.

[23] See Yntema 2000.

[24] Van Dommelen 1998.

[25] Sheppard 1995.

[26] See Greco 2001; Osanna 2001.

[27] Carter 2000.

[28] Earlier preliminary reports have appeared in Burgers/Crielaard 2003; 2004 and 2005.

[29] For a contemporary parallel from Miletus (6th-c. kitchen), see Senff 2000, 36.

[30] The project was set up in collaboration with the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e Medievale* 'Dinu Adamesteanu' of the University of Lecce and the *Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'Antichità* of Rome - la Sapienza. Each of the three institutions involved in this project focuses on a specific phase (the ACVU on the period from the Iron Age to within the Roman period).

[31] Attema *et al*. 2002; Van Leusen 2002; Burgers *et al*. 2004.

[32] Of course, density distribution maps cannot be interpreted at face value. Thus, raw counts per unit were transformed into normalized densities (counts per hectare) by calculating the true surveyed area of each unit in the GIS, and dividing the raw counts by the recorded percentage coverage and the true unit area in hectares. Other corrections (e.g. for aggregate finds visibility) were evaluated for every single field on the basis of a multipoint ordinal scale, based on tillage, vegetation, weathering, and stoniness, which was recorded by the survey teams in the field for each collection unit.

[33] Unfortunately, little other systematic line walking has been undertaken in the Tarantino to confront our data with, notwithstanding that extensive topographic prospections in the *chora* were launched by Assunta Cocchiaro as early as the 1970s (Cocchiaro, 1981); intensive, systematic explorations have been initiated only recently. Apart from our field surveys, these were part of the project started by the *Laboratorio di Topografia Antica* of the University of Lecce in a large-scale project of the Italian *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* (Guaitoli 2002). Nonetheless, as yet information on landscape organization is largely limited to detailed inventories of the Soprintendenza's archival registrations of incidental finds and small-scale excavations; see notably Cocchiaro 1981, Alessio and Guzzo 1989-1990; Lo Porto 1990; Osanna 1992. Cf. also the contributions of Alessio, Dell'Aglio, Maruggi and Schojer to *Taranto e il Mediterraneo. Atti del XLI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia. Nuovi documenti dai territori tarantini dalla tavola rotonda di Taranto, 7 giugno 2001* (Taranto 2001) and Greco 1981; 2001; and Osanna 2001.

[34] Alessio/Guzzo 1989-1990.

[35] Lombardo 1994.

[36] D'Andria 2005, 36.

[37] Note that the walled gardens to the south of the *masseria* complex contain considerable amounts of soil; note also that the area surrounding these gardens is devoid of soil. This would seem to indicate that the garden soil was taken from some other place, for instance the south terrace. It also seems to corroborate the idea that the hilltop had already suffered from severe erosion before the *masseria* was built.

[38] For the pottery analysis in particular we are much indebted to the expertise of Douwe Yntema.

[39] Boardman 1975, 181.

[40] Cf. Castoldi 1988.

[41] These are tentative identifications, mainly based on examination of colour and texture of the fabrics by the naked eye.

[42] Cf. Yntema 1990, 154ff.: so-called 'Bradano Late Geometric'.

[43] Cf. Yntema 1990, 165ff.: 'Bradano Subgeometric'.

[44] As a fourth, 'Greek' characteristic of the cemetery we may note that the dead were not deposited within the settlement area (as was sometimes the custom at indigenous sites), but in a formal burial location, situated at a considerable distance form the habitation zone.

[45] On Scoglio del Tonno and Torre Castelluccia see in particular Taylor 1958; on Torre Saturo: Lo Porto 1963; 1964; on Monte Salete: D'Andria 1991, 414, note 20.

[46] Iron Age sites are known at various spots below modern Taranto and in the territory of Grottaglie, at Masseria La Carducci, Masseria Lucignano and also at Monte S. Elia. The time range of the latter sites is still unexplored; systematic field surveys are lacking and any reconstructions of local settlement configurations and transformations are accordingly more difficult to arrive at. However, the analysis of the surface scatters detected through Fornaro's extensive topographical research in the limestone Murge landscape around Grottaglie suggests that, like the L'Amastuola hill, this upland area was characterized by Iron Age settlement expansion and infill (Fornaro 1976-1977; Fornaro and Alessio 2000). Again, a similar conclusion can be drawn with regard to the site at L'Amastuola.

[47] D'Andria 1991, 405.

[48] Burgers 1998; 2004; Yntema 2000.

[49] For necropoleis at Siris and L'Incoronata, see Yntema 2000, 8, 13, with discussion and further references.

[50] Dunbabin 1948, 149, and most recently De Juliis 2000, and Lombardo 2002, all with references.

[51] Lang 1996, 78-117; Nevett 1999, 158ff.

[52] Morris 1991, 31.

[53] Lang 1996, 87ff.

[54] For the following information, we are grateful to Daphne Lentjes.

[55] One context is the matt-painted pottery dump found in Trench 2 (also yielding some bitter vetch, *Vicia ervilia*, and emmer, *Triticum dicoccum*); the other is the cooking pot from Trench 6, discussed below.

[56] At least since Roman times bitter vetch was utilized primarily as animal fodder, for it was regarded as an inferior type of food that was only eaten by the very poor, or in times of famine. See Zohary/Hopf 2000, 116-118.

[57] Interestingly, we have so far not found any botanical evidence for the presence of grapes - nor charcoal remains, nor pips.

[58] For what it is worth, cf. Athen. 522.d-523.b on luxury-loving Iapyges.

[59] On these sources see in particular Lombardo 1991; 1992; 2002; De Juliis 2000.

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Sealed amphora stoppers and tradesmen in Greco-Roman Egypt: archaeological, papyrological and inscriptional evidence

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Abstract

*This paper focuses on sealed amphora stoppers and their stamps originating from Greco-Roman Egypt; the majority of the stoppers appear to belong to the Roman period. After a discussion of the technical aspects of the sealed stoppers, the stamps are dealt with. With the help of papyri, ostraka and inscriptions, some of the individuals mentioned on these stamps may be identified. In case of local trade, the (clay) stamps rather refer to the origin of the wine, whereas in case of international trade the (plaster) stamps record the businessmen involved in trade, among them people from the highest echelons of Egyptian society.**

INTRODUCTION

The study of Egyptian amphora stoppers and sealings has long been neglected in favour of studies on the amphorae themselves and stamped amphora handles. Due to their poor state of preservation or to their supposed lack of esthetical value, sealed stoppers were either considered unworthy of publication or remained unnoticed in excavation reports or catalogues. In recent years, sealed amphora stoppers from Greco-Roman Egypt have attracted increasing interest. In two articles in 2000 G. Nachtergael discussed wooden stamps used to impress amphora sealings. In 2005 Paola Davoli devoted a book to clay objects found in the temple area of the Fayum village of Bakchias, among these a whole series of sealings for closing amphorae. In an appendix of Davoli's book Katelijn Vandorpe studied the sealings of containers in Greco-Roman Egypt, such as boxes, chests and amphorae.

The present article is the first to focus on the entire corpus of sealed amphora stoppers dating back to Greco-Roman times. The period offers a wide range of finds, mainly because of the expansion of trade: whereas the Ptolemies continued local trade and insured an increase of the Red Sea trade, the Romans facilitated trade towards the West and watched over the full exploitation of the country's resources. The major part of the evidence originates from the fertile Fayum area and the Eastern Desert region, entrance to a wide Red Sea trade. The entire corpus of evidence is available through a database-driven website: <http://www.trismegistos.org/seals/>.

In the first part of this article the technical aspects of the closing devices, such as construction and materials, are discussed. The second part of the article focuses on the stamps impressed on the amphora sealings, briefly describing their outer appearance and compares the information they provide (such as the names of businessmen) with papyrological evidence: several businessmen recorded on amphora stamps may be identified. These identifications give us insight into the individuals who were involved in local or international trade. We will try to find out who was responsible for filling the amphorae or their subsequent sale.

CLOSING DEVICES: TECHNICAL ASPECTS

A great deal of information coming from Egyptian amphora stoppers and sealings is transferred by stamps impressed on the sealed stoppers. Before any discussion of stamps or the information they can convey, their bearers, the amphora stoppers and sealings, must be studied. In this chapter, we ascertain the difference between stoppers and sealings, discuss how and from what material they are made of and examine the peculiarities they can present.

Stoppers and sealings

The terms 'stopper' and 'sealing' are often used as synonyms, indicating the entirety of a closing device for amphorae. There is, however, an essential difference between both (*fig. 1*). *Stoppers* are plugs of stuffing materials such as straw or vine leaves that are placed inside the neck of the amphorae to a depth of 7 to 8 cm.[1] Their purpose is

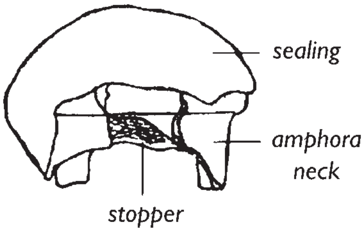

Fig. 1. Sealed amphora stopper from Malkata, attached to the severed amphora neck (after Hope 1977, fig. 7a).

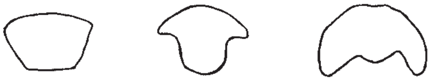

Fig. 2. Three types of clay sealings: Conical-trunk sealing, Mushroom-shaped sealing and Convex-with-cavity sealing (after Davoli 2005, fig. 1-3 ch. 3).

to protect the contents of the vessel from being contaminated by wet clay or plaster from the sealing. We find different types of stoppers: reed stoppers consist of a series of roughly circular mats of varying diameter, which are woven, laid upon each other or simply bound together. Pottery stoppers consist of small saucers or shards laid at the top of the amphora neck. Clay stoppers are thick handmade discs of clay placed in the neck of the amphora, most probably while still wet.[2] Very common are the stoppers consisting of a wad of leaves, usually vine leaves but occasionally papyri. These fresh leaves can be laid on top of each other, or propped together in a bung.[3] Stoppers of other materials, such as cork,[4] linen, grass, bits of straw or chopped chaff mixed with earth or clay, also occur.[5]

An amphora *sealing* is, strictly spoken, what is laid over the stopper to complete and fortify the stopper and hermetically close the amphora.[6] Sealings consist of clay or plaster and can be laid above and around the neck of the amphora. Davoli, discussing clay sealings from the Hellenistic-Roman village of Bakchias, divides them in three subgroups: the Conical-trunk sealings, the Mushroom-shaped sealings and the Convex-with-cavity sealings (*fig.* 2). The Conical-trunk sealings are closing devices that go deep into the amphora's neck and have a slightly conical shape in profile. The upper part of Mushroom sealings has the more or less round and convex shape of a mushroom. The interior part goes below the rim into the neck of the vessel. Sealings of the Convex-with-cavity type do generally not go into the neck of the amphora, but lie above and around it. The upper part has a round convex shape, while the part underneath is hollow and follows the round shape from above.[7] The different sealing types are not linked to a particular type of amphora; they could be applied in all shapes to amphorae and jars of varying sizes.[8]

Despite the frequent appearance of mould-made sealings in Pharaonic times, Greco-Roman *clay sealings* are always handmade.[9] The clay is placed on the mouth of the amphora, over the stopper, and subsequently modelled into shape, creating an uneven and often rough surface. A stamp can be impressed when the sealing has slightly dried.[10]

Although any type of clay could be used to seal any jar, the plasticity of the clay had to be controlled. If too high, excessive shrinkage could occur when it dried, causing the sealing to crack. In order to prevent this, chaff and/or sand could be added to the fresh clay.[11] Whereas clay for amphorae or other vessels might sometimes have been imported from further afield, the clay for the sealings generally originated from the site of production.[12]

As the knowledge required to select the clays for either amphorae or sealings would have been the same, it has been assumed that the making of closing devices was supervised by potters or was a part of their own job.[13] However, there is no evidence that amphorae were filled at the exact place where they were produced. Since clay sealings (or plaster ones for that matter),[14] applied in wet condition, could not be pre-produced, it is unlikely that potters were involved in the sealing process.

When the sealing consists of plaster instead of clay, it bears a different shape. Liquid plaster is simply poured into the mouth of the amphora and on top of the stopper.[15] The *plaster sealing* thus covers little of the exterior of the amphora neck and has a rather flat-looking upper part. In Egypt, plaster sealings entirely supplanted clay sealings from Roman times onwards.[16] The material compared favourably to clay, since it was stronger and less likely to shrink and/or crack while drying.[17] As a secure sealant, it was especially favoured for long-distance transport.[18]

When sealed stoppers, hermetically closing the amphorae, had been removed, *lids* for standardized amphorae could be used for temporary closing. Made of stone or fired clay, their purpose was to keep the contents of the recipients away from dust and vermin. It is, perhaps, this type of closing device that is mentioned in a papyrus from the Zenon archive:[19] the potter Paesis holds a con-

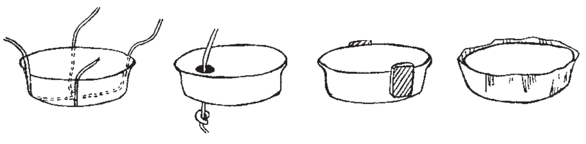

Fig. 3. Four types of pop-top devices (after Bos 2000 fig. 12-4).

tract for 2000 ceramic lids, called πώματα, supposedly for winejars.[20] The context of the document seems to indicate that it was common for a potter to produce great quantities of mould-made standard-sized lids on demand.[21]

Opening or pop-top devices

Since many sealed stoppers, made of either clay or plaster, have been found stuck in the necks of opened amphorae, we can assume that the opening of vessels was sometimes problematic. As sealings could be extremely tenacious, it was apparently easier to cut off the neck of a vessel below the level of the sealed stopper.[22] Some people may have attempted to cut the sealing out of the mouth of the amphora, though this seems to have been a rather challenging method.

In many vessels, *opening devices* (commonly called 'pop-top devices') have been found. These pop-top devices usually consisted of strings which were used to pull the sealing out of its place. String impressions at the sides and underside of sealings are attested at Kellia, Quseir al-Qadim, Berenike, and Bakchias.[23]

Different types of opening devices have been uncovered, four of which have been established by Bos (*fig. 3*).[24] Very common is the use of two strings, which are crossed below the sealing and run up its sides in four places.[25] Another method involves a string fixed through a hole in both stopper and sealing, as found in Berenike.[26] Small pieces of pottery could also be used and placed on either side of the sealing, thereby facilitating the opening. Lastly, we notice the use of a piece of textile, which is put under the sealing and simultaneously serves as a stopper and pop-top device.

It is remarkable that hardly any pop-top devices have been found which allow for the removal of the stopper as well as for the sealing. Different explanations can be given: firstly, the removal of the stopper may be much easier than the removal of the sealing. This may well be the case for 'soft' stoppers, such as wads of leaves or textile. We cannot, however, assume that the removal of stoppers made of clay, wood, cork or stone was such an easy feat. It is not unlikely that special methods or devices for removing those did exist, though none have been recognised or found thus far. Another explanation may be that after the casting of the sealing, the stopper attaches itself firmly to the wet clay or plaster that is put over it. In this case, the stopper may be removed at the same time as the sealing, and no further opening device is required.

Pierced Sealings

From the New Kingdom period up to Roman times, *holes in sealed stoppers* have been attested throughout Egypt, quite often without any traces of string. It thus appears that these holes did not develop from pop-top devices, leading to various theories concerning the purpose of these holes.

The most popular theory connects the holes through sealed stoppers with holes in amphora necks serving as airholes, allowing fermentation gases to escape from wine amphorae. Wine in Egypt was not left to ferment in wooden barrels but stood for a period of three to thirteen days in open amphorae, after which said amphorae were closed and a secondary fermentation could take place within.[27] It thus seems likely that a method needed to be found to allow the carbon dioxide from the secondary fermentation to escape, preventing the amphora from breaking under its pressure. Piercing a small hole through the (wet) sealed stopper would have served this purpose.[28]

Winlock, Crum and White, describing the wine jars of the monastery of Ephiphanius at Thebes, were first to put forward the above-mentioned hypothesis. Their main attention, however, focuses on the holes in the amphora necks, which were apparently made with a metal nail after baking. After filling the jar, they state, the hole in either the amphora neck or the sealed stopper was to be stopped by a wisp of straw, allowing the gases to escape and preventing the air from entering.[29] Davoli, studying clay sealings from Bakchias, equally supports the theory: holes were attested in all 39 sealings of the Convex-with-cavity type: 18 sealings had one hole, 6 had two and 1 had four. Only the sealings of this specific Convex-with-cavity type were pierced, prompting the suggestion that this type of sealing was specifically applied to wine vessels.[30]

Other authors rejected the airhole-theory, claiming that it is unsure the pierced sealings actually belonged to winejars. Lerstrup, studying the New Kingdom sealings of Malkata, states that no pierced sealing at Malkata can with certainty be ascribed

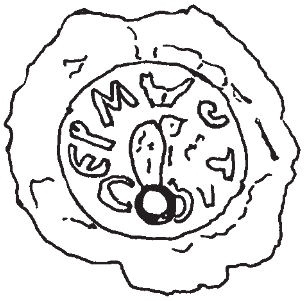

Fig. 4. Commercial stamp with the image of the goddess of fertility Thermouthis-Renenutet in the middle and the name of the businessman, probably Hermeros, in the outer circle (after Dieleman 1998, no. 19).

to winejars, confirming Hope's earlier conclusion. Both authors found no satisfactory explanation for the holes.[31]

The airhole-theory, though seemingly plausible, meets more obstacles: apart from the uncertainty that pierced sealings actually belonged to wine amphorae, it is also uncertain as to whether the holes were really necessary to counteract the fermentation effects. Since relatively few pierced sealings were found in Egypt, it seems that most wine amphorae could do without them and that fermentation was handled in a different way.[32] Possibly the porosity of the clay of the amphorae was kept at such a level that fermentation gases could not amass. By allowing them to escape through the sides of the amphorae, breakage may have been prevented. A different scenario, suggested by Mayerson, is that the amphorae were only filled up to two-thirds, allowing extra room inside the recipient.[33] The secondary fermentation, which takes place inside the sealed amphorae, is at any rate likely to be less violent than the primary fermentation, limiting possible damage.

The objections discussed above may be sufficient to justify rejecting the airhole-theory. Few alternative explanations have been suggested. Mayerson proposed that the holes were made once the sealing was dry for the purpose of drawing wine. He studied the wine amphorae from the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, on which Winlock, Crum and White had previously noticed holes in both sealings and necks.[34] Citing Menahot 9.10 of the Talmudic Tosepta: '*One should not draw (wine) either from its top because of mould, or from its bottom because of dregs. Rather, one punches a hole in it (the jar) and draws it (the wine) from the (top) third of it, or from its middle*',[35] he suggests that such tapholes were made either in the neck or in the sealing, in order to bypass the often-difficult removal of the sealed stopper.[36] Whereas the theory may well be applied to the holes in the necks,[37] we do not believe that the idea is valid for the sealings: punching a hole through the sealed stopper may prove harder than removing the sealing device. Not only was the clay or plaster very hard to pierce, the piercing would in all probability dislodge the stopper, causing it to fall in the amphora and, possibly, contaminate its contents.

Neither the airhole-theory nor the taphole-theory can successfully be applied to the pierced sealings. However, as they appear from the period of the New Kingdom (Malkata) up to Greco-Roman times, the holes must have had a specific function. Perhaps piercing of vessels, containing wine or other commodities, had a domestic use, though it is hard to see which one.

STAMPS, TRADE AND IDENTIFICATION OF BUSINESSMEN

Type and Decoration of Stamps

A large amount of the sealed stoppers from Greco-Roman Egypt appear to have been stamped prior to drying. As these stamps, bearing inscriptions, illustrations or both, inform us about trade and merchants, it is useful to present here the main characteristics.[38]

There is an essential difference between private and commercial stamps. *Private stamps* are found on sealed objects meant for personal use or small-scale trade. They were impressed with a personal signet ring or gem, which is rather small (ca 1.5 x 1.2 cm)[39] and usually oval-shaped.[40] Private stamps bear an illustration (often a representation of a deity) rather than an inscription.[41] A series of Greco-Egyptian or Egyptian deities are represented on them.[42]

The sealed stoppers closing off large, commercial amphorae are rarely stamped with private rings or gems. The mouth openings of such amphorae, having a diameter up to 13 cm, are sealed and stamped with commercial stamps. Such *stamps for commercial use* are larger than the private ones (diameter ca 3 up to 8.5 cm) and most often have a circular or rectangular shape.[43] Instead of being cast with a signet ring or gem, they are impressed with a wooden, sandstone or terracotta die, some specimens of which have been recovered.[44] Commercial stamps generally bear an inscription, though combinations of text and particular illustrations are frequent. For instance, Thermouthis-Renenutet, a Greco-Egyptian goddess of fertility, is popular on Roman commercial stamps for wine amphorae (*fig. 4*).

Most inscribed stamps from Greco-Roman Egypt are written in Greek, though Latin inscriptions do occur.[45] The inscription can be arranged in various manners: on *round stamps* it is usually written in a circular line along its outer limits, often surrounding a central illustration or inscription; the stamp can also bear a central inscription. On *rectangular stamps*, the inscription usually covers the entirety of the stamp, written on one or more imaginary horizontal lines.[46] The letters on the dies had to be carved in reverse, so that the imprint would be legible. This was, however, not always the case.[47] Abbreviations and monograms occur frequently and are hard to decipher when no additional information (from ostraka, papyri or literature) is available.[48]

Both inscribed and illustrated stamps could be enhanced by *paint*, a practice which goes back to - at least - the New Kingdom: red paint or wash was occasionally used on plaster, red or white paint or wash is found on clay. The paint highlighted the stamp, making it easier to read. It is unsure whether the paint had another, additional function.[49]

Stamps and Tradesmen

In the Roman West, amphorae were generally closed with a cork bung sealed with plaster, which could subsequently be stamped.[50] The producer is apparently never named on the stamps.[51] When the stamps contain names, they are commonly assumed to refer to a trader (*mercator* or *negotiator*) or shipper (*navicularius*).[52] Whereas contempt for petty trade (*mercatura*) was common,[53] no grudges were held against large-scale trade (*negatio*), provided that one used his new-found wealth to purchase landed estates, and thus to become a respectable member of society.[54] The distinction between *mercatores* and *negotiatores* was one of respectability: whereas a *mercator* was primarily a 'trader' in a slightly pejorative sense, *negotiator* was a 'businessman' involved in a multiplicity of economic activities, such as large-scale overseas trade, banking and land.[55]

Many researchers have believed this particular situation to apply to Roman Egypt as well, basing themselves on only part of the evidence. The papyrological evidence makes it possible to identify some of the people found on Egyptian sealed stoppers. Here, we gather all the identifications for the first time and present some new ones.

It is necessary to distinguish between the sealed stoppers from clay popular in the local trade on the one hand and sealed stoppers from plaster, popular in the international Eastern Desert trade on the other hand, since they seem to provide a different type of information.

Local Trade in the Fayum area

The fertile Fayum oasis produced a large part of the sealed stoppers that have been discovered thus far. These are always made of clay and are often impressed with rectangular or circular stamps. The inscriptions are considerably abbreviated, even in case of personal names.[56] In addition, some dies used to stamping wine amphorae have been uncovered in this area, showing the same characteristics. Only in one dossier identifications are possible, but they are instructive.

In 3rd-century Egypt large estates became common. One of the landlords was the high elite member Aurelius Appianus, ἐξηγητής, ὑπομνηματογράφος and βουλευτής of Alexandria. He had acquired citizenship in AD 212 and owned large properties in the Fayum and in other nomes, which were run by managers.[57] In the middle of the 3rd century, he possessed about twenty vineyards in the Fayum village of Theadelphia, which were managed by Heroninos, whose large papyrus archive provides us with crucial information.[58] Aurelius Appianus was married to Aurelia Demetria,[59] who also owned vineyards in the Fayum located on land she inherited from her father. Nachtergael published several rectangular wooden stamps recording vineyards of the rich couple, destined to impress sealed stoppers of wine amphorae.[60]

1. (Ἔτους) λβ Καίσ(αρος) / Χαιρείο(υ)
Year 32 of Kaisar. (Of the vineyard) of Chaireas. (= AD 2 or 3)
2. δ (ἔτους) κτή(ματος) / Χαιρ(έου)
Year 4. Of the vineyard of Chaireas. (= ca AD 250)
3. Αὐρ(ηλίου) κτή(ματος) / Κολοκ(ύνθων) / (ἔτους) β
Of the vineyard of Gourds belonging to Aurelius. Year 2. (= ca AD 250)
4. (Ἔτους) δ Ἀπια(νοῦ) / κτη(μάτων) Πα(νίσκου) / Σω(κρᾶ).
Year 4. Of the vineyards of Paniskos and Sokras belonging to Appianus. (= ca AD 250) (*fig. 5*).
5. (Ἔτους) δ Αὐρ(ηλίου) / Ἀπια(νοῦ) κτέ(σεως) (*l.* κτή(σεως))
Year 4. Of the central holding of Aurelius Appianus. (= ca AD 250)
6. (Ἔτους) ι Αὐρ(ηλίας) Δη(μητρίας) / κτή(ματος) Σπαρ(τιανοῦ)
Year 10. Of the vineyard of Spartianos belonging to Aurelia Demetria (= ca AD 250)

7. ια (ἔτους) / Ἐλπ(ιδηφόρου)
Year 11. Of (the vineyard of) Elpidephoros (= ca AD 250) (*fig. 6*)
8. Ἐλπ(ιδηφόρου)
Of (the vineyard of) Elpidephoros.

All stamps provide similar information in abbreviated form: generally, the name of the vineyard (κτῆμα)[61] and the year of produce are mentioned, to which the name of the owner of the central holding (κτῆσις) may be added (Aurelius Appianus or Aurelia Demetria).[62]

The vineyards (κτήματα) are often named after a person (Chaireas, Paniskos, Sokras, Elpidephoros), not necessarily a living person, but rather a previous owner. In accordance with the information provided by the Heroninus papyrus archive, these vineyards became part of Appianus' or his wife's estate. The vineyard of Chaireas is a clear example. Whereas stamp no 2 can be dated to about AD 250, stamp no 1 reads 'the 32nd year of Kaisar' (= Augustus), that is AD 2 or 3. Nachtergael concludes that one and the same vineyard is involved, which bore the name 'of Chaireas' during at least three centuries.[63]

According to the Heroninus papyrus archive wine was the main crop on Appianus' Fayum estate and was for a large part marketed through professional wine sellers of two main types: 'small-scale village-based *oinopolai* who probably had contracts with the estate to market a set amount of wine for it annually, and larger-scale sellers based in [the Fayum capital] Arsinoe who probably had more open agreements with the estate'.[64] The above examples, however, show that the stamps on Appianus' amphorae stoppers refer to the origin of the wine (the vineyard and/or estate), not to the local merchants marketing the wine.

It is important to distinguish the information on sealed stoppers from the Fayum area from that on plaster sealings, most often intended for long distance trade through the Eastern Desert, which will be discussed in the next section.

Prominent people involved in the international Eastern trade: their accounts and their plaster jar sealings

The international trade in Red Sea ports and along the Eastern desert routes connecting the Nile to the Red Sea, is well documented. Archaeological remains, inscriptions, papyri and ostraka provide valuable information. Inscribed plaster jar sealings, on the other hand, are often neglected.[65] Sidebotham included them in his study *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa* in 1986, but more stoppers have come to light and new identifications add to the picture. This part focuses on some rich business men involved in the Eastern trade who appear on plaster stoppers and/or hold an account (λόγος) according to papyrological and inscriptional evidence.

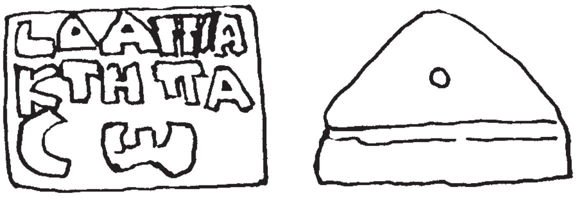

Fig. 5. Wooden stamp recording the vineyards from where the wine originated (compare Nachtergael 2000, no. 2).

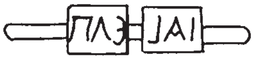

Fig. 6. Whereas the name of the vineyard remained, the year of produce changed every year. In this respect stamp no 7 referring to the vineyard of Elpidephoros is worth describing: it consists of two wooden plates fixed to a handle. One plate records the vineyard's name, the other one the year of produce. The latter had to be changed every year, the former could remain in place (after Nachtergael 2000, nos 7-8).

Several ostraka from the Julio-Claudian period[66] testify to the transport of merchandise from Koptos to the Red Sea, and vice versa, by firms, such as that of Nikanor.[67] These transport-firms work 'for the account (εἰς τὸν λόγον)' of an individual, pass the customs house gates and deliver the goods to the individual's agents in a Red Sea port or at Koptos. Fuks described the account (λόγος)-holders as 'big businessmen', who 'do not reside in the far-away ports of the Red Sea (...) but carry on their business entirely through agents'.[68]

Twenty-six such businessmen/account-holders (with a legible name) are thus far attested in the ostraka;[69] further names found on plaster sealings may be added to the list, as at least two of them are to be identified with account-holders recorded in ostraka (Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios and Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, see below).[70] This brings the total to thirty-six businessmen.

The close relationship between the businessmen from the ostraka and those on the jar sealings may be revealed by an example. The transporter Herakles presents at a customs house in the Eastern desert region four jars of the type κοιλόπωμα with Italian wine, the sealings of which contain

the name of the businessman Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos; such a plaster sealing has been found at Koptos, recording:
'*Of Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, year 5*.' (? AD 18/19) (*fig. 8*)

To prove that the customs-dues have been paid, the transporter presents the ostrakon *O.Beren*. I 84 (1st century AD), describing what the toll collector sees before him:
'Herakles son of Hermias [transports] 4 koilopomata of Italian wine for the account of Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, for outfitting [that is the wine has to be shipped and to be exported to the East].'

The ostrakon has been found at the Red Sea port of Berenike, where it was left behind after the wine was shipped.

Who were these businessmen/account-holders? Apart from one or two exceptions, Fuks (in 1951) and Raschke (in 1978) considered them nonentities,[71] but more recent and new identifications prove otherwise; for eleven of the thirty-six businessmen an identification may be proposed.

On the basis of their nomenclature, these businessmen are usually divided into 'Romans, Greeks and hellenized (some of them Roman citizens, some freedmen) Egyptians'.[72] We prefer another classification:

* the first group consists of businessmen, belonging to the upper classes, who have contacts with Alexandria and even Italy or the imperial family. They own landed property and may be appointed to high posts;
* the second group represents the local, Egyptian aristocracy;
* the third group consists of (probably small) businessmen originating from Eastern regions such as South Arabia. They operate at the Eastern frontier of Egypt and call themselves merchants (ἔμπορος).

The top layer of society and trade in wine and pharmakon

The first group, representing the top layer of society in Roman Egypt, is the largest one. The very highest echelon of participants in trade is represented by highly placed equestrians and other nobles appointed to high posts. Some rich and highly respected imperial freedmen may also be counted to the top layer of Egyptian society.

The identification by Fuks of the (a) account-holder Marcus Iulius Alexander (AD 37-43/44) has been generally accepted.[73] Marcus was born in one of the richest and most respected families of Alexandrian Jews and was a nephew of the philosopher Philo. His brother Tiberius Iulius Alexander was epistrategos of the Thebaid (that is Upper Egypt) in the period when Marcus had commercial interests at the Eastern frontier and later became Egyptian prefect. His father Alexander Iulius Alexander was arabarch, in charge of the customs-dues in the Eastern desert (see below)

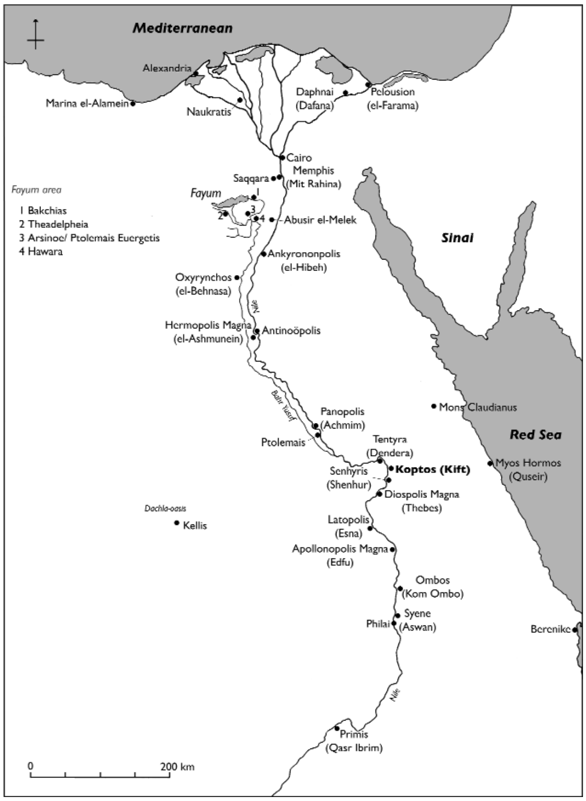
Mediterranean
Alexandria
Marina el-Alamein
Naukratis
Daphnai (Dafana)
Pelousion (el-Farama)
Cairo
Memphis (Mit Rahina)
Saqqara
Fayum area
1 Bakchias
2 Theadelpheia
3 Arsinoe/ Ptolemais Euergetis
4 Hawara
Fayum
1
2
3
4
Abusir el-Melek
Sinai
Ankyrononpolis (el-Hibeh)
Oxyrynchos (el-Behnasa)
Nile
Hermopolis Magna (el-Ashmunein)
Antinoöpolis
Bahr Yusuf
Panopolis (Achmim)
Mons Claudianus
Red Sea
Ptolemais
Tentyra (Dendera)
Koptos (Kift)
Myos Hormos (Quseir)
Senhyris (Shenhur)
Diospolis Magna (Thebes)
Dachla-oasis
Kellis
Latopolis (Esna)
Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu)
Ombos (Kom Ombo)
Syene (Aswan)
Philai
Berenike
Nile
Primis (Qasr Ibrim)
0
200 km

Fig. 7. Map of Egypt (by B. Van Beek).

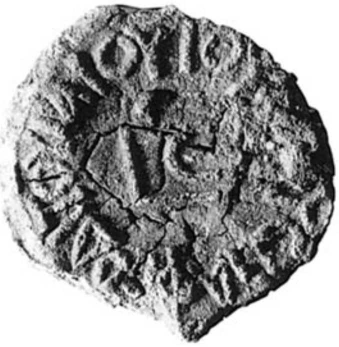

Fig. 8. Plaster sealing mentioning the businessman Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos (Cuvigny 1998, no 7).

and, as stressed by Rathbone, he had close links with the imperial family and had banking facilities in Italy (Puteoli).[74] Marcus married the daughter of King Herod Agrippa I and died in AD 44.

The list of prominent people engaged in the Eastern trade, is to be extended with two examples of arabarchs who combine their important function with commerce in the same region. Arabarchs, who were in charge of customs-dues on the Eastern frontier, were as a rule extremely rich.[75] (b) Two plaster stoppers[76] record the name of Claudius Aniketos (*fig. 9*): the centre part has the name in Latin, written in the form of a cross: Cl[audi] Anice[ti], the outer circle mentions the name in Greek characters: Κλαυδ(ίου) Ἀνικήτου, followed by αϱαβ, undoubtedly an abbreviation for ἀϱαβ(άϱχου), and not for a personal name as suggested by the editor. An Aniketos son of Kommonos, slave of the emperor Tiberius, is well-attested in the ostraka of the Eastern Desert region (AD 33-34) personally carrying on commercial activities there (that is without agents);[77] he may be the same Aniketos who was tutor to Nero and was freed by him.[78] An identification with the arabarch Claudius Aniketos is tempting but cannot be proved at this point.

(c) The traces of a damaged plaster stopper from Koptos[79] fit the name of Ἀπ̣[ολ]λ[ω]ν̣ίου followed by αϱ.., which could refer to the arabarch Apollonios, son of the arabarch Ptolemaios, attested in AD 2 and 41. Apollonios was also strategos of the Ombite nome and of the region of Elephantine and Philae.[80]

P. Annius Plokamos[81] held, according to Pliny, the post of arabarch during the early reign of Claudius (*NH* 6.84: *qui maris Rubri vectigal fisco redemerat*). He is not yet identified as account-holder in the ostraka or as businessman on plaster stoppers, and therefore, has not yet been added to our list, but other evidence suggests that Annius was involved in the Eastern trade on the one hand and that he had Puteolan roots on the other; he may have been (descended from) a freedman of the Italian Annii.[82]

Not only arabarchs were involved in Eastern trade. (d) Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios is account-holder according to ostraka (AD 36-41) and is found on three plaster stoppers from Koptos (1st century AD).[83] Independently, Rathbone (with reservations) and Cuvigny (convincingly)[84] identified him as the Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios who was *iuridicus* and *idioslogos* in AD 63 and who owned properties in, at least, the Hermopolite nome (AD 60-65). Rathbone adds that 'the Iuridicus and the Idios Logos were both Equestrian posts, very rarely held simultaneously by the same man, and neither normally held by an inhabitant of the province; the implication is that this Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaeus was well-known and trusted at Nero's Court'.[85]

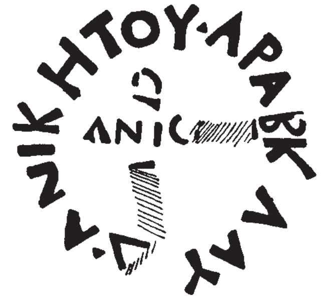

Fig. 9. Plaster sealing mentioning the arab(arch) Claudius Aniketos (after Milne 1905, no 33014).

Three businessmen recorded in the ostraka may have been imperial freedmen, as already pointed out by Fuks in 1951;[86] the plaster sealings confirm the trend with six further examples:[87] one plaster sealing explicitly mentions Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀπελεύθεϱος, meaning 'imperial freedman', alongside the personal name[88] and the predominance of the *nomen* Claudius may be significant. In Egypt, especially in the Fayum, imperial freedmen were often in charge of imperial estates. These freedmen sometimes invested in land; their property was passed to their master upon their death and became part of the imperial patrimonium. The ostraka and plaster sealings show they also invested in commerce, especially in wine,[89] in our view for their own benefit.[90]

Besides the Claudius Aniketos (mentioned above), who became arabarch, some further identifications of freedmen are possible. (e) Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, attested as account-holder in eight ostraka from Berenike concerning wine trade (Julio-Claudian period)[91] is undoubtedly identical with Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos on a plaster stopper from Koptos. If he were a freedman himself, he was freed by Augustus and the year 5 recorded on his plaster stopper would then refer to AD 18/19. The stopper may have closed a wine amphora. According to the Berenike ostraka, he dealt in foreign wine (from Italy and from Syrian Laodikea)[92] and used for the Italian wine, among others, a type of jar called κοιλόπωμα (hollow-lidded), which puzzled the editors.[93] In our view, a western type of jar used in the 1st-2nd centuries AD and exported to the East, may be involved, having a small mouth and closed with a hollow lid having the shape of a small jar itself: this lid, fixed in the jar's mouth with plaster, contained a sample of the wine, which made it possible to taste the wine without opening the jar; the hollow lid had to be closed with a stopper as well.[94] The κοιλοπώματα, found for the first time in the Berenike ostraka, may also be mentioned in a damaged line of *O. Petrie* 276 from Koptos.[95]

(f) Tiberius Claudius Serapion, account-holder according to an ostrakon from Koptos (between AD 41-68),[96] may be identified as the freedman Tiberius Claudius Serapion who owned an estate in the Fayum which became part of the imperial patrimonium in AD 55 at the latest.[97] (g) A plaster stopper from Koptos contains the name *Cresti*, 'of Crestus', according to Reinach, but the stopper has disappeared. If Reinach's reading is correct, the stopper may refer to the freedman Χρῆστος (*Crestus* in Latin), whose Mendesian estate was incorporated in the imperial patrimonium.[98]

The above list of businessmen of the Roman and Greek upper class and of successful imperial freedmen shows that Raschke was right in dismissing the view that the merchants of Antiquity were men of no social consequence, who 'left the commercial origins of their wealth behind when they purchased landed estates, the only socially acceptable form of wealth, and moved into the municipal or imperial governing class'.[99] There is indeed a close relationship between (landed) wealth and commercial capital. But the businessmen were not non-entities, as suggested by Raschke for most of them. They (or close family members of them) were appointed to high posts, linking them with Alexandria, or, as Rathbone already suggested for three of them, with Italy (especially Puteoli) and even the imperial family. In this respect it is revealing to track the commodities they trade in: Fuks and Ruffing[100] emphasized the predominance of wheat in the ostraka from Koptos, but when the first group of important businessmen alone is taken into account, it is clear that wine and pharmakon is their main export product;[101] the predominance of plaster amphora sealings for this group adds to the picture. Of major interest is the trade of foreign wine, among others Italian wine. For some individuals a link with Italy may be shown, suggesting export from Italy to the East through Egypt's Red Sea ports.

The identification of Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios (see (d)) and Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos (see (e)) indicates that the men named on the plaster amphora sealings in the Eastern Desert region were businessmen exporting or importing foreign and local wine. The question whether they are producers or traders may be answered: they were traders, but in some cases they were undoubtedly producers as well, as the local wine may have come from their estates in Egypt.

The trade in especially wine, but also in *pharmakon* and other products contrasts with the wheat which appears to be the only commodity dealt in by the next group.

Local Egyptian aristocracy and wheat trade

The second group of businessmen is represented by the local aristocratic families. Apart from (partly hellenized) Egyptian individuals, at least one aristocratic priestly family was engaged in private trading. (h) Paminis son of Parthenios and his sons Paniskos and Psenpnouthis are account-holders according to several ostraka (AD 25-41).[102] Paminis and a third son Parthenios also appear on inscriptions from Koptos (AD 21/22-32).[103] Sidebotham refers to the Greek inscriptions and underestimates the Egyptian, priestly origin of the family.[104] The Greek inscriptions, however, are inscribed on hieroglyphic stelai with offering scenes in Egyptian style and the dossier of stelai has been extended by Farid with several hieroglyphic and/or Demotic pieces,[105] the total amounting to more than twenty monuments.[106] Paminis' son Parthenios appears to be *p3 rwd n Is.t* ('representative of Isis') or προστάτης of Isis, the great goddess, at Koptos; as prostates he headed the Koptos temple as an economic unit, was responsible for or participated in several building activities through the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero and probably collected local taxes for the temple.[107]

For this local aristocratic family no direct link with Alexandria or Italy is apparent or expected. It is conspicuous that Paminis' family enterprise deals in wheat only, which is destined for consumption at the Red Sea ports rather than for export, as, of course, no wheat was cultivated there. Also the other account-holders bearing an Egyptian name,[108] only deal in wheat. As a consequence, we do not expect to find jar sealings of these account-holders.

Businessmen with Eastern roots and wine trade

The third group of businessmen, those who have Eastern roots, is badly represented, as only one identification has been made. The account-holder (i) Hermeros son of Athenion attested at Koptos (AD 57),[109] describes himself in an inscription from the same town (9 Aug. AD 70) as a merchant (ἔμπορος), originating from Adana (Arabia, modern Aden).[110] The ostrakon testifies to the export to the East of wine in πτολεμαικά, a type of Egyptian wine jars.[111] A second ἔμπορος from Adana may be found in another Greek inscription, but his name is lost. The Palmyrene merchants active in the region and forming some type of trading associations[112] may belong to this third group of businessmen.

CONCLUSION

The identification of individuals recorded on stamps of Roman Egypt shows that a distinction should be made between local and international trade. *Local trade*: the Fayum oasis produced several amphora sealings made of clay and stamped with considerably abbreviated inscriptions. According to some wooden dies used to impress such amphora sealings, the abbreviations refer to names of vineyards or estates, that is to the origin of wine which is meant for local trade. This practice undoubtedly goes back to the Pharaonic period, where clay amphora sealings recorded the product and the producing institution.[113] *International trade*: another picture emerges from the amphora sealings from the Eastern Desert region, where the majority of the stamps is made of plaster and contains names of individuals which are usually not abbreviated (except for the *praenomen*). The identifications of these individuals with the help of papyrological and inscriptional evidence show that the stamps do not refer to the origin of the product, but to businessmen involved in international trade. These businessmen (or their close family members) had affinities with the Eastern Desert. The group of small businessmen with Eastern roots resided at least part of the time at Koptos, where they erected stelai; they may be compared to the *mercatores* of the Roman West. The businessmen of Egypt's upper classes (or close family members), combining (landed) wealth and commercial capital, did not reside at the Eastern Desert frontier, but were arabarchs in charge of customs-dues there or held an official post such as epistrategos of the Thebaid or strategos of nomes in Upper Egypt, near the Eastern Desert. It is striking that arabarchs and (epi)strategoi or their family members were allowed to have commercial interests in the region under their supervision. Apparently, a public career was no impediment to private gain. In addition, some of these big businessmen were linked not only with Alexandria, but also with Italy and even the imperial family. They may be compared to the *negotiatores* of the Roman West.

NOTES

* We would like to thank F. Burkhalter, W. Clarysse, C. Crossan, H. Cuvigny, P. Davoli and D. Rathbone for several useful suggestions.

[1] Egloff 1977, 180.

[2] Hope 1977, 14. The descriptions of Hope concern the amphora stoppers found in and around the New Kingdom temple complex at Malkata. They may prove to be of use for the Greco-Roman typology.

[3] Davoli 2005, 103-104.

[4] Cork stoppers are commonly found in the West of the Mediterranean, but are rather rare in Egypt, see Cashman 1999, 285-286. Bos 2000, 275 mentions a large amount of cork stoppers found during the 1998 excavation season at the Red Sea port of Berenike.

[5] The most common stopper material in the West seems to have been cork and wet clay. Fired clay, pieces cut from amphorae and tiles and metal could apparently also be used as stoppers. Parker 1992, 50, 70, 74, 91, 98, 101, 104-105, 114, 183, 238-239, 254, 264, 288-289, 300-301, 313, 331, 348, 413, 439.

[6] Davoli 2005, 101.

[7] Davoli 2005, 101. Colin Hope, when writing about the New Kingdom sealings of Malkata, made a distinction between Cap Shaped sealings, Domed sealings and Cylindrical sealings. According to him, Cap Shaped sealings are the smallest sealings, covering the mouth and part of the neck of the amphora. Their top can be flat or rounded and the width of the sealing is greatest at the top. Domed sealings are larger; they can be subdivided into Round Domed, Tapering Domed, and Flattened Domed, according to the shape of the top. The width of these sealings is usually greatest at the bottom. Cylindrical sealings are even larger, entirely covering the neck of the amphora and resting on its shoulders. The top of Cylindrical sealings can be flat or convex, and the sides inclined, straight or bulging. Although the classification of Hope is to be applied first and foremost on New Kingdom sealings, it may prove valuable for sealings of later date, see Hope 1977, 26-27.

[8] Davoli 2005, 101.

[9] Mould-made sealings, very popular in the Old, Middle and New Kingdom, went out of use before the Hellenistic period. They are created by using an open-ended mould, with a flat top and cylindrical sides, or with a round, tapering or conical top and slightly battered sides. The wet clay is pressed into the mould, which is subsequently put onto the neck of the amphora and forced down to encase it. A stopper is already present in the neck of the amphora. The excess clay is forced out of the mould and trimmed off. The bottom of the sealing is cut off after removal of the mould. The mould-made sealings are more regular than the hand-made ones, with smooth sides and top. As is the case for hand-made sealings, the stopper is most often displaced deeper into the amphora neck, where it still prevents contamination from the wet mud. Stamps are impressed while the clay is still moist. Both in the case of hand-made and mould-made sealings, reinforcing bands of papyrus, reed or rope can be applied to the rim or neck of the amphorae before sealing, see Hope 1977, 6-7.

[10] Clay sealings obviously remained unfired, since they were applied in wet condition to a full jar or amphora.

[11] Hope 1977, 10, 31. Double sealings, as found on the New Kingdom site at Malkata, are the result of excessive shrinkage: when a sealing did shrink during drying, a new (often quite distinct) one was applied over it.

[12] By determining the origin of the clay, the approximate production site may also be established, see Hope 1977, 10-11.

[13] Hope 1977, 10.

[14] See *infra*, note 15.

[15] Theories that plaster sealings were pre-produced and lowered into the jar while still soft, cannot be entirely refuted, but seem unlikely. Johnson 1979, 233; see also Sundelin 1996, 298-299.

[16] Plaster had already become the most widespread sealing material in the West before breaking through in Roman Egypt, see Sundelin 1996, 298.

[17] Sealings with plaster were considered 'secure' according to various papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt, see Vandorpe 2005, 165.

[18] Montet 1946, 109.

[19] *P.Cair.Zen*. III 59481 (see *PSI* IV 441); compare Vandorpe 2005, 163.

[20] Mayerson 2001, 217; see also Peacock/Williams 1986, 51.

[21] A different type of closing device equally needs to be mentioned: the small flask-like vessel or *koilopoma*, which was supposed to contain a sample of the amphora contents (see below, with note 93). Not all researchers agree on its being a sealing/stopper (it is unclear whether an extra stopper was applied below the bottle, the *koilopoma* probably was both stopper and sealing in one); some claim it to be neither and consider it an unguent bottle, see Peacock/Williams 1986, 51.

[22] Whitcomb/Johnson 1982, 263.

[23] Egloff 1977, 180; see also Johnson 1979, 233-234; Sundelin 1996, 298-299; Dieleman 1998, 265; Cashman 1999, 289; Bos 2000, 278-279, 302; Davoli 2000, 144; Davoli 2005, 104.

[24] Bos 2000, 278-279.

[25] At Quseir al-Qadim Johnson (1979, 233) assumed that these strings had been used to lower the still soft plaster stopper into place. This, however, seems unlikely.

[26] Sundelin 1996, 299.

[27] Lerstrup 1992, 66-75.

[28] Bos 2000, 278.

[29] Winlock/Crum/White 1926, 79.

[30] Davoli 2005, 102.

[31] Lerstrup 1992, 73-74; see also Hope 1977, 7.

[32] Again, we must not forget that many pierced amphora sealings did not belong to wine amphorae.

[33] Mayerson cites Menahot 9.10 of the Talmudic Toseptha: 'One ought not to fill a jar up to its top (literally, to its mouth) but only up to two-thirds of it, so that its fumes (or aroma) can diffuse.' Mayerson 2001, 219-220. We have no information on whether this practice was ever applied in Egypt.

[34] Winlock/Crum/White 1926, 79.

[35] Mayerson 2001, 219-220.

[36] Davoli (2005, 104) notes that techniques, as described above in the Toseptha, have never been attested in Egypt, neither in written sources nor in depictions.

[37] It is not unlikely that one would bypass the difficult opening by simply making a hole in the amphora neck, which could easily be closed with wax or with any other material afterwards.

[38] Studied in detail by Vandorpe 2005.

[39] Larger rings or gems (2.5 x 3 cm) are rare, see Vandorpe 2005, 166. Davoli reports the use of a 7th-century BC scarab as a die in Bakchias; similar scarabs have been used in Edfu, see Davoli 2000, 154-155.

[40] Vandorpe 2005, 166.

[41] 'Man's religious partialities influence the choice of a signet ring', see Milne 1906, 38.

[42] Most of them are found in a non-commercial context, such as the cellars of private houses in Karanis (Milne 1906). In this Fayum village, a great variety of private stamps were found, of small dimension and dating to the middle of the 2nd century AD. E.g. 'Bust of Sarapis to right, crowned with modius: behind, bust of Isis to right, crowned with horns and plumes: before, bust of hawk-headed Horus to left, crowned with modius' (Milne 1906, Cat.no. 11).

[43] Davoli 2005, 104.

[44] Vandorpe 2005, 168; Nachtergael 2000, 155.

[45] Nachtergael 2000, 153. Latin inscriptions are frequent in the Byzantine period.

[46] Stamps on jars destined for local trade can be less neatly arranged than those on jars for long-distance transport. For this last category, it was obviously deemed important to have stamps of a good and legible quality, see Vandorpe 2005, 168.

[47] See Nachtergael 2000, 155, for examples from the Fayum village of Theadelpheia.

[48] Monograms are increasingly popular in the Copto-Byzantine period, see Vandorpe 2005, 168.

[49] Vandorpe 2005, 172.

[50] Aubert 1994, 269.

[51] Aubert 1994, 273.

[52] Paterson 1982, 156; Tchernia 1986, 119.

[53] In contrast, small-scale trade of surplus produce was never considered inappropriate in Rome, see D'Arms 1981, 5.

[54] Cic. *De Off*. 1.151; D'Arms 1981, 23.

[55] D'Arms 1981, 24-26.

[56] Vandorpe 2005, 170.

[57] Rathbone 1991, 15-23. The Theadelphia vineyards only made up a small part of Appianus' estate in the Arsinoite nome.

[58] Rathbone 1991.

[59] Rathbone 1991, 38.

[60] Nachtergael 2000, 156-161, nos 1-6. For the convenience of seeing likenesses between the various dies, their inscriptions are here listed together.

[61] In stamp no 5 the name of the vineyard is lacking.

[62] The above-mentioned dies are all rectangular and made of wood (tamaris wood). They measure 7.5 to 10 cm long, 4.5. to 5 cm wide and 3.2 to 5 cm high. The plate they are made of can be 1 to 1.65 cm thick. They generally bear a handle and are neatly carved, though not all of them are carved in reverse. Dies nos 1 and 2 date from the same year and seem to be made by the same hand, see Nachtergael 2000, 155, 158.

[63] Nachtergael 2000, 157.

[64] Rathbone 1991, 278-306, esp. 287.

[65] Plaster jar sealings have been discovered at Berenike, Quseir al-Qadim, Maximianon, Krokodilo and Koptos, see Vandorpe 2005, 163, n. 1.

[66] *O.Petrie* 220-304 (found at Koptos) and *O.Beren*. I and II (found at Berenike).

[67] Fuks 1951, 207-216.

[68] Fuks 1951, 209; thus, three levels may be discerned: the absentee businessmen (holding an account), their resident-agents (collecting the commodities from the transporters) and the transporters.

[69] See Fuks 1951, 210-211 and n. 25: 'Only λόγος-holders represented by agents and connected with the firm of Nicanor are taken into account.' To the list of Fuks of 25 businessmen, one more logos-holder, not connected to the transport firm of Nikanor, is to be added: Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, attested in *O.Beren*. I 80-85 and *O.Beren*. II 147-148; it is not clear whether Tiberius Claudius Dorion is a logos-holder as well (*O.Beren*. I 50-

67 passim and see pp. 5-6).

[70] Only the legible names are incorporated: Apollonios ar.. (?arabarch), Barbarion, Claudius Aniketos arab(arch), Clau(dius) Hermo[?ke]rdon, Tiberius Claudius Serenus, Chrestos, Titus Flavius [ ]allis, Herm[?eros], Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, Ker.... imperial freedman, Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios, Primus L. Titus.

[71] Raschke 1978, 604-1378, esp. 644; Young 2001, 60, briefly discusses three businessmen of high rank.

[72] Fuks 1951, 210; compare Sidebotham 1986, 84.

[73] Fuks 1951; Raschke 1978, 644, 646 and n. 804-807 and 871-872; Rathbone 1983, 88-89; Sidebotham 1986, 84-85; Burkhalter 1999; Young 2001, 60.

[74] Rathbone 1983, 89.

[75] Burkhalter 1999.

[76] Milne 1905, no. 33014 and 33015 = *SB* I 960: Κλαυδ(ίου) Ἀνικήτου Ἀραβ(). The two plaster sealings are of unknown origin, but all inscribed plaster sealings known thus far originate from the Eastern desert region.

[77] *O.Petrie* 238 and 239 (AD 33-34).

[78] PIR^{2} 589; Sidebotham 1986, 89.

[79] Cuvigny 1998, no. 5:].ι̣ουα.ο̣α̣υ.ναc.[(with photograph).

[80] Burkhalter 1999, 51 (no 2).

[81] Raschke 1978, 644; D'Arms 1981, 166 and n. 79; Rathbone 1983, 88; Burkhalter 1999, 51-52 (no 4); Young 2001, 60.

[82] Rathbone 1983, 88.

[83] Sidebotham 1986, 84.

[84] Rathbone 1983, 89; Rathbone's reservation is partly due to an incorrect reading of G. Norbanus' name in the ostraka (without the *cognomen* Ptolemaios). Cuvigny 1998, 3-4, corrected the reading of *O.Petrie* 257 Γαίου Νορβανοῦ ..ο.......... into Γαίου Νορβανοῦ Πτολε̣μαίο̣υ̣ λόγο(ν) (checked by Cuvigny on the original).

[85] Rathbone 1983, 89.

[86] Tiberius Claudius Agathokles and Tiberius Claudius Theodoros, Tiberius Claudius Serapion: see Fuks 1951, 210; see also Raschke 1978, n. 889; Sidebotham 1986, 89-91 and *O.Beren*. I, 27.

[87] Claudius Aniketos arab(arch), Clau(dius) Hermo[?ke]rdon (the editor read: Hermo[..]rdon), Tiberius Claudius Serenus, Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos, Ker.... Imperial freedman, Titus Flavius [ ]allis.

[88] Whitcomb/Johnson 1979, pl. 75e.

[89] Tiberius Claudius Agathokles and Tiberius Claudius Theodoros dealt in wine (kept in *koilopomata*, see below), wheat and pharmakon (*O. Petrie* 275-276). The abovementioned plaster sealings recording imperial freedmen may have closed wine jars.

[90] According to some researchers they work, on the contrary, for the benefit of their patron. In this case they were at the head of an imperial estate and functioned as agent of the emperor, responsible for selling the produce. Compare Bagnall, in Whitcomb/Johnson 1979, 243-244.

[91] *O.Beren*. I no 80-85; *O.Beren*. II no 147-148; see *O.Beren*. I , 6 (group E) and 27.

[92] *O.Beren.* I, 16-20; *O.Beren*. II 147-148; for 'Laodicean' wine as a genuine import from Syrian Laodicea, see Rathbone 1983, 84-87.

[93] *O.Beren*. I, 23, with reference to a jar with a concave lid found at Deir el-Gizaz, see Di Bitonto Kasser/Doresse 1996, 110-111 (9m), with photograph; this type of jar with a very large mouth, is, however, not suitable for far transports.

[94] See Rakob 1990, 118-119, pl. 23, 54; examples found in Tunisia and Turkey are kept at the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam, see the catalogue *De Oudheid verpakt*, Voorhout 1997, pl. 122.

[95] Ll. 4-5: the ed. has οἴνου . . . . ε̣ι . κ . . . . πωμ . δύο.

[96] *O.Petrie* 297.

[97] Parassoglou 1978, 52 and 81 no 25.

[98] Parassoglou 1978, 78 no 14.

[99] Raschke 1978, 645.

[100] Fuks 1951, 212; Ruffing 1993, 1-26.

[101] Wine, alongside *pharmakon*, oil, wheat and some other products:
Apollonios (see above, identification (c)): plaster jar sealing
Tiberius Claudius Agathokles & Theodoros (*O.Petrie* 275, 276): pharmakon, wheat and wine (in *koilopomata*, not read by the editor)
Claudius Aniketos (see above, identification (b)): plaster jar sealing
Tiberius Claudius(?) Serenus (Cuvigny 1998, no 4): plaster jar sealing
Cornelius (*O.Petrie* 227, 246): wine jars and anise
Aulus Gabinius Eudaimon (*O.Petrie* 225): pharmakon
Titus Flavius [. .]allis (Johnson 1979, pl. 75h): plaster jar sealing
Marcus Iulius Alexander (*O.Petrie* 252, 266, 267, 271, 282): different kind of products and wheat
Gaius Iulius Epaphroditos (see above, identification (e)): foreign wine in ostraka and plaster jar sealings
Lucius Iulius Ph... (*O.Petrie* 261): wine
Marcus Laelius Hymenaios (*O.Petrie* 240): foreign wine
Macro (*O.Petrie* 268, 270): wine
Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaios (*O.Petrie* 244; 257 + Cuvigny 1998 (instead of *BL* 5), see above, identification (d)): pharmakon, other products in ostraka and plaster jar sealings.
?Primus L. Titus (Cuvigny 1998, 2): plaster jar sealing

[102] Paminis son of Parthenios (*O.Petrie* 228, 229, 231, 248, 249); Paniskos son of Paminis (*O.Petrie* 255 + *BL* 5, 256, ?230, ?262); Psenpnouthis son of Paminis son of Parthenios (*O.Petrie* 233, 250).

[103] For the identification, see Bingen 1984, 360-361.

[104] Sidebotham 1986, 84; he only mentions Parthenios, but also his father Paminis is found in an inscription: *SB* V 8811 = Bernand 1977, no 78a: dedication of a peribolos to Isis, Harpokrates and Pan by Paminis son of Parthenios, and his son Parthenios in AD 21/22.

[105] Farid 1988, 13-65; see also Depauw, in Willems/Clarysse 2000, 248-249 (catalogue no 170-171).

[106] The entire dossier of stelai (Greek-hieroglyphic and Demotic) has recently been re-edited by Vleeming 2001, no 179-202.

[107] Farid 1988; Traunecker 1992, 330-331; Depauw, in Willems/Clarysse 2000, 248-249.

[108] Mo.itios son of Petasmephis (*O.Petrie* 277); Porieuthos son of Kastor (*O.Petrie* 269, 284).

[109] *O.Petrie* 287; see *BL* 7 for the reading of the father's name.

[110] Wagner 1976 = Bernand 1984, no 65.

[111] See *O.Beren*. I, p. 21.

[112] Sidebotham 1986, 95-96.

[113] Vandorpe 2005, 169.

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Nec quicquam ingenuum habere potest officina?
Spatial contexts of urban production at Pompeii, AD 79

Miko Flohr

Abstract

This article concentrates on the social and spatial environments in which manufacturing took place in Pompeii in the last years of its existence. Investigating five different types of workshops (bakeries, fulleries, dyeries, tanneries and lanifricariae*), it emerges that manufacturing took place throughout the city in a wide range of contexts and that workshops often were situated in buildings also used for domestic purposes, either houses or apartments with a shop. This suggests that craftsmen lived and worked in relative autonomy and that the urban elite had less control over them than is usually assumed.*

Few archaeological sites have received more scholarly and popular attention than Pompeii. The city's dramatic burial in AD 79 and the ominous shadow of Mt. Vesuvius over its excavated remains have inspired writers, painters and film-makers alike. In the handbooks of classical archaeology, Pompeii provides the standard examples for the domestic architecture and wall-painting of the late republic and early empire. Among scholars, the Pompeian evidence is widely regarded and studied as a valuable document for the history of urban culture, social relations and daily life.[1] Overlooking the output of scholars and artists of the last two centuries, one is amazed by its quantity and variety. Yet, one may also feel that something is lacking. The last two decades, an increasing amount of archaeologists and historians has come to realize that the usual methods and approaches failed to transcend the boundaries of their disciplines and tend to exclude certain types of evidence, issues and people from the historical record. Pompeian research was deemed too anecdotal, under-theorized and one-sided.[2] This has led to many innovative studies in several areas, including the role of private houses in society, the organization of urban space, domestic architecture, rental apartments and artefact assemblages.[3]

Some areas, however, have stayed behind. New approaches or not, scholarly emphasis has predominantly remained with the material remains the of urban elite. One area that has particularly suffered from neglect is urban production. While the nature of the Pompeian economy once was the subject of a fierce debate between modernists and primitivists, and while a couple of production processes have been studied more thoroughly, urban production as such is not integrated into current debates on the social and spatial functioning of the city. The archaeological remains of Pompeian workshops are fundamentally understudied and often misunderstood. This is a pity, since the significance of this material is beyond doubt: even though there may be credible evidence that Pompeii was, in many respects, a consumer city and that the economic role of urban production was rather limited, there is no reason to assume that production and the distribution of manufactured goods did not play an important social role. At Pompeii, like in any city of the preindustrial era, activities related to production and distribution must have cost many people a lot of their time. Thus, issues about the embedding of these activities in their urban context are highly relevant for our understanding of the city.

Of course, scholars have not been completely silent about the subject. Ever since the discovery of the first Pompeian workshops in the early 19th century, scholars have been writing about them. Descriptions of workshops can be found in Pompeii guides of any period.[4] The large encyclopaedias of the ancient world often refer to Pompeian workshops when discussing ancient production processes. In the post-war era, several specialist studies have been written: Betty-Jo Mayeske has studied the Pompeian bakeries.[5] Her colleague Walter Moeller has investigated the textile industry.[6] Metalworking has been discussed by Bettine Gralfs.[7] The last two decades, some individual workshops have been studied to more detail as they happened to be part of large complexes or house blocks that were chosen for systematic investigation, such as the *Casa del Labirinto* or *insula* I 10.[8] Currently, a team of French archaeologists is studying several workshop types throughout the city.[9] As a result, there is a growing consensus as to how we can identify certain kinds of workshops and how certain production processes were spatially organized. However, for some reason or another, there have been few attempts to use this material for answering questions about the social functioning of the city.

An important first step has been taken by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, who analyzed the spread of shops and workshops over various categories of buildings. He concludes that workshops, because they needed a certain amount of space, were predominantly situated in complexes of medium to large size.[10] Further, he emphasizes the fundamental mixture of economic and residential functions in *atrium* houses of varying size throughout the city. With his approach, he thoroughly dismantled the vociferous account of Amedeo Maiuri, who saw in the presence of workshops in 'noble' houses a sign of deteriorating living conditions in the last years before the eruption and sketched a picture of a town in decline left by its nobility to the vulgarity of freedmen and their workshops.[11] However, the main interest of Wallace-Hadrill was with the role of *atrium* houses in Pompeian society and not with urban production. Hence, he did not dive much deeper into the subject.

Other scholars approached the subject from a different angle. Ray Laurence briefly investigated the spread of workshops over the urban area. Using data from specialist studies, he showed that at Pompeii, while there seem to have been concentrations of certain workshop types in certain areas, there were no areas exclusively devoted to retail or production. Rather, various types of land use such as living, production, agriculture and retail existed next to each other.[12] The social position of Pompeian craftsmen has been studied by Henrik Mouritsen. Based on epigraphic evidence, Mouritsen stated that urban production and commerce were dominated by freedmen, who acquired skills and training in slavery and then were freed to set up their own business with the aid of their patron, to whom they remained deeply dependent.[13] His account, however, is based on the assumption that the legal status of an individual can be deduced from his name as written on the façades of Pompeii. As has been convincingly argued by Penelope Allison, the specific properties of Pompeian epigraphy do not automatically allow for this.[14] Further, Mouritsen's picture seems to have a very shallow evidential basis: the material remains of the homes and workshops of craftsmen are completely left aside, even though these may be a lot more informative about the socioeconomic position of these people than the ethnic origin of their names. Hence, Mouritsen's approach fails to convince. If we want to understand Pompeii, we should study its material remains and not limit ourselves to abstract speculation based on some electoral advertisements. Another approach is by Damian Robinson, who, departing from the observations of Wallace-Hadrill and Mouritsen, investigated the economic behaviour of the Pompeian aristocracy. Robinson concludes that the Pompeian upper classes invested in all areas of the urban economy and possessed diverse portfolios of different kinds of urban economic properties.[15] The dominant role of the elite was, according to Robinson, testified by the concentration of certain types of workshops on certain locations within the property of an elite member. Bakeries could be located inside the house, textile workshops were preferably situated in *tabernae* in front of it, and the hospitality industry was removed away from the house's main entrance. However, apart from the fact that Robinson incorporates more assumptions in his analysis than is necessary, his statistical approach fails to do justice to the archaeological material.[16] Robinson assigns buildings with workshops to property classes based on property size and to economic workshop types based on the size and location of the workshop. Both typologies are based on ideas about social status and human behaviour that, unfortunately, are never tested by a detailed analysis of the material evidence. Hence, it remains unclear whether the patterns Robinson rightly observes must really be seen as evidence of moral considerations of the elite or must have been caused by other factors. It must be concluded that scholarship has not yet succeeded in developing a convincing methodology for analyzing the social aspects of urban production at Pompeii that incorporates the whole range of the evidence.

In what follows, I will try to contribute to the discussion by systematically investigating the material remains of the archeologically recognizable workshops of Pompeii. The investigation departs from the preliminary assumption that the embedding of these workshops in their urban environment contains information about at least some social aspects of their daily functioning. Hence, the focus will be on the position of workrooms in their direct spatial context. Five types of workshops are relatively easy to identify in the Pompeian archaeological record: bakeries, fulleries, dyeries, tanneries and a fifth kind of workshop, of which the precise function is unknown. Bakeries usually have an oven and three or four

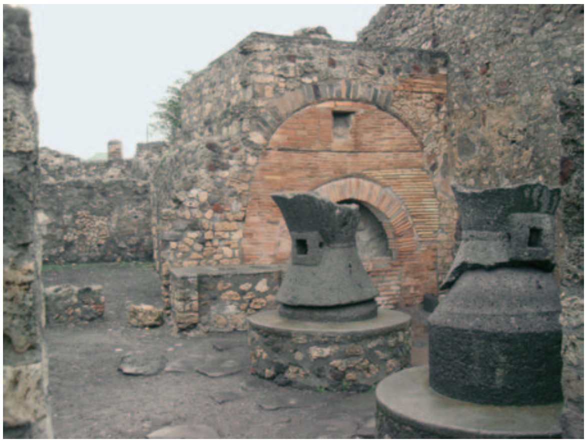

Fig. 1. Bakery VI 6, 17-21: mills and oven.

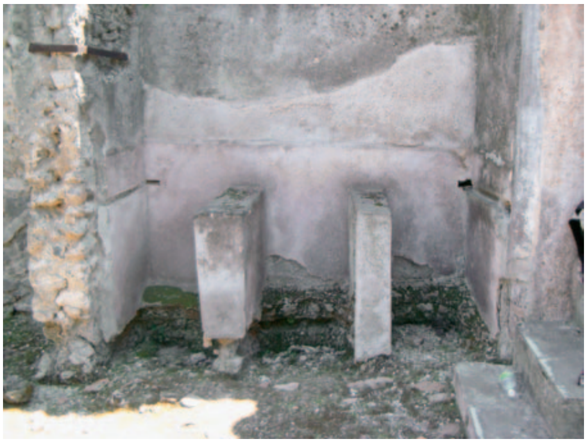

Fig. 2. Fullery VI 14, 21.22: treading stalls.

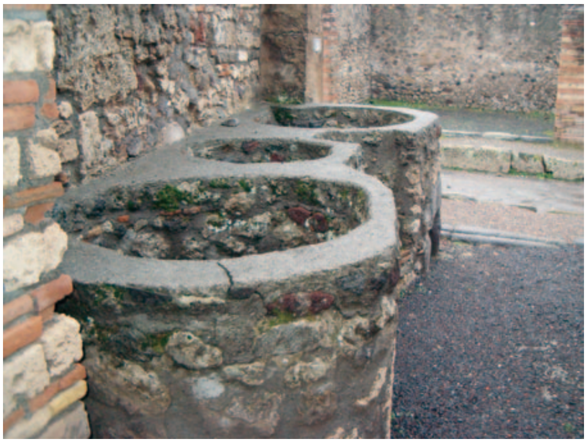

Fig. 3. Dyery V 1, 4: reconstructed remains of dying cauldrons.

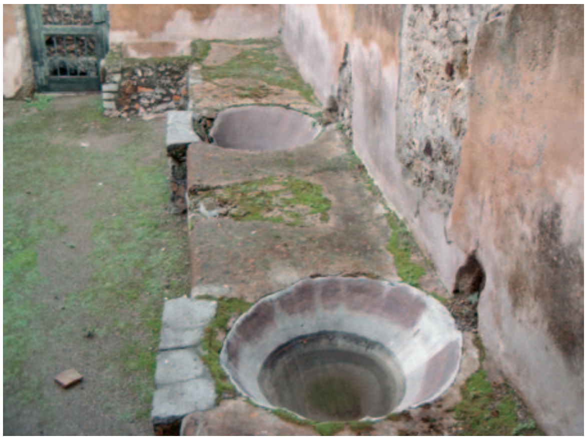

Fig. 4. Lanifricaria VII 12, 17.21: furnaces.

flour mills (*fig. 1*). In some of them, the excavators found carbonized remains of bread loaves, which confirm that these workshops were used for bread baking.[17] Several workshops are only equipped with an oven and have no flour mills. It is not clear what exactly was produced in these establishments, but it seems that they must be treated as a separate category. In none of these workshops bread loaves have been found. In two, the excavators found baking tins and remains of pastry.[18] One of the *tabernae* connected to the large bakery I 4, 12-17 contained a small baking workshop apparently designed to function independently.[19] This indicates that we must distinguish the bakeries with mills from those without mills. Throughout the text, the former will be called 'bakeries' and the latter 'baking shops'. Fulleries can be identified by the presence of one or more sets of niches surrounded by low walls covered with waterproof plaster (*fig. 2*). These are the 'treading stalls' where the clothes were soaped in. Some of these workshops also have a complex of basins connected to the urban water supply. Election notices on the façade of some of these workshops relate them to craftsmen called *fullones* who finished and cleaned woollen clothes.[20] Paintings found in one fullery depict a production process similar to descriptions of the fulling process in the work of ancient authors.[21] Typical for dyeries are the groups of furnaces with deep lead cauldrons attached over fire-pots (*fig. 3*).[22] That these installations were used for the colouring of clothes has also been concluded from election notices referring to *offectores* and *infectores*, craftsmen both related to cloth-dying.[23] The identification of the Pompeian tannery is based on various indications, amongst which the discovery of large amounts of instruments typical for leather production and an installation consisting of twenty large round tan vats in which the leather was soaked.[24] The use of the fifth type of workshop is unclear. These workshops all had a low concrete working bench with built-in furnaces of lead (*fig. 4*), which means that they used heat and liquids. None of these workshops has relevant election notices or *graffiti* on its façade. They were interpreted as wool-scouring plants by Moeller, but this has convincingly been rejected by Jongman.[25] It is even unlikely that they had something to do with textiles: the discovery of large quantities of animal bones in several of these establishments points to activities related to meat- or bone-processing.[26] Following Moeller, these workshops are commonly known as *officinae lanifricariae* and, though this label is incorrect, they will be called so throughout the article for reasons of convention.

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Within the urban area of Pompeii, it is possible to identify 22 fully excavated bakeries, seven baking shops, ten fulleries, six dying establishments, one tannery and fourteen *lanifricariae*.[27] The data set includes workshops of varying size, capacity and economic nature. There were commercial establishments in small shops and large industrial plants covering more than a hundred square meters. Likewise, there are variations in the nature and size of the buildings in which workshops are found. The smallest unit, VII 9, 43, consists of one single workroom hidden away behind the temple of Vespasian. The largest complex was the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 9), a gigantic traditional *domus* with two *atria* and a vast *peristylium* counting 59 rooms. Given these variations, it seems useful to discuss shortly some aspects of the socioeconomic background of the workshops.

As to the buildings in which workshops were situated, there is an emphasis on medium-sized complexes. All but four workshops are situated in buildings with less than 25 rooms and about 50% has less than ten. Thus, the large urban villas of the extremely rich are not well-represented, but our data set is neither dominated by the small tabernae that generally are thought to be the usual location of workshops.[28] As it may be thought to reveal more about the functioning of a complex than plot size, I decided to take room number as criterion for a subdivision of the data.[29] I made four groups, each representing approximately a quarter of the data set.[30] Eighteen units had less than five rooms, fourteen medium-sized complexes had between five and eight rooms, another fourteen complexes had nine to fourteen rooms and fifteen complexes had fifteen rooms or more.

A first point of interest is the importance of the workshop in the building that hosts it. Table 1 suggests that most complexes with a workshop had rooms in which no evidence for activities related to the production process has been found. In structures with eight or less rooms, the average amount of rooms occupied by the workshop is almost equal to that of rooms that might have been used for other purposes. The workshop must have had a dominant position. In larger structures, however, most rooms did not have anything to do with the workshop. Most of these were private houses with an incorporated or attached workshop.

There are differences in the spread of certain workshop types over the four groups. Many baking shops, fulleries and *lanifricariae* are situated in units with less than five rooms. Bakeries are generally situated in larger complexes. This may have to do with the amount of space required for certain workshops: the average bakery occupies four rooms, whereas *lanifricariae* and fulleries generally need less than two.[31] However, there also seems to be another explanation. It must be noted that *lanifricariae* and small fulleries do not require much investment in money and manpower compared to bakeries: it is cheaper to build a podium with a lead furnace than it is to equip a bakery with a mill room, a kneading room and a large oven. To run a small fullery, one may need two or three people, whereas a bakery is likely to employ ten or more workmen. Thus, the concentration of workshop types in small or large complexes may also be related to the socioeconomic basis of the owners or tenants.

This may be confirmed if we investigate whether there is a relation between the capacity of the workshops and the size of the complex in which they are situated. Some workshops were larger than others and thus produced more. This is, to some degree, visible in their archaeological remains. The capacity of bakeries is related to the number of flour mills; that of baking shops to the number of ovens. For fulleries we can rely on the amount of the treading stalls. The capacity of dyeries is indicated by the amount of dying cauldrons and that of *lanifricariae* by the amount of furnaces. Table 3 shows the distribution of the average amount of provisions of each workshop type over the four groups.

Table 1. Size and importance of workshop.

	1-4 Rooms	5-8 Rooms	9-14 Rooms	15+ Rooms
Occupied by workshop	1.4	3.4	3.0	3.3
Other use	1.4	3.2	9.4	19.6
Ratio	1 : 1	1.1 : 1	1 : 3	1 : 6

Table 2. Division of the workshop types over the four groups.

	1-4 Rooms	5-8 Rooms	9-14 Rooms	15+ Rooms
Bakeries	1	7	7	8
Baking shops	3	2	2	–
Fulleries	6	1	1	2
Dyeries	2	1	2	1
Tanneries	–	–	–	1
Lanifricariae	6	3	2	3

Table 3. Average capacity of workshop types by complex size.

	Average	1-4 Rooms	5-8 Rooms	9-14 Rooms	15+ Rooms
Mills	3.7	3.0	3.7	3.4	4.0
Ovens	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.5	–
Stalls	3.6	2.2	2.0	5.0	8.8
Cauldrons	5.3	4.5	4.0	6.0	7.0
Tan vats	16	–	–	–	16
Furnaces	1.8	1.5	1.3	2.0	2.3

Table 4. Commerciality of workshops.

	1-4 Rooms	5-8 Rooms	9-14 Rooms	15+ Rooms	Total
With shop	14	12	9	6	41
Without shop	4	2	5	9	20
Commerciality	**78%**	**86%**	**64%**	**40%**	**67%**

The trend is clear: the workshops in small units tend to have a lower capacity than those in larger complexes. Remarkable are the differences among the fulleries: while the seven fulleries in small units had two or three treading stalls, the three fulleries built in large complexes had five, seven and ten stalls respectively. These workshops also had large rinsing basins with a connection to the urban water supply. The picture in other workshop types is less spectacular, but runs along the same lines.

Another aspect concerns the economic nature of the workshops: how did they get rid of their products? Did they operate on a commercial basis or not? Key question is whether or not there was a shop. Shops can be recognized in the archaeological material as rooms in the front part of a building that had a wide opening on the street and the typical threshold with a groove into which the planks of the wooden shutter were socketed.[32] The presence of a shop indicates that a workshop depended for a significant part on direct and spontaneous sale to private customers. Its absence suggests that products generally were sold elsewhere or to individuals that knew where and why to find the workshop. This requires either a large social network or the possession of real estate on various locations in the city and thus a strong socioeconomic background. Table 4 gives an overview of the commerciality of the Pompeian workshops.

The obvious trend is that larger complexes were less directly related to commercial sale than smaller ones. This further confirms that there is a relation between the size of the complex that hosts the workshop and the socioeconomic basis of its owner or tenant. It appears that, at Pompeii, urban production was an area in which persons of various socioeconomic strengths and backgrounds participated and that the size and nature of a workshop was influenced by the socioeconomic position of its owner.

Another point is that a vast majority of all workshops had a shop. Two thirds worked, at least partially, on a commercial basis. All workshop types were equally commercial except *lanifricariae*: only five have a shop (36%). Remarkably, however, four *lanifricariae* are located in rooms that seem to have been shops before: with the construction of the *lanifricaria*, the doors were narrowed.[33] While the working benches in these establishments are located far from the entrance, leaving ample space for contact with customers, it is very well possible that they operated commercially as well and that the doors were narrowed for other reasons (see below, p. 136). Thus, the general picture is that production depended for a significant part on the demands of private customers. Most workshops produced predominantly for a local market. This is supported by the fact that among the twenty non-commercial workshops were eight bakeries, which of course necessarily only produced for local consumption. Whether or not there were Pompeian industries producing for an export market, there is little material evidence for them within the city walls.[34]

WORKSHOPS IN THE PUBLIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

Now that we have a basic idea of the composition of our data set and its socioeconomic nature, we may turn to our central issue: how were the Pompeian workshops positioned in their urban context? Workshops had a double position. Through the interaction with customers, they stood in the middle of society and were socially tied to the individuals and families that bought their products: they were part of the public urban landscape. At the same time, workshops were places where craftsmen spent their days and were often part of a private context as well. Both contexts will be discussed. The position of workshops is not unproblematic: they produce heat, noise and smells that may cause nuisance. Our data set consists of five workshop types of which we can be fairly certain that their business might annoy people: except the fulleries and the tannery, all produced heat. Fulleries, dyeries and tanneries used stinky chemicals. *Lanifricariae* probably used heated liquids and organic material - an ideal combination for very nasty smells. Even the continuous smell of freshly baked bread can be disturbing. An important question thus is whether the nuisance caused by these workshops played a role in the way they were embedded in their environment.

The most obvious link of a workshop with the outside world is its spatial relation with the surrounding street. It is, in this respect, significant whether or not there was a shop. Shops were places of direct social interaction between the workshop and the public. They are, generally, meant to attract people. Most had products on display.[35] Often, election notices mentioning the name and the occupation of the tenants or owners surround the entrance of the shop.[36] Sometimes, the façade was found decorated with paintings showing the craftsmen and their activities.[37] The wide openings, however, also made that people passing by could see, hear and smell almost everything that happened inside. Thus, it may be questioned to which degree the production process was removed from the shop: was the public allowed to see the dirty work? There is evidence for the production process in about half of the shops.[38] Except for tanning, all crafts are represented. Generally, the elements of the workshop are clustered along the walls in the back half of the room: in baking shops I 3, 1 and VII 12, 1.2.36, the oven is situated against the back wall, far from the street (*fig. 5*). Likewise, in most fulleries, the treading stalls were positioned near one of the remote corners of the shop. There were few exceptions to this rule, the best known being the twin dyeries V 1, 4 and V 1, 5, where the cauldrons literally stand on the threshold (*fig. 3*).[39] The concentration of most activities in the back part of the shop had the obvious advantage that visitors and workmen did not stand in each others way, but also had the effect that the production process was less visible and caused little nuisance. The complexes where shop and workshop were integrated tend to be smaller than those where the two were separated. Hence, it might be suggested that the workshop only was situated in the shop when there was no other space available. However, the workshops that were separated from the shop tend to be too large to be situated in one single room: they include large bakeries occupying several rooms, a vast tannery and the largest dyery of the city. Thus, it is equally possible to invert the argument: the workshop was always situated in the shop unless it was too small.[40] Moreover, there are several shops where, if needed, the production process could have been hidden away from the customer. In baking shop I 3, 1 the back part of the L-shaped shop was occupied by the oven and the kneading tables, while the front part was empty (*fig. 5*). If desired, it would have been easily possible to separate both parts by a wall. Likewise, in bakery I 3, 27, no care was taken to separate the shop from the space where the mills stood. In some fulleries, the treading stalls could have been situated in a second room, but this option was never chosen.[41] In short, there is little evidence suggesting that it was problematic to locate the workshop in a shop.

It was also possible that there was a direct connection from the workroom to the street that might confront people accidentally passing by with the existence of a workshop. The most obvious example of this is the wide entrance of the well-known bakery VII 2, 22 (*fig. 6*). As one of the flour mills was located immediately behind the opening, the front part probably did not function as a shop, but it is not likely that the wooden doors were always completely closed. When they were not, the bustle of the workshop must have influenced the atmosphere on the street. There were eighteen complexes where the workroom could be entered directly from the street. The entrance was not always as wide as in the case of bakery VII 2, 22, but it was often considerably wider than a normal door, especially in the case of bakeries. With the exception of the *lanifricariae* discussed above, provisions are always placed directly behind the opening, which suggests that these entrances only served the workshop and had no function as entrances to other parts of the complex. It must be noted that entrances of this type were all but restricted to the remote areas of the city: they could be found in busy through roads as well as in quiet alleys.[42] In the case of larger complexes, however, the entrance to the workroom often was situated in another road than the main entrance of the building. The main entrance to house VI 14, 28-32 is on the Via del Vesuvio, while the entrance to the workroom of the bakery is in the narrow alley between blocks VI 14 and VI 16.[43] This might suggest that the owner wanted to conceal his involvement in the baking business. We must not, however, be too quick. Next to the entrance was a large shop in which the products of the workshop were sold or consumed. Further, in many large complexes, the workshop was situated either in the back part of the house so that it was either nearer to another street than to the one where the main entrance was, or in the middle of a house block so that no direct exit was possible.[44] The reasons for this are related to the internal organization of the complex and have little to do with the relation between workshop and the outside world.

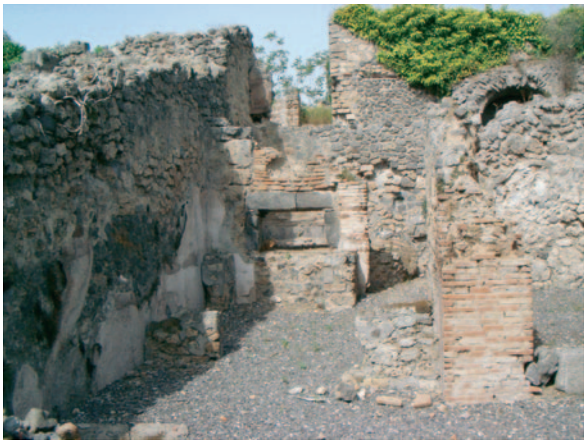

Fig. 5. Baking shop I 3, 1: oven against the back wall of the L-shaped shop.

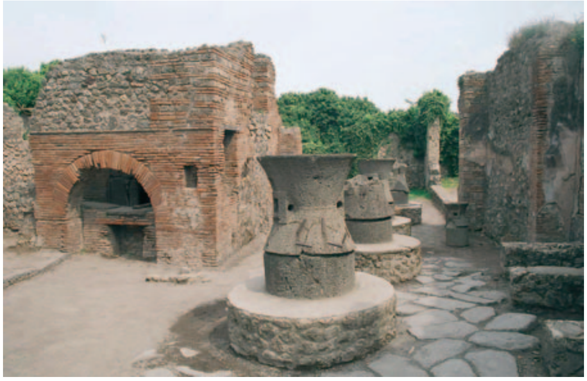

Fig. 6. Bakery VII 2, 22: workroom seen from the entrance.

To sum up, in eighteen complexes, the production process was conducted in a shop and was visible to the public. In another eighteen cases, the work was done in a space that had a direct connection to the street. More than half (59%) of all Pompeian workrooms thus had an open relation to the outside world. Of the remaining 25 complexes, another seventeen had a shop, which means that there were only eight workshops (13%) that must have remained invisible to the outside world. The activities in Pompeian workshops were a normal and defining component in the public urban atmosphere. Pompeians did not emphasize the existence of a workshop, but neither did they hide it away:

if a workshop fits into a shop, it was located there. If it was desirable to create a direct connection between the workroom and the outside world to facilitate the supply, few Pompeians seem to have hesitated to do so.[45] Generally, one gets the impression that in the relation between workshops and streets the practical factors outweighed the moral factors. However, there may have been one exception. As mentioned above, some *lanifricariae* were situated in rooms that originally were shops. Before or during the construction of these workshops, the doors were made narrower. Sometimes, such as in I 3, 16.18 and VII 11, 2.3, part of the opening simply was blocked off (*fig. 7*). In other cases, the narrowing of the opening coincided with a reconstruction of the façade.[46] As noted, there were few *lanifricariae* with a shop. In only two of these, the furnaces were situated in the front part of the shop.[47] Direct connections between the workroom of *lanifricariae* and the street can only be found in quiet alleys and never were wider than a door of normal size. This means that *lanifricariae* were the least visible workshop type in the city. Probably, they caused more nuisance than the other workshop types did: there is no evidence for similar strategies in the embedding of fulleries, dyeries or bakeries in the public urban environment.

WORKSHOPS AND THEIR PRIVATE ENVIRONMENT

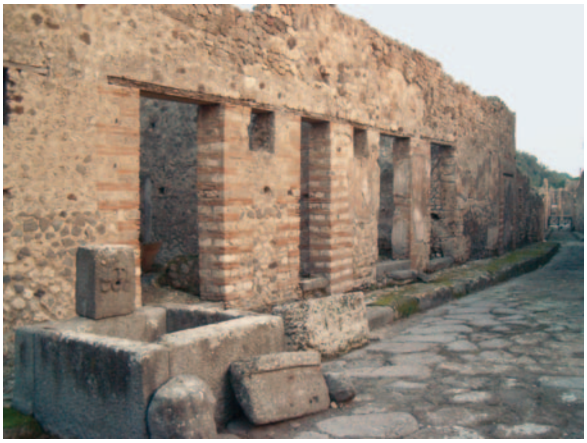

Fig. 7. Insula VII, 11: facade with entrances of lanifricariae VII 11, 2.3 and VII 11, 5.

The relation between a workshop and other rooms in the same building is a lot more complicated than that between the workshop and the outside world. The crucial difference is that people on the street are moving, just passing by, while people in other rooms in the same building might remain there for considerable time: the internal nuisance-threshold is likely to be much lower than the external. Nevertheless, though some workshops were situated in buildings where no evidence for other activities can be found, most were integrated in a complex with other functions as well. We have departed from the assumption that the amount of rooms in a complex raises expectations about its multifunctionality. This criterion alone, however, is not sufficient. The decisive factor in the functioning of a complex is not its amount of rooms, but its spatial organization: a complex of ten rooms around a garden is fundamentally different from one of ten rooms in a row behind each other. We may expect complexes organized in a different way to function differently and complexes organized in a similar way to be, at least to some extent, comparable. Thus, we should combine our earlier subdivision with one on architectural criteria. Analyzing the data set, two categories emerge. 26 workshops are situated in complexes with an *atrium* or a *peristylium* - that is, complexes with features commonly regarded as domestic.[48] Eighteen other workshops are located in units consisting of a shop with one or more back rooms or stairs to an upper floor. These are usually referred to as *tabernae*.[49] The remaining seventeen complexes have an irregular layout.

Domus

The 26 complexes with domestic features were larger than those of the other two categories. It must be mentioned that there are no cases where the present workroom seems to have been part of the original layout. The workshops thus had to be integrated in pre-existing structures. This posed limitations to the layout and position of the workshop. Two factors are important. The first is the range of possibilities for the location of the workshop. An *atrium* house could consist of several zones. In front of the house was an *atrium* with several surrounding rooms. Behind it often was an open area with a garden or a *peristylium*. These areas traditionally had a residential character. Additionally, a house could have service quarters or other rooms outside this traditional structure. The second factor concerns the accessibility of the workshop: was it possible to give the workshop its own entrance or not? This is a determining factor in the impact of the workshop on the internal traffic in the house.

If a workshop could be situated outside the traditionally residential areas, its position does not

Table 5. Building types.

	1-4 Rooms	5-8 Rooms	9-14 Rooms	15+ Rooms	Total
Domus	–	1	12	13	26
Taberna	15	2	1	–	18
Other	3	11	1	2	17
Total	**18**	**14**	**14**	**15**	**61**

Table 6. Integration of workshops in atrium *houses.*

	Front	Back	Outside	Total
Same entrance	4	4	4	12
Separate entrance	2	4	8	14
Total	**6**	**8**	**12**	**26**

seem to have been very problematic. House VII 10, 5.8.13, for example, had a small *lanifricaria* in a separate set of rooms behind its large *peristylium*. It was only connected with the rest of the house through a narrow corridor and invisible from the residential areas. As the workroom also had its own access, the workshop was almost completely independent. Twelve *atrium* houses had a workshop in a separate, non-residential area. Most were large complexes with a workshop in one of their more remote parts, but some were much smaller. House VI 14, 33-34 had a large bakery directly next to its small *atrium*. Though one might suppose that the proximity of the workrooms might have caused considerable nuisance in the living area, the *atrium* seems to have maintained a residential character. In two rooms, bed niches can be found. Further, the excavators found luxury objects like a silver hand mirror and several glass pastry beads from a necklace, and many domestic utensils such as scissors, drinking cups of fine pottery and glass, and a bronze vase with a decorated handle.[50] The doors between the *atrium* and the workshop could be closed, so that less sounds and smells penetrated the residential rooms. In eight of the twelve complexes, the workroom had its own entrance, but even when this was not the case, one often did not use the main entrance to the house: the bakery in the house of Paquius Proculus (VII 2, 3.7) was most easily reached through entrance VII 2, 3 which led directly to the *peristylium*, while the main entrance to the *atrium* was further to the north. Traffic to the bakery in the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 9.10) and to the *lanifricaria* in the Casa di Narciso (VII 12, 22-24) was organized similarly.[51] It may be concluded that in these complexes, workshop and house could function more or less independently, without much interference and spatial integration. This is an advantage when workshops do dirty work. It is remarkable that all *lanifricariae* in *atrium* houses were located in this independent position. Most are, like the one in VII 10, 5.8.13, situated in a dark room with few doors and windows, remote from living quarters.[52] A secondary door provided direct access: no traffic had to cross the residential area. This confirms the impression that *lanifricariae* caused more inconvenience than other workshops did: the only way to embed them in an *atrium* house was in a remote and independent position.

Things were a little more complicated when the workshop had to be located in parts of the house that normally had a residential function. In this case, the back part of the house seems to have been the most preferable location, since then, the *atrium* zone would preserve its residential character and would be only slightly influenced by the presence of a workshop in the area behind it, especially when the workshop could have its own entrance. In the *Casa del Forno* (VI 3, 3.27-28; *fig. 8*), the only connection between this house and the

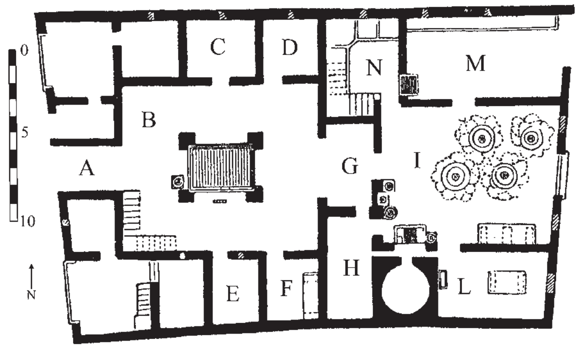

Fig. 8. Bakery VI 3, 3.27-28: ground plan.

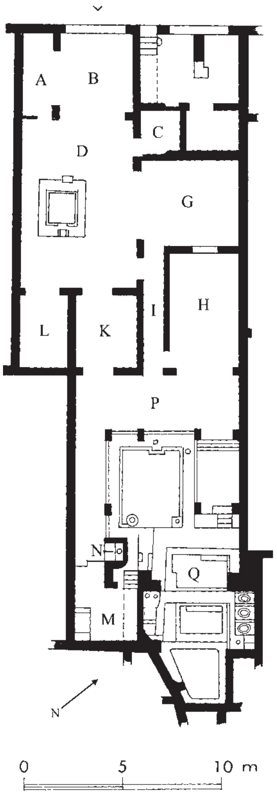

Fig. 9. House I 6, 7: ground plan.

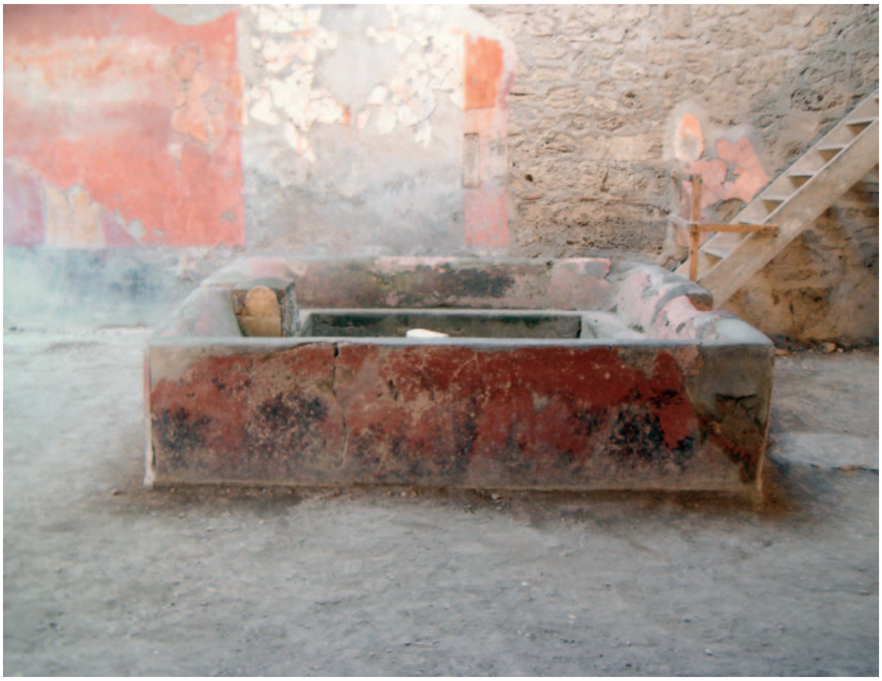

Fig. 10. House I 6, 7: decorated impluvium.

bakery in its back part was through two doors in the *tablinum* that could be closed off.[53] The two areas functioned independently. Traces of decoration in one of the *cubicula* suggest that the *atrium* area was meant to be decorated.[54] Finds indicate that it had a domestic function.[55] For the integration of the bakery, however, severe adaptations had been necessary. The bakery seems to have needed more space than was disposable behind the *tablinum* range. Hence, it was decided to shorten the depth of the *tablinum* and the room south of it.[56] Since the latter room became part of the workshop, one needed more residential space than the present ground floor could provide and the construction of an upper floor was necessary. Hence, the foremost part of the house was completely rebuilt. The walls around the *atrium* were replaced by stronger ones and four strong pillars of *opus latericium* were built on the corners of the *impluvium*.[57] These had to sustain the first floor. In one of the corners of the *atrium* stairs were built. The room north of the *tablinum* was turned into a kitchen that could only be reached through the workshop and from the first floor. Though it must have cost a lot, care was taken to embed the workshop in a primarily domestic context. This was even more so when workshop and house had to share the same entrance. The location of the workroom in the back of the house meant that traffic would have to cross the residential areas. In the *fullonica* of Stephanus (I 6, 7; *fig. 9*), the only way to come in was through the shop. Though the present state of the complex does not give much insight into the factors that played a role in implementation of the workshop, we can give a very precise account of its functioning in AD 79 because of the excellent excavation reports. It is often assumed that the house had lost its domestic functions.[58] This is based on the interpretation of the built-up *impluvium* in the *atrium* as a basin in which clothes were washed out. The *atrium* thus had no longer a residential character. However, the *impluvium* does not seem to have been built for the workshop: while its walls were decorated with fine frescos, its floor contained inset pieces of marble (*fig. 10*). At its head stood a fountain. The area and the surrounding rooms had decorated walls and floors with inset pieces of marble. With the exception of the shop, all rooms in the foremost part of the house were decorated for residential purposes. That they also were used that way is confirmed by the finds mentioned in the excavation reports. In the shop, the excavators only found objects related to the production process,

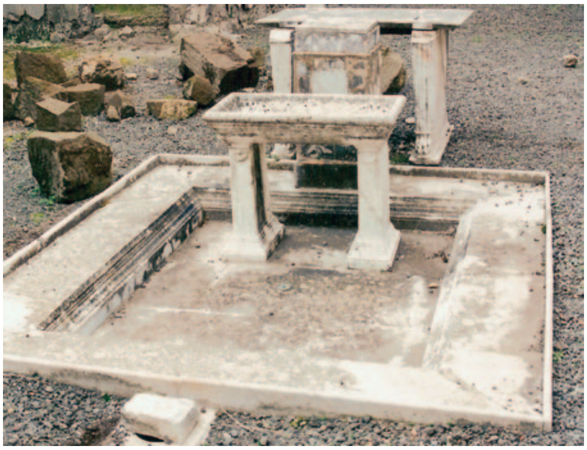

Fig. 11. House VI 14, 21.22, atrium: Marble impluvium contemporary to the fullonica.

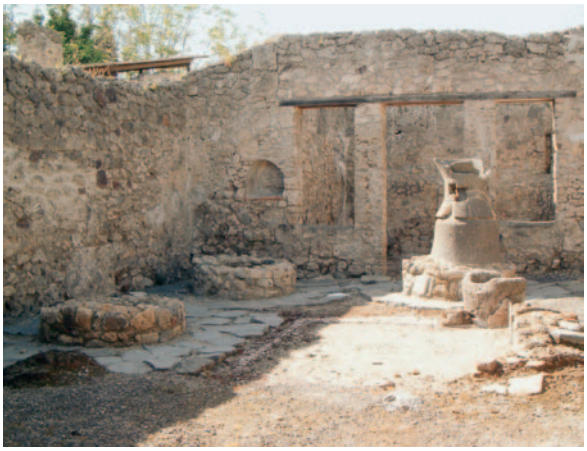

Fig. 12. House V 3, 8: atrium transformed into milling room.

such as remains of a fulling press, various brushes and scissors.[59] Directly behind the door to the *atrium* however, stood two wooden cupboards containing tableware, a dice, a hand mill and many other domestic objects.[60] In the *impluvium* lay a decorated bronze oenochoe, the large *oecus* east of it was furnished with bronze objects.[61] Apparently, the fact that it was frequently crossed by traffic to the workshop in the back area and that it was only accessible through the shop did not make the *atrium* less residential in character. It may be imagined that the wooden doors between the shop and the *atrium* often were closed. Main access to the domestic quarters then would have been through the finely decorated room A west of the shop. In the back part of the house, the main workroom was situated directly next to the kitchen and the latrine, so that all non-residential activities were clustered. The narrow corridor between the *atrium* and the *peristylium* provided easy passage between the shop and the workroom and between the kitchen and the large *oecus* east of the *atrium*. Thus, instead of a 'classic' example of a workshop specifically built as such, the *fullonica* of Stephanus is a good example of the successful integration of a workshop into an *atrium* house. The same can be said of house VI 14, 21-22, into which a fullery was integrated after it had collapsed during an earthquake.[62] At the same time that the fullery was built, the residential and representative character of this house was reinforced. In the *atrium*, a marble *impluvium* was constructed with a fountain fed by the water pipe that led to the fullery (*fig. 11*). One of the largest rooms of the house was redecorated with expensive fourth-style wall-decorations. In the *peristylium*, the podium that contained the treading stalls and gave access to the basins of the rinsing complex was built along the south wall, so that all activities were concentrated in that part of the *peristylium*. New doors at each side of the *atrium* created a direct through-route between the workshop and the shop.[63] In the eight cases in which the workshop was concentrated in the back part of a house, care has been taken to reconcile residential and economic interests in the spatial arrangement of the complex.

In none of the complexes mentioned thus far, the domestic character of the house was severely influenced by the presence of a workshop. This could be different when, for some reason or another, the foremost part of the house was chosen. Six houses had a workshop in this position. Three of these seem to have lost their residential function. The small house V 1, 14-16 was completely occupied by the baking shop: two ovens were positioned directly behind the *tablinum*, while the *atrium* area was used for preparation, as is suggested by the water tank along its south wall and the beam holes indicating shelves. Though many objects were found, none of these is clearly domestic.[64] Apparently, this house was too small to combine production with residential functions. In house V 3, 8 the bakery stood in the middle of the *atrium* (*fig. 12*). It was not thought necessary to use the large open areas in the back part of the house, a location that would have been much more practical if the house was to perform residential functions. In house VII 2, 11, the workshop is located in the front part of the *peristylium* around which the house is organized, but there were various large residential rooms at the opposite side

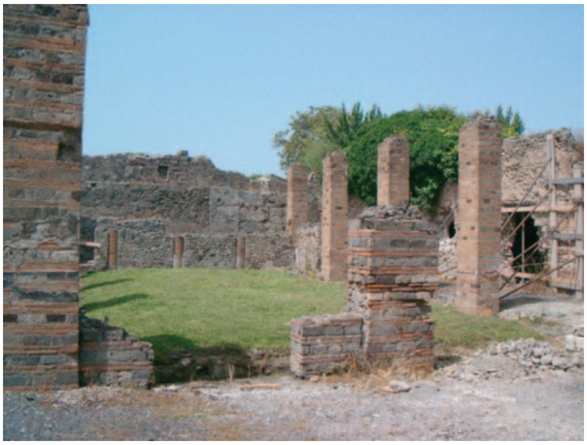

Fig. 13. *House VI 8, 20-21.2: remains of fountain in front of residential rooms.*

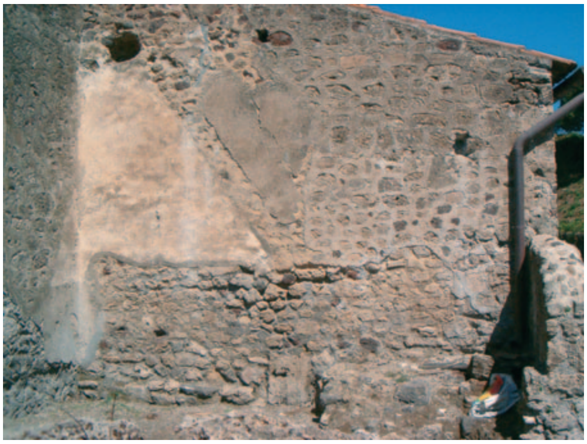

Fig. 14. *Fullery VI 16, 6: traces of stairs on N wall.*

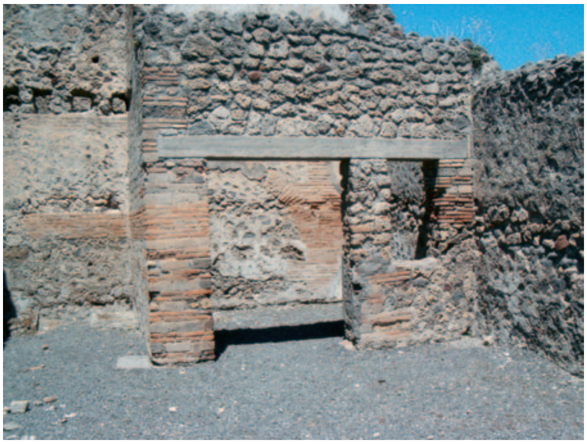

Fig. 15. *Fullery V 1, 2: back room with wide door and window.*

and an upper floor where people could have lived. Nevertheless, the residential use of the complex does not seem to have played an important role in the planning of the workshop. On the other hand, the foremost part of the house was not always inconvenient. In some houses, it was smaller and gave access to fewer residential rooms than the peristyle or garden. The *peristylium* of house VIII 6, 1.9-11 was surrounded by several large, richly decorated rooms, while its *atrium* was relatively small. Hence, the *atrium* zone was converted into a large separate service area with a large bakery and a kitchen. For the similar reasons, the *atrium* of IX 3, 1-2 was a better location for a small dyery than the garden behind it. In house VIII 4, 24-29, the back garden may have been too small to host a large bakery with separate rooms for milling and kneading. Hence, the bakery was built in the *atrium* and the residential area was concentrated in the back part, having its own entrance in the southwest corner of the house. The location of the workshop in the *atrium*, however, generally meant that the workshop had a more dominant position than in other *domus*.

Thus, with three exceptions, in all *atrium* houses in our data set care was taken to find the best possible solution for the integration of the workshop within the limitations of the existing structures. That the implementation of a workshop often coincided with large-scale adaptations emphasizes the interest of owners in their residential well-being. Workshop and living quarters were generally located in separate areas. When necessary, care was taken to diminish the visibility of the production process. Between the fullery in the west wing of the *peristylium* in house VI 8, 20-21.2 and the adjoining garden, a wall was built to make the workshop invisible from persons residing in the large residential rooms along the east wing. That this was not done to conceal the involvement of the inhabitants in the fulling business, but mainly to diminish the nuisance caused by the activities in the workshop, is testified by the famous paintings depicting the fulling process that were found on one of the pillars of the same peristyle, next to the fountain in front of the most prominent *oecus* (*fig. 13*). In the *Casa del Forno* (VI 3, 3.27-28), the new east wall of the *tablinum*, that was contemporary to the construction of the bakery, had only a narrow door instead of the usual wide opening.[65] In only three houses, parts of the workroom were directly visible from rooms that might have had a residential function.[66] However, the spatial separation of workshop and household was not complete. Often, like in the *fullonica* of Stephanus and

Table 7. Size of rental units compared to that of habitable workshops.

	Pirson	Flohr
N	**270**	**14**
Stairs	88%	86%
No backroom	48%	14%
One backroom	31%	36%
Two backrooms	12%	36%
Three or more backrooms	8%	14%

the *Casa del Forno*, the kitchen and the latrine were situated directly next to or near the workshop.[67] This indicates that the people working in the workshop also worked in the kitchen, and thus, that they belonged to the household and lived in the place where they worked. The spatial organization of the houses also implies that, while the workmen did their work, other people did other things in other parts of the house, which may suggest that there was a hierarchy among the inhabitants of these houses in which the workers stood below others. It may also be supposed that the houses were inhabited by complete and independent households and that their heads were socially and financially in a position that permitted them to decide what kind of business to start and how to embed it in their house.

Tabernae

The fundamental difference between *atrium* houses and *tabernae* is that the latter are specifically made for commercial activities and small scale production, while the former are not. The presence of a workshop in a *taberna* thus was something natural. The *tabernae* of Pompeii and Herculaneum have comprehensively been studied by Felix Pirson, who identified 270 *tabernae* as inhabitable rental units.[68] He considered a unit inhabitable when there were either one or more rooms behind the shop or when there was evidence of an upper floor. If we follow Pirson's criteria, there are only three units for which with some certainty can be excluded that they were more than a workshop: dyery V 1, 5, baking shop VII 12, 1.2.36 and *lanifricaria* VII 11, 5. These units did not have a connection to an upper floor and on the ground floor, there were no rooms not occupied by the workshop. Of the remaining fifteen *tabernae*, twelve had stairs to an upper floor (*fig. 14*). Though we are short of evidence, there are reasons to assume that these upper floors did not have a function related to the workshop. For the production process, this was not necessary, as there generally seems to have been space enough in the shop and none of the workshops seems to lack indispensable elements. Moreover, many *tabernae* with stairs had rooms on the ground floor not used by the workshop. The often narrow and steep stairs cannot be used by more than one person at the same time and seem unfit for frequent traffic. Further, there is a lot of evidence elsewhere in Pompeii and in Herculaneum that upper floors of small units generally had residential functions.[69]

With the exception of fullery VI 16, 6 and *lanifricaria* VII 9, 44, all units that fit the criteria for habitability, had one or more rooms on the ground floor that were not used by the production process. Six *tabernae* had one extra room, five had two and two had more than two. If we compare the fourteen habitable *tabernae* in our data set with the data of Pirson (see *table 7*), it emerges that the *tabernae* with workshops generally belonged to the upper half of the spectrum in the sense that they had relatively many rooms and that there were few units without a backroom.[70] The uses of ground floor backrooms are not easy to establish. Remains of wall-coverings and floors are few and, as detailed reports are lacking, it is generally unknown what kinds of objects have been found in these rooms during the excavation. The situation is particularly unclear when there was only one backroom. In some cases, the backroom seems too small to have been used for residential activities and may have been used for storage and administrative purposes.[71] Elsewhere, the room is slightly larger, but indications for residential use are equally lacking. In bakery VI 2, 6, the presence of a latrine suggests that the backroom functioned as a service area. The backroom of fullery V 1, 2 was decorated with a simple decoration of a white background and red borders. Next to the surprisingly wide door from the workroom was a window (*fig. 15*). This suggests that the room was used during daylight hours on a regular basis but that its main use was not directly related to the production process. The traces of fine wall-decoration in the backroom of baking shop VI 6, 4.5 and its location directly next to the workroom with the oven may point to a similar use.[72] Arguably, these rooms were not completely residential in character and may have functioned as a kind of office. Thus, it seems that in *tabernae* with only one back room, living was done upstairs.[73] This was different in units with more than one backroom. With the exception of fullery IX 6, a, all of these units have a room containing traces of bed niches. The backroom of *lanifricaria* I 3, 15 had space for only one bed, but the others all seem to have contained a *triclinium* (*fig. 16*). As four of the five workshops with a *triclinium* were baking shops, it could be suggested that these were used by the clients consuming the products made, but this seems unlikely: throughout the city, many *tabernae* had such a room, whether they contained a bakery or not.[74] It seems more probable that these rooms were used by the people that were directly related to the workshop and that they thus had a function in the private life of these people. The location of the *triclinia* reveals a lot about the spatial organisation of the *tabernae*. They were all located at the back of the shop, while stairs to living rooms upstairs were in front of the shop. Thus, the shop-workroom was not only the main access of these *tabernae*, it also must have been its centre. That means that the boundaries between living and working in the rooms on the ground floor must have been different from those in *atrium* houses: the inhabitants of *tabernae* literally lived in the middle of their own work. Probably, such boundaries were temporal rather than spatial: *tabernae* were used differently during and after working hours.[75]

A second issue concerns the independence of *tabernae*. Pirson argued that most occupants of *tabernae* did not own their unit but rented it. All our *tabernae* fulfil his criteria for rental units: they were either situated in complexes with groups of several rental units of similar size and structure or with various ties connected to an *atrium* house.[76] Thus, our craftsmen must have had some relationship with the owners of their *tabernae*. At the same time, however, Pirson rightly emphasizes the fundamental independence of the inhabitants of *tabernae*: they lived in independent units out of the direct control of social superiors.[77] In the case of the inhabited *tabernae* with workshops, this means that the shopholders took the important decisions that had to be taken during the working day: the proprietor was not around to decide when it was time to replenish the stocks, to clean the workroom or to end the working day. Craftsmen were responsible for their own workshop, a responsibility that must have given them a lot of freedom as well. Another issue is whether they were free to choose their business. Robinson seems to believe that it generally was the owner of the unit who took that decision.[78] For some of the workshops, it might have been like this, especially for the ones in the context of large *atrium* houses without living space. The twin dyeries of *insula* V 1 (V 1, 4 and V 1, 5) may have been started by the owner of the complex to which they belonged, the *Casa del Torello* (V 1, 3.7). The baking shop in VII 12, 1.2.36 cannot have been built without the involvement of the owner of house VII 12, 3 as he took the occasion to build a staircase directly from his *atrium* to the first floor on top of the oven. Likewise, the owner of the *Casa di Sallustio* (VI 2, 4) must have had a voice in the construction of bakery VI 2, 6, as it involved two of the *tabernae* in front of his house and part of his garden. On the other hand, the concentration of baking shops in the complex of large extended *tabernae* in the eastern half of *insula* VII 12 may point to an opposite direction. The workrooms of VII 12, 11 and VII 12, 13 lay directly next to each other. They were part of the same complex that consisted of a series of similar *tabernae*.[79] The architectonical unity of the complex suggests that they belonged to one single property. If these two *tabernae* had the same owner, and if this owner was actively engaged in the commercial activities of his tenants, he would have been better off by breaking down the wall and merge the two workshops into one large factory. The fact that this did not happen suggests that the owner let his tenants decide for themselves, and, apparently, he had no objections against their choices. Further, there are the well-known written announcements found on the walls of the *Insula Arriana Polliana* and the *Praedia Iulia Felicis* that advertise the disponibility of rental *tabernae* to an outside public.[80] Moreover, why would the owner of the *Casa degli Amorini Dorati* (VI 16, 7.38) start a fullery (VI 16, 6) when he already had one practically next to it (VI 16, 3.4) in which was space enough for extension? Thus, there seems to be evidence pointing to both directions. This implies that it depended on the situation who made the decision.

Other

Seventeen complexes cannot be directly categorized as *domus* or *taberna*. They form a rather incoherent group. Some units resemble *tabernae*, though their layout is organized differently. Fullery VI 15, 3 consisted of a large workroom that gave access to three rooms at its north side. These had fine wall-coverings. The largest had a decoration with inset terracotta reliefs (*fig. 17*). Above the two smaller rooms was an upper floor. Excavators found luxury objects such as fine terracotta cups and vases, a decorated oil lamp and bronze tableware.[81] The workroom functioned as a centre that gave access to the rooms with residential functions. *Lanifricariae* I 3, 16.18, VII 4, 39-40 and VII 12, 30-32 may have functioned similarly, though the latter two had living quarters on the upper floor. Some larger complexes may have functioned like *atrium* houses: they had extensive residential quarters spatially separated from the working area. Complex I 12, 1-2 probably consisted of two merged houses, the smaller of which was used for a large bakery. In the other half came a shop and residential quarters, some of which were finely decorated in the fourth style. In bakeries IX 3, 19-20 and IX 12, 6, the living quarters, both with a garden and fine decorations, were situated behind the working room in the back part of the house, without separate access.[82] Here, the workshop had a dominant position.

For the remainder, however, this group consists of complexes without much evidence for activities not related to the workshop. *Lanifricaria* VII 9, 43 had only one room, completely occupied by the workshop. Fullery VI 16, 3.4 consisted of one room and an open court surrounded by a high wall. The small rooms behind the workroom of dyery I 8, 19 may have been too dark for habitation and do not seem to provide enough living room compared to the scale of the workshop. The same goes for seven bakeries, which belong to the largest in the city and must have had a large staff: the ground floors of these complexes were often almost completely occupied by the workshop, sometimes with the exception of one room that may have served for administrative purposes, such as the small *cubiculum* with a bed recess directly next to the entrance of bakery I 3, 27.[83] In four workshops, the existence of living quarters can be more or less excluded: there are no rooms left on the ground floor and there is no connection to an upper floor.[84] The people working in these establishments must have lived elsewhere. In another three complexes, there seems to have been an upper floor, but there are no indications that it was used for living. The upper floor of bakery I 4, 12-17 may have been large enough, as it extended above large parts of the complex, but that of bakeries IX 1, 3.33 and IX 3, 10-12 had to compete with upper floors of nearby *tabernae* and may have been too small.[85] It cannot be excluded that these upper floors, which were all directly accessible from the mill room, were used for grain storage and that the workmen of these workshops too lived elsewhere. If this was the case, the workmen must have had a fundamentally different relation to their daily work than those people that worked in workshops in *tabernae* or *atrium* houses.

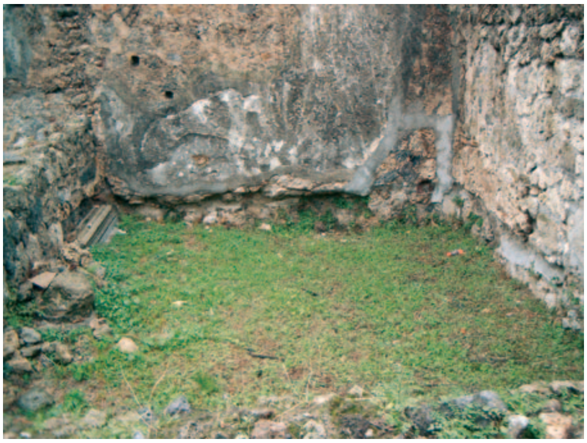

Fig. 16. Baking shop VII 12, 13: remains of triclinium in back room.

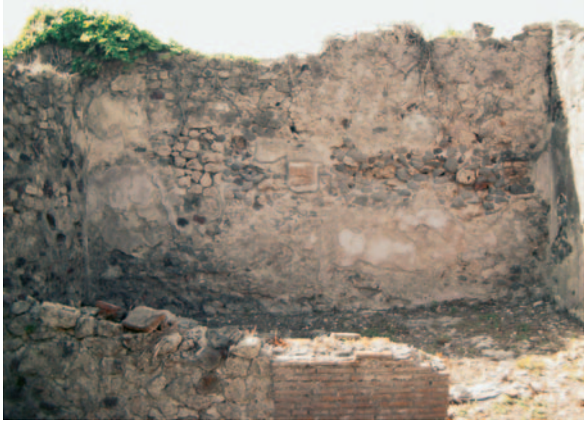

Fig. 17. Fullery VI 15, 3: residential room with terracotta reliefs N of the workroom.

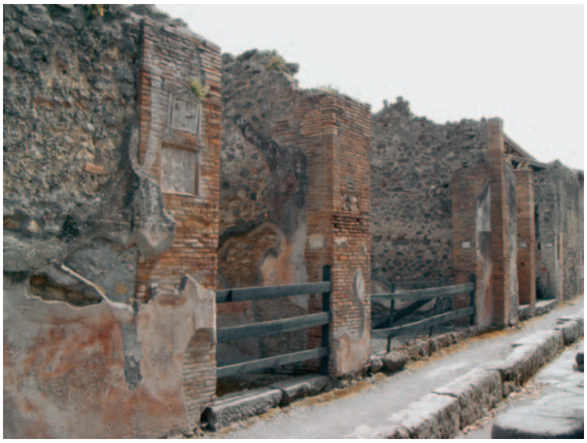

Fig. 18. Bakery VII 1, 36.37: Facade with phallic symbols around both sides of the main entrance.

As to the dependence of these complexes, some can be related to an *atrium* house. Given the presence of the famous inscription advertising for rentable living space on one of its outer walls, bakery VI 6, 17-21 must have belonged to the property of the *Casa di Pansa*.[86] According to the map of VanderPoel, there were ties between bakery I 3, 27 and house I 3, 3.[87] It is interesting that in both cases the property also seems to include a baking shop.[88] This may be an argument to assume that the owner of these properties had a direct hand in the construction of these workshops. Dyery I 8, 19 was built below the peristyle of house I 8, 1-3 and though there is no direct connection between the two complexes, one may assume that the workshop belonged to this property. Bakery VI 6, 15 and fullery VI 15, 3 are located next to the *fauces* of an *atrium* house and seem to have had direct connections with their neighbour in earlier phases.[89] On the other hand, other complexes do not seem to fall under the ownership of a neighbouring *atrium* house. That the three large complexes with separate residential areas show no signs of dependence may be no surprise, but the apparent independence of several large bakeries without living quarters is interesting. There is no evidence that bakery I 4, 12-17 was related to the *Casa del Citarista* (I 4, 5) or another house in the neighbourhood. Bakery IX 4, 5 may have belonged to the property of either of its two neighbours, but it is equally possible that its owner lived in another part of the city. The same goes for bakeries IX 1, 3.33 and IX 3, 10-12. These complexes thus formed a group of workshops that were built with capital from elsewhere in a building that was completely arranged as a workshop. Many important decisions concerning these workshops must have been taken elsewhere: these complexes were a lot less independent than those attached to houses or situated in *tabernae*. We do not know who their owners were, but it may be inferred that they had a strong socioeconomic position as they were able to buy, build and maintain workshops on this scale in another part of the urban area than that of their own house.

CONCLUSIONS

Overlooking the evidence, it emerges that the contextualisation of Pompeian workshops is characterized by its variety. All workshop types can be found in units and complexes of varying size, structure and status. Workshops were a natural part of urban space and could be embedded into it without much trouble. The open relation of many workshops with the outside world indicates that there was no active policy of the urban government to diminish the nuisance caused by bakers, fullers or dyers. The occurrence of representative features in many large houses that contained a workshop indicates that the mere presence of a workshop was no stigma in itself: most workshops fit well in residential contexts. Only the situation with *lanifricariae* might have been a little more complicated, but this had to do with the specific nuisance caused by this type of workshop and not with any moral restrictions against production in general. Likewise, the separation in *atrium* houses between living and working areas must be seen as a solution to a practical rather than a moral problem.

As far as the social context of production is concerned, one obvious conclusion can be drawn. In only two *atrium* houses, four *tabernae* and seven other complexes, no traces of habitation can be found. Thus, the overwhelming majority (79%) of Pompeian workshops was directly connected to a private residence of some form and was governed by its inhabitants. Pompeian craftsmen generally lived where they worked. The rich evidence for kitchens and jewellery indicates that their households functioned independently and consisted of males and females. However, when it comes to the size and the structure of the household, there is a crucial distinction to be drawn between *tabernae* and *domus*: whereas *tabernae* probably had small, egalitarian households, those occupying *domus* were larger and more hierarchical. The owners of the latter complexes lived in houses that did not differ widely from other *atrium* houses in the city. Their residential life thus must have resembled that of owners of similar houses: I can see no fundamental difference between the residential functioning of, for example, the *fullonica* of Stephanus (I 6, 7) and the *Casa del Prinicipe di Napoli* (VI 15, 11.12) or, under normal circumstances, the neighbouring *Casa del Sacello Iliaco* (I 6, 4). As to the position of the persons who did the dirty work, the craftsmen in *domus* may have had a subordinate position in the household, but those living and working in independent *tabernae* were not subject to the direct control of anyone else and must have had a considerable degree of personal freedom, even though they belonged to the lower strata of the urban population. The social position of the workmen of establishments without living areas is unclear and requires more research. Some may have belonged to the household of the owner, but it cannot be excluded that others had their own household elsewhere and worked for wage.

Contrary to what Mouritsen claimed, the general impression thus is one of independence. We do not know the legal statuses of the inhabitants of the complexes in our data set. They might have been freedmen, but they might equally have been slaves or free-born. However, the point is not who they were, the point is how they lived. The material remains of Pompeian workshops provide credible evidence that these people had their own lives in which they could take their own decisions in relative autonomy. This raises questions about the role of the elite. If it is true that the urban elite lived in the largest houses of the city, as is assumed by Wallace-Hadrill and Robinson, many of its members were not visibly involved in urban production. Of the large urban villa's, only the *Casa di Pansa* (VI 6, 5) and the *Casa del Labirinto* (VI 11, 9.10) were directly related to workshops - in both cases bakeries. Likewise, the four large independent bakeries without living space may have been owned and governed by elite families living elsewhere in the city. This would fit perfectly with the Finleyan/Weberian tenet that the ruling elite made their money from the land they owned. However, it must be emphasized that the vast majority of bakeries and virtually all other workshops were in the hands of owners or tenants who did not belong to the absolute elite but nevertheless operated independently. Some might have been dependent upon the will of the elite to help them financially with the start of the workshop, but once everything ran, the elite had few possibilities for direct control, even if they owned the workshop or tied the craftsmen to them by bonds of patronage. More than thirty years ago, Sir Moses Finley raised the question as to where the Greco-Roman world stood between the two extremes of individualism and hierarchy.[90] Based on the material evidence presented here, one would be inclined to think that at Pompeii, there was somewhat less hierarchy and a little more individualism than scholars usually tend to assume.

NOTES

* This article has been written as a side-branch of a PhD-project devoted to Roman Fulleries and stems from a paper held at a conference at the Dutch Institute in Rome in June 2004. I thank Nathalie de Haan for inviting me and the Dutch Institute for providing accomodation and funding. This project had not been possible without the kind permission of the Soprinbendenza Archeologica di Pompei.

[1] E.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 65; Robinson 1997, 135; Allison 2004, 6.

[2] Laurence 1994, 3-11; Wallace-Hadrill 1995, 40-43; Allison 2001.

[3] Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Laurence 1994; Dickmann 1999; Pirson 1999; Allison 2004.

[4] E.g. Mau 1908, 403-418.

[5] Mayeske 1972; 1979; 1988.

[6] Both were students of Wilhelmina Jashemski. Moeller 1962; 1976.

[7] Gralfs 1988.

[8] Strocka 1992; Ling 1997.

[9] The project includes, amongst others, a perfuming workshop, a tannery and various dyeries, cf. Borgard *et al*. 2003.

[10] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 137.

[11] Maiuri 1942, 161.

[12] Laurence 1994, 68.

[13] Mouritsen 2001, 21.

[14] Allison 2001b, 56-57.

[15] Robinson 2005, 101.

[16] Robinson takes, for example, various workshop types together as one category ('textile industry'), even though these workshops may have differed in use, nuisance and social status. His inclusion of the *officinae lanifricariae* into this category (Robinson 2005, 91) is highly debatable and undermines the validity of some of his conclusions.

[17] Remains of bread loaves were found in the shop of V 4, 1. A total of 81 bread loaves was found in the oven of VII 1, 36.37 (De Luca 1863). Pieces of bread and dough were discovered next to the oven of VII 2, 3.6.7 (GdS 1, 1868, 24).

[18] Remains of pastry have been found in V 1, 14-16 (*NSc* 1876, 45). In VII 12, 1.2.36, the excavators also found a large collection of baking tins, of which one was filled with dough (*PAH* II, 442).

[19] Taberna I 4, 13.

[20] Election notices have been found on the walls of fulleries I 6, 7 (*CIL* IV, 7164), VI 14, 21.22 (*CIL* IV, 3478) and VI 15, 3 (*CIL* IV, 3529). For recent discussions about Roman fulleries see Bradley 2002, Wilson 2003 and Flohr 2003; 2006.

[21] These paintings were found in VI 8, 20-21.2, but are now exposed in the Museum of Naples (inv. Nr. 9774). Cf. Wilson 2003, 444.

[22] Cf. Moeller 1978, 35. Currently, research to this type of workshop is being carried out by a team of French archaeologists. See Borgard 2002, Borgard/Puybaret 2003.

[23] *Offectores* are mentioned on the façade of IX 3, 1.2 (*CIL* IV, 852, 858, 864); *infectores* on that of the partially excavated dyery IX 7, 2 (*CIL* IV, 7812). According to Fiorelli (1875) there was a depiction of the production process on the façade of dyery VII 2, 11 that already had vanished in his days, but there is neither surviving copy of it, nor a proper description.

[24] Mau 1908 416-418, Borgard *et al*. 2003, 13-15: a *graffito* found during the excavation probably mentions a *coriarius* (tanner, *CIL* IV, 4014).

[25] Moeller 1976, 31-35; Jongman 1988.

[26] *Contra* Laurence 1994, 61 and Robinson 2005, 91. Bones were found in workshops I 3, 15 and I 3, 16 (GdS N.S. 1, 1869, 295-298: July 16, 1869; October 1, 1869). These are also the only two workshops the finds of which have been published.

[27] A list of workshops is presented in appendix I. Workshops that have not yet been completely excavated, such as dyery IX 7, 2 and fullery IX 13, 5, were not included.

[28] Cf. Stambaugh 1988, 149; Laurence 1994, 55; Wilson 2002, 236.

[29] Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 79) divides his data set in four quartiles based on plot size in square meters. Robinson (2005, 92) defines four hierarchical 'social classes' vague-

ly based on a combination of plot size and the presence or absence of 'socially significant reception rooms'. The main advantage of room number is that it is measurable, irrespective of the preservation of decoration and neglects exceptionally large garden areas that do not add to the multifunctionality of a complex. As a room counted each space that could be closed off from the next one by a door or was separated from it by a wall that was wider than the opening. Only rooms on the ground floor were counted, stairs to an upper floor were interpreted as evidence for at least one extra room and counted as such.

[30] Variations in the number of units in each group are caused by the fact that I decided to assign all units with a certain number of rooms to the same group and that a lot of units had four rooms.

[31] The average number of rooms related to the workshop in bakeries is 3.96, in *lanifricariae* 1.93 and in fulleries 1.50. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 138.

[32] Adam 1984, 321; Laurence 1994, 100.

[33] This is the case in *lanifricariae* I 3, 16.18, VII 9, 29.40-41, VII 11, 2.3 and VII 11, 5.

[34] Cf. Wilson 2002, 235-236.

[35] As is testified by several reliefs and a Pompeian fresco on which a bread distribution was depicted (Naples, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 9071). Fröhlich 1991, 236-240.

[36] See above, p. 131.

[37] Fröhlich 1991, 169-172.

[38] In 18 of the 41 rooms identified as a shop.

[39] This probably also was the case in the unexcavated dyery IX 7, 2. Other exceptions are two *lanifricariae* (I 3, 15 and VII 4, 35), where the furnace was less than two meters away from the door, and a baking shop (VII 12, 7), where a kneading machine was placed in the middle of the shop. Except for the last shop, however, the elements of the workshop are situated against the walls, so that the central area was left free.

[40] Typically, the only two workshops situated elsewhere without a clear reason were *lanifricariae* VII 4, 39-41 and VII 12, 30-32.

[41] E.g. I 4, 7, I 10, 6, V 1, 2 and IX 6, a.

[42] The workroom of bakery IX 3, 10-12 had a direct entrance from the busy road leading from the Via Stabiana to the unexcavated heart of region IX and III; the workroom of dyery VII 14, 5.17-18 was directly accessible from the *Vico degli Scheletri* in the quiet heart of the city centre.

[43] Other examples are VI 3, 3.27-28, VII 2, 20.22, VII 10, 5.8.13, VII 12, 17.21 and VII 14, 5.17.18.

[44] E.g. bakery VII 2, 2.3.7 and *lanifricaria* VII 12, 22-24.

[45] The only examples of 'lost opportunities' in this respect are tannery I 5, 2 and bakeries V 4, 1 and VI 11, 9.10.

[46] E.g. VII 9, 27.40-41.

[47] I 3, 15 and VIII 4, 35.

[48] Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 138.

[49] Pirson 1999, 19.

[50] *NSc* 1877, 221.

[51] In the *Casa del Labirinto*, one used entrance 9 through the secondary *atrium*, in the *Casa di Narciso* there was a separate entrance at no 22 that led along the E side of the *atrium* to the workroom.

[52] This is the case in VII 3, 24.25, VII 9, 27.40-41, VII 12, 17-21 and VI 12, 22-24. Only in the small house VII 11, 2.3, there was a direct connection between the *atrium* and the workroom.

[53] The opening in the back of the *tablinum* is narrower than generally was the case.

[54] Though only one of the rooms was found decorated, the excavators discovered many tools in the *atrium* that suggest that the area was being decorated at the moment of the eruption. Cf. Carrocci/De Albentiis 1990, 22.

[55] Carrocci/De Albentiis 1990, 22: among many other things, one found a lot of bronze ornaments, an altar of tufa, a hand mirror and various cups of very fine pottery.

[56] That these rooms were deeper is testified by the wall decorations between the S wall of the house and the present E wall of room H.

[57] Cf. Carocci/De Albentiis 1990.

[58] Spinazzola 1953, 765; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 138: 'a classic instance'.

[59] *NSc* 1912, 246.

[60] *NSc* 1912, 283. One cupboard stood in the NE corner of the *atrium*, the other in the NW corner.

[61] *NSc* 1912, 333.

[62] For a discussion of the building history and use of this house see Flohr 2005a.

[63] A similar phenomenon can be observed in bakery VII 1, 36.37.

[64] Finds were published in *NSc* 1876, 27, 45 and *GdS* 1878, 77-80.

[65] Similar measures were taken in house VII 14, 5.17.18 between the dyery and the luxury reception room east of the garden and in house VI 14, 28-32, where the opening between the kneading room and the garden was closed to make it invisible from the *tablinum*.

[66] In tannery I 5, 2, one could see the workshop from the summer *triclinium* in the middle of the garden. In fullery I 6, 7, the rinsing basin (but not the treading stalls!) were not completely invisible from the large *triclinium* north of the peristyle. The two rooms north of the peristyle of fullery VI 14, 21.22 looked directly on the working area along the S wall (but cf. Flohr 2005a, 61).

[67] In twelve of the 26 houses remains of a kitchen have been found. Seven of these were situated near the workshop: in house I 6, 7, VI 3, 3.27-28, VI 8, 20-21.2, VI 11, 9, VII 2, 22, VII 14, 5-17 and VIII 6, 1.9-11.

[68] Pirson 1999, 85.

[69] There are many indications for the presence of latrines, bed niches and drains. Cf. Pirson 1999, 96.

[70] The figures would have been even higher if I had included backrooms used by the workshop.

[71] This is the case in dyery V 1, 4 and *lanifricaria* VIII 4, 35.

[72] That it was not decided to give up this room and build the oven in it, which for the functioning of the workshop must have been a more practical option, indicates that its intended use was not related to the production process.

[73] The lacking of stairs in V 1, 4 thus means that this *taberna* was not inhabited.

[74] E.g. VI 14, 8.9 and VII 12, 12.

[75] Cf. Pirson 1999, 95.

[76] Pirson 1999, 56-68.

[77] Pirson 1999, 165.

[78] Robinson 2005, 101-103.

[79] Pirson 1999, 87.

[80] *CIL* IV 138 and 1136, cf. Pirson 1999, 15-19.

[81] *NSc* 1895, 439-440.

[82] In IX 3, 19-20, the decorated rooms between shop 19 and the milling room probably were used for consumption. The excavators found many remains of bread in both of them (*GdS* 1872, 285). The decorated back part of shop IX 3, 10-11 may have functioned similarly.

[83] Other examples are the room between shop I 4, 17 and the workroom of the bakery and the back room of the main shop in bakery VI 6, 17-21.

[84] Bakeries I 3, 27, VI 5, 15, VI 6, 17-21 and IX 5, 4.

[85] E.g. IX 1, 2, IX 1, 34 and IX 3, 9.

[86] See the commentary in *CIL* IV, 138.

[87] *CTP* IIIa, 7.

[88] *Taberna* VI 6, 4.5 and *taberna* I 3, 3, above part of which extends the upper floor of house I 3,3.

[89] VI 6, 14 and VI 15, 2.

[91] Finley 1973, 44.

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APPENDIX: POMPEIAN WORKSHOPS

Type	Code	Group	Capacity	Shop	Location	Direct Access	Rooms	Workshop	Shop	Decorated	Kitchen	*Cubiculum*	*Triclinium*	Stairs	Other
Bakeshop	I 3, 1	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Shop	Yes	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
Lanifricaria	I 3, 15	*Taberna*	1 furnace	Yes	Shop	Yes	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
Lanifricaria	I 3, 16.18	Other	2 furnaces	No	Other	Yes	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bakery	I 3, 27	Other	5 mills	Yes	Central Area	Yes	6	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Fullery	I 4, 7	*Taberna*	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Bakery	I 4, 12-17	Other	4 mills	Yes	Central Area	No	8	4	2	-	-	-	-	1	1
Tannery	I 5, 2	*Domus*	16 tan vats	Yes	Other	No	19	4	1	2	-	-	1	2	9
Fullery	I 6, 7	*Domus*	5 stalls	Yes	Shop/Peristyle	Y/N	14	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	5
Dyery	I 8, 19	Other	4 cauldrons	No	Central Area	Yes	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Fullery	I 10, 6	*Taberna*	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bakery	I 12, 1-2	Other	4 mills	Yes	Other	No	18	3	1	2	-	-	1	1	10
Fullery	V 1, 2	*Taberna*	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Dyery	V 1, 4	*Taberna*	5 cauldrons	Yes	Shop	Yes	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dyery	V 1, 5	*Taberna*	4 cauldrons	Yes	Shop	Yes	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oven	V 1, 14-16	*Domus*	2 ovens	Yes	*Atrium*/Back	N/N	10	2	2	2	-	-	-	1	3
Bakery	V 3, 8	*Domus*	3 mills	No	*Atrium*	No	13	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	9
Bakery	V 4, 1-2	*Domus*	3 mills	Yes	Back area	No	14	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	9
Bakery	VI 2, 6	*Taberna*	3 mills	Yes	Shop	Yes	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bakery	VI 3, 3.27-28	*Domus*	4 mills	No	Back area	Yes	14	4	-	1	1	-	-	2	6
Bakery	VI 5, 15	Other	2 mills	Yes	Shop/Back	Y/N	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Bakeshop	VI 6, 4-5	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Other	No	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bakery	VI 6, 17-21	Other	4 mills	Yes	Other	No	6	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fullery	VI 8, 2.20-21	*Domus*	6 stalls	No	Peristyle	No	26	2	-	10	1	1	1	2	9
Bakery	VI 11, 9.10	*Domus*	4 mills	No	Other	No	59	3	-	19	2	6	1	3	25
Fullery	VI 14, 21-22	*Domus*	10 stalls	Yes	Shop/Peristyle	Y/N	19	1	1	8	1	-	-	1	7
Bakery	VI 14, 28-32	*Domus*	4 mills	Yes	Back	Yes	16	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	10
Bakery	VI 14, 33-34	*Domus*	4 mills	No	Other	No	9	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Fullery	VI 15, 3	Other	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	5	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	1
Fullery	VI 16, 3.4	Other	3 stalls	No	Central area	Yes	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fullery	VI 16, 6	*Taberna*	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Bakery	VII 1, 36.37	*Domus*	4 mills	Yes	Back area	No	13	3	1	3	-	-	-	1	5
Bakery	VII 2, 3.7	*Domus*	4 mills	No	Other	No	23	3	-	4	1	-	-	1	14
Dyery	VII 2, 11	*Domus*	9 cauldrons	Yes	Peristyle	No	14	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	9
Bakery	VII 2, 20.22	*Domus*	5 mills	No	Other	Yes	34	4	2	12	1	-	-	1	14
Lanifricaria	VII 3, 24-25	*Domus*	2 furnaces	No	Other	Yes	16	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	12
Lanifricaria	VII 4, 39-41	Other	1 furnace	Yes	Other	No	7	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
Lanifricaria	VII 9, 27.40-41	*Domus*	2 furnaces	No	Other	Yes	13	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	8
Lanifricaria	VII 9, 43	Other	2 furnaces	No	Other	No	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lanifricaria	VII 9, 44	*Taberna*	2 furnaces	Yes	Shop	Yes	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Lanifricaria	VII 10, 5.8.13	*Domus*	2 furnaces	No	Other	Yes	17	2	-	2	1	1	-	1	10
Lanifricaria	VII 11, 2-3	*Domus*	1 furnace	No	Other	Yes	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Lanifricaria	VII 11, 5	*Taberna*	1 furnace	No	Other	Yes	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bakeshop	VII 12, 1-2.36	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Shop	Yes	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bakeshop	VII 12, 7	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Back area	No	7	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	3
Bakeshop	VII 12, 11	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Shop/Back	No	9	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	4
Bakeshop	VII 12, 13	*Taberna*	1 oven	Yes	Back area	No	6	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
Lanifricaria	VII 12, 17.21	*Domus*	2 furnaces	No	Other	No	14	3	-	3	-	1	-	2	5
Lanifricaria	VII 12, 22-24	*Domus*	3 furnaces	No	Other/Other	N/Y	18	2	-	4	-	1	1	1	9
Lanifricaria	VII 12, 30-32	Other	2 furnaces	Yes	Other	No	7	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	3
Dyery	VII 14, 5.17-18	*Domus*	7 cauldrons	No	Back area	Yes	20	2	-	9	1	-	-	1	7
Bakery	VII 16, 6.9-11	*Domus*	2 mills	Yes	Other	Yes	11	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	6
Bakery	VIII 4, 26-27.29	*Domus*	3 mills	Yes	*Atrium*	No	16	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	11
Lanifricaria	VIII 4, 35	*Taberna*	1 furnace	Yes	Shop	Yes	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bakery	VIII 6, 1.9-11	*Domus*	4 mills	No	*Atrium*	No	26	4	-	5	1	1	-	1	14
Bakery	IX 1, 3.33	Other	3 mills	Yes	Central Area	No	8	4	1	-	-	-	-	2	1
Dyery	IX 3, 1-2	*Domus*	3 cauldrons	Yes	*Atrium*	No	14	1	1	3	1	-	1	2	5
Bakery	IX 3, 10-12	Other	4 mills	Yes	Central Area	Yes	6	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Bakery	IX 3, 19-20	Other	4 mills	Yes	Central Area	Yes	16	3	1	3	-	-	-	3	6
Bakery	IX 5, 4	Other	4 mills	Yes	Central Area	No	7	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fullery	IX 6, a	*Taberna*	2 stalls	Yes	Shop	Yes	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
Bakery	IX 12, 6	Other	4 mills	Yes	Central Area	Yes	11	2	1	3	1	-	-	1	3

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I pittori dell'officina dei *Vettii* a Pompei
Meccanismi di produzione della pittura parietale romana

Domenico Esposito

Abstract

Painters' workshops in the Roman world cannot be seen as broken up professional entities with a precarious or casual organization of labour among the painters that composed the staff. With the example of the painters from the house of the Vettii*, it may be possible to demonstrate that painter's workshops were composed of a fixed staff that worked together on a stable manner. In addition to this, some of the operative methods of these painters bring to doubt the traditional clear-cut distinction between* pictores parietarii *and* pictores imaginarii*, suggesting the possibility that an all-encompassing role may have been fulfilled by each of the painters in the workshop.**

Negli ultimi anni l'attenzione degli studiosi di pittura romana si è nuovamente concentrata sulla possibilità di ricostruire i meccanismi di funzionamento delle officine pittoriche, allo scopo di comprendere meglio i cambiamenti dello stile, l'insorgere di nuove mode e la diffusione dei nuovi modelli nell'ambito della pittura parietale. Le posizioni degli studiosi sono divise tra coloro che sostengono l'utilità dello studio dell'attività delle officine pittoriche[1] e coloro che negano la validità di un approccio allo studio della pittura romana basato sul riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori e dunque sulla possibilità di ricostruire lo staff di persone di cui si componeva l'officina.[2] P.M. Allison sostiene che i pittori erano delle figure professionalmente sciolte, che lavoravano occasionalmente insieme, raggruppandosi di volta in volta in base alla committenza.[3] I. Bragantini ha ribadito recentemente: 'Quei metodi che indagano i complessi dipinti prefiggendosi di riconoscere le singole individualità o le singole "mani", si rivelano dunque inadeguati, tanto più che la presenza dei singoli artigiani è in funzione delle diverse possibilità economiche dei singoli committenti'.[4]

Nel 1977 W.J.Th. Peters[5] ha dimostrato, sulla base dell'analisi della combinazione dei sistemi decorativi e dei dettagli ricorrenti, che le pitture della Casa dei *Vettii* sono state realizzate tutte da una stessa officina di pittori, capace di utilizzare e di combinare schemi decorativi anche molto diversi in base all'importanza ed al ruolo dell'ambiente che si andava a decorare. I dati provenienti dallo studio delle pitture prodotte dall'officina dei *Vettii* a Pompei dimostrano chiaramente che il gruppo dei pittori era composto da un numero fisso di persone, che lavoravano insieme stabilmente. L'organizzazione del lavoro all'interno del gruppo era molto serrata e ben strutturata, con una chiara suddivisione dei compiti basata essenzialmente sulle capacità tecniche dei singoli individui.[6]

PIÙ PITTORI HANNO LAVORATO SULLE DIVERSE PARETI DI UNA STESSA STANZA

Allo scopo di dimostrare che è possibile riconoscere le singole individualità all'interno del gruppo di pittori e soprattutto che questo ultimo è composto da un numero fisso di persone il discorso prenderà l'avvio proprio dall'analisi delle pitture della Casa dei *Vettii*.

La decorazione dell'atrio (d) era fortemente condizionata dalla presenza dei numerosi vani di comunicazione, dodici in tutto, con gli ambienti che lo circondano. Non era dunque possibile applicare un sistema decorativo di ampie dimensioni. I diversi segmenti di parete sono stati allora decorati con degli schemi in se conchiusi che si possono adattare a superfici molto piccole. Su di un plinto di marmo verde, imitante lastre di cipollino, si ergono basamenti dipinti in giallo ocra, con cornice modanata alla base e fascia superiore con motivo a linguette. All'interno dei basamenti sono poste delle riquadrature viola contenenti figure di fanciulli che reggono del vasellame argenteo (*figg. 3, 4*).[7] Al di sopra dei basamenti si imposta una predella a fondo nero con scene di amorini impegnati in diverse occupazioni.[8] Per la zona mediana, le scarse dimensioni della superficie da decorare avevano imposto l'adozione di uno schema molto vincolato. I pittori hanno dipinto degli stretti scorci architettonici, al centro dei quali sono dipinti dei ricchi candelabri metallici, impreziositi da appliques e statue.[9] Soltanto sulla parete nord era disponibile un tratto di parete sufficientemente lungo per pro-

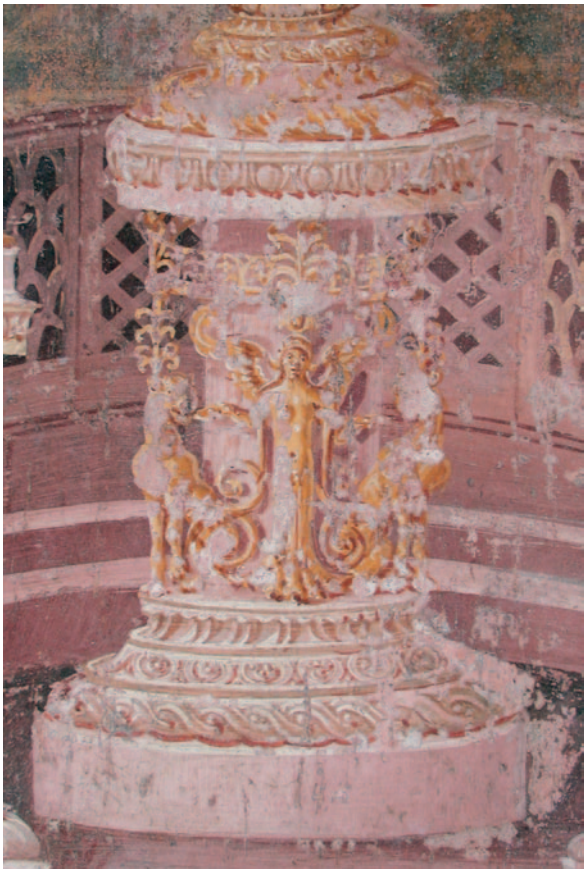

Fig. 1. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d), parete sud: base di candelabro.*

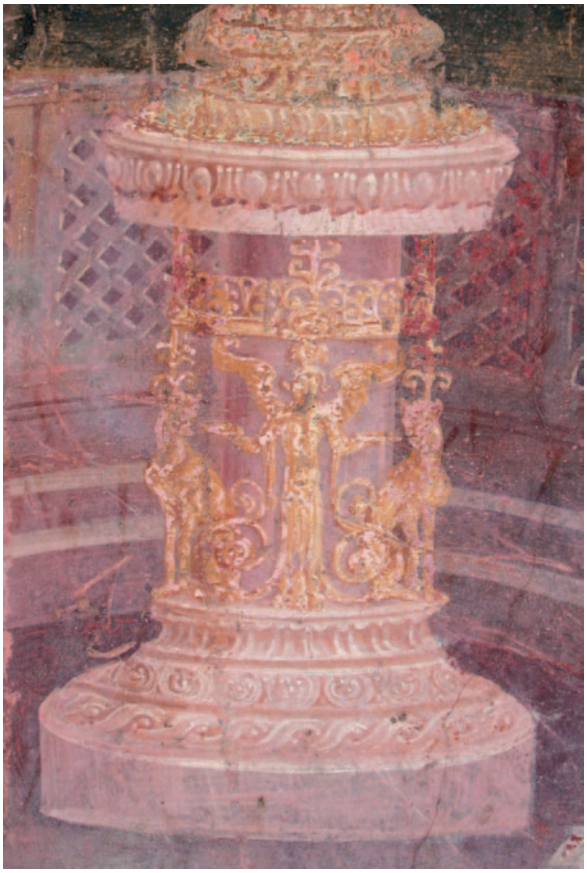

Fig. 2. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d), parete nord: base di candelabro.*

porre una composizione più ampia, con un quadro mitologico inquadrato da scorci architettonici.[10]

Peters ha ben evidenziato il fatto che i pittori dovevano disporre di un repertorio di modelli molto ampio che aveva permesso loro di adattare le rappresentazioni della predella al diverso spazio disponibile. Più in generale Peters ha potuto dimostrare l'unità d'impianto dell'intera decorazione realizzata chiaramente dalle stesse maestranze.

Dall'osservazione attenta della maniera di dipingere i vari elementi della decorazione è possibile distinguere le mani di due pittori, che si sono suddivisi il compito di affrescare i diversi segmenti delle pareti dell'atrio. Il tratto della parete sud, posto tra il cubicolo (f) e l'*ala* (h), e quello della parete nord, posto tra l'*ala* (i) ed il cubicolo (g), ripropongono lo stesso schema: zoccolo con basamento giallo sormontato da una predella con amorini e zona mediana con un candelabro tortile nascente da un ricco basamento cilindrico posto al centro di un'esedra semicircolare (*figg. 1-4*).

L'esemplare della parete sud si distingue per l'adozione di colori molto vivaci e brillanti. La pennellata è densa e pastosa e i dettagli vengono spesso resi con tocchi di colore molto rapidi, a volte con puntini, o addirittura gocce di colore. Il decoratore denota una mano molto sapiente ed efficace soprattutto nella resa dell'espressione sapida della figura della *Pothnia Théron* che orna il basamento del candelabro tortile (*fig. 1, 25*). Particolarmente efficace è l'uso di puntini per caratterizzare l'espressione del volto e per rendere gli occhi e le narici, mentre le lumeggiature sono state rese con veloci pennellate di colore bianco.[11] La stessa maniera di usare il colore si riconosce anche sul corpo delle pantere e sulle preziose modanature che ornano il basamento cilindrico.

Il basamento in giallo ocra dipinto nello zoccolo presenta lo stesso uso del colore (*fig. 3*). Il pittore è ricorso anche qui ad una tavolozza molto vivace: il passaggio dalle zone in ombra alle zone illuminate sono rese mediante l'accostamento di cinque linee di colore che vanno dal bruno, all'ocra scura, all'ocra chiara, al beige chiaro al bianco.

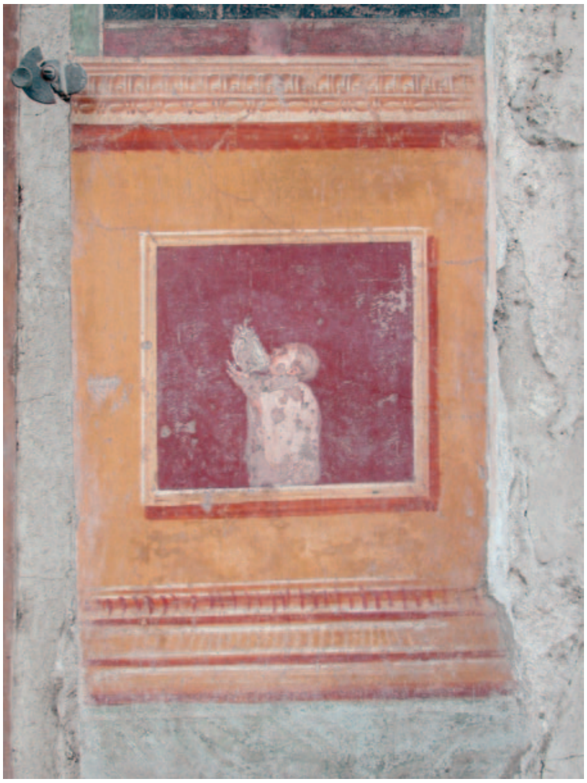

Fig. 3. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d), parete sud: dettaglio dello zoccolo.*

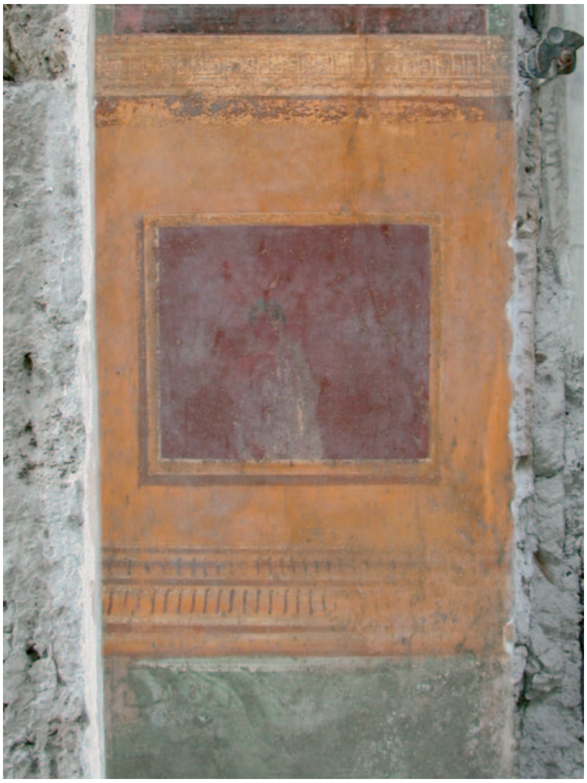

Fig. 4. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d), parete nord: dettaglio dello zoccolo.*

Anche in questo caso le ombre più scure sono state rese con tocchi veloci di rosso bruno, le lumeggiature con rapide pennellate bianche (*fig. 3*).

Le cornici che chiudono superiormente il basamento, con una fila di astragali ed una fascia baccellata presentano piccoli tocchi di colore rosa, per rendere le ombre più leggere, espediente che è stato già osservato nella caratterizzazione degli ornamenti del candelabro metallico dipinto nella zona mediana (*fig. 3*).

Sull'opposta parete nord gli stessi elementi presentano una resa totalmente differente (*figg. 2, 4*). In primo luogo, anche se i colori adottati sono gli stessi, appaiono molto meno brillanti. La pennellata è più fluida, i colori degli elementi sovraddipinti sono più diluiti, tanto che spesso si intravede il colore di fondo del pannello. Mancano del tutto i vivaci effetti luministici dati dall'uso delle ombre rese in rosso bruno e delle accese lumeggiature in bianco; mancano infine i tocchi di colore rosa che assieme al bianco contribuivano a creare i vivaci contrasti cromatici. Il trattamento dei basamenti è completamente diverso: le pennellate di colore rosso bruno e bianco utilizzate per sottolineare le rientranze e le sporgenze delle modanature e delle cornici del basamento sono sostituite da linee rosso-bruno/marrone con un evidente effetto di appiattimento (*fig. 4*). Anche i dettagli del disegno tradiscono in alcuni punti una mano completamente diversa, più disegnativa e meno lineare.

Dagli elementi sopra menzionati appare evidente che nell'atrio (d) la decorazione è stata eseguita da due distinti decoratori, la cui 'mano' risulta chiaramente riconoscibile, nonostante abbiano fatto di tutto per uniformare il proprio personale stile disegnativo all'esigenza di unità stilistica dell'intera composizione. Il primo pittore, che verrà chiamato qui di seguito pittore A, utilizza una paletta di colori molto ricca ed una pennellata piuttosto densa, con veloci tocchi di colore che servono a rendere le luci e le ombre.

Il secondo pittore - d'ora in poi pittore B - usa dei colori più sfumati senza troppi contrasti, anche la pennellata è più fluida, con graduali passaggi di tono tra i colori. Il pittore B ha bisogno anche di più spazio per poter dipingere i diversi elementi che compongono lo schema decorativo che egli applica sulla parete. Essi appaiono, quindi, leggermente sovradimensionati rispetto quelli dipinti dal pittore A.

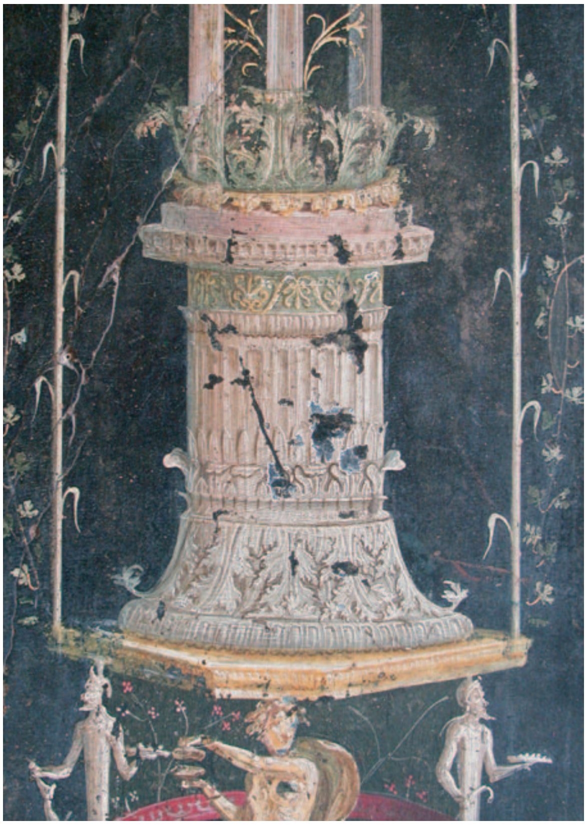

Fig. 5. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete est, tratto sud: basamento di un tripode.*

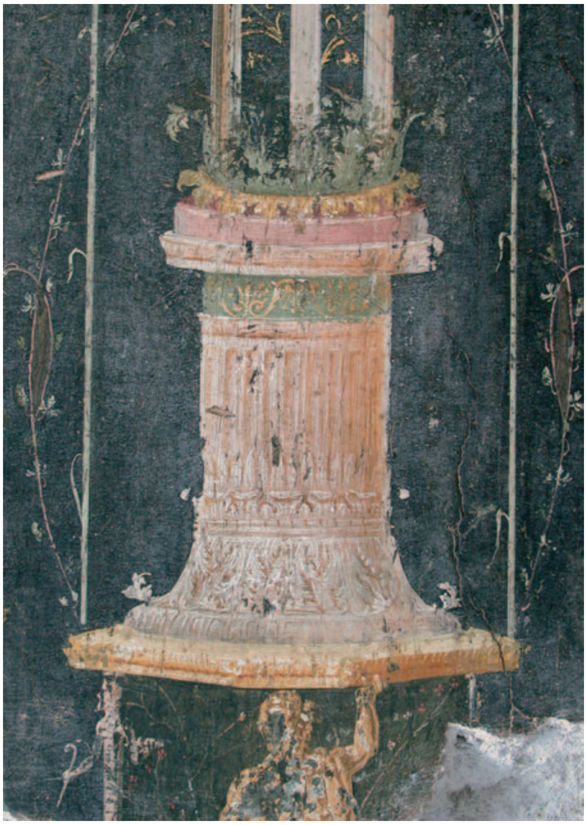

Fig. 6. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete ovest, tratto nord: basamento di un tripode.*

In base alle caratteristiche sopra evidenziate per ciascun pittore si può capire precisamente su quali pareti dell'atrio essi abbiano lavorato. La mano del pittore A è chiaramente riconoscibile sulle pareti sud, ovest e nel tratto sud della parete est; quella del pittore B si riconosce sulla parete nord, che presentava anche la superficie più ampia da affrescare, e nel tratto nord della parete est. Sommando i diversi segmenti delle pareti dell'atrio risulta chiaro che i due pittori si erano equamente suddivisi la superficie da decorare.

GLI STESSI PITTORI HANNO LAVORATO ALLA DECORAZIONE DELLE VARIE STANZE DELLA STESSA CASA

I pittori che hanno affrescato le pareti dell'atrio (d) denotano delle modalità operative e delle caratteristiche stilistiche specifiche e ben evidenti. Dovrebbe essere possibile quindi riconoscere le loro 'mani' anche nelle altre stanze della casa e ricostruire i loro spostamenti sulle diverse pareti.

Nel salone (q) è stato adottato uno schema decorativo che richiama quello dell'atrio (d), soprattutto per la presenza della predella con amorini, per i preziosi candelabri ed i tripodi metallici che scompartiscono i pannelli della zona mediana.[12] Ad un'osservazione ravvicinata tutti questi elementi, che a prima vista appaiono identici, rivelano delle differenze anche notevoli nell'esecuzione. Tali differenze sono imputabili allo stile particolare, ovvero alla 'mano' dei decoratori impegnati nella decorazione del salone. Sulle pareti lunghe le riquadrature della zona mediana sono separate da stretti scomparti a fondo nero ornati da tripodi delfici e candelabri vegetali, attorno ai quali si avvolgono dei viticci popolati di uccelli, insetti e attributi dionisiaci. Il basamento del tripode posto a sinistra del pannello centrale della zona mediana della parete est presenta dei colori molto brillanti, che accentuano la resa metallica delle diverse fasce ornamentali di cui si compone (*fig. 5*). Anche il *kálathos* di foglie di acanto dal quale fuoriesce il tripode si distingue per la resa metallica del fogliame. L'esemplare dipinto sull'opposta parete ovest è stato dipinto

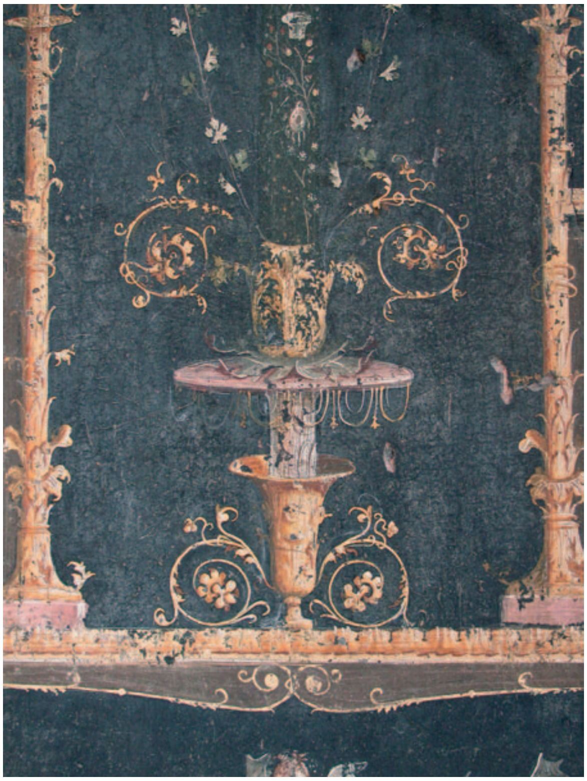

Fig. 7. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete est, tratto sud: dettaglio.*

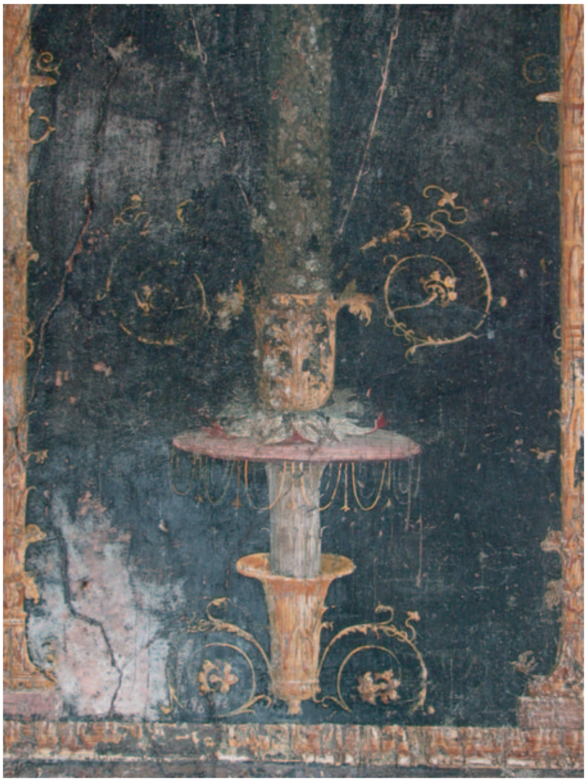

Fig. 8. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete est, tratto nord: dettaglio.*

da una mano altrettanto sicura, che rivela tuttavia una maniera di dipingere alquanto differente (*fig. 6*). I colori sono più fluidi e sfumati, manca quel vivace accostamento di linee di colore che si nota sulla parete est, a detrimento della resa metallica dei diversi elementi. Anche il pennello utilizzato sembra essere più largo con un lieve sovradimensionamento degli elementi della decorazione.

Al di sotto del basamento è dipinta una statua dorata posta dinanzi ad una parete interamente ricoperta di rampicanti fioriti ed inquadrata da una coppia di erme di Satiri che recano offerte.[13] La statua di Menade è stata dipinta con veloci e dense pennellate di colore giallo, mentre le lumeggiature sono rese con puntini bianchi, rosa e rosso bruni (*fig. 24*). La statua si può confrontare in maniera molto puntuale con la figura di *Pothnia* (*figg. 1, 25*) dipinta nel tratto centrale della parete sud dell'atrio (d): vi ritorna identica la maniera di caratterizzare i tratti somatici con dei puntini in rosso bruno e le lumeggiature rese con delle gocce di colore bianco. La stessa maniera di dipingere si ritrova anche nelle erme di satiri che sostengono il padiglione, sapientemente caratterizzate con veloci tocchi di pennello e soprattutto con l'uso di puntini di colore (*fig. 5*). Gli scomparti laterali della zona mediana sono ornati da candelabri vegetali in forma di piramide, scaturenti da cespi di acanto poggiati su di un tavolino inserito in un cratere metallico.[14] Attorno al fusto dei candelabri vegetali si intrecciano dei viticci con ramoscelli penduli, sui quali poggiano uccelli ed insetti. Il candelabro dipinto nel tratto sud della parete est è stato dipinto sicuramente dal pittore A, come dimostrano sia la resa metallica del fogliame, sia la pennellata veloce ma efficace e l'adozione di colori brillanti (*fig. 7*). Nell'esemplare dipinto dal pittore B il tratto risulta sempre molto efficace, ma la resa dei dettagli è molto diversa e le forme appaiono meno slanciate (*fig. 8*). Nel complesso, rispetto a quanto visto nell'atrio (d), anche in questa sala i pittori A e B sembrano essersi suddivisi il lavoro equamente alternandosi sulle diverse pareti.

Nel triclinio (p) è stata realizzata una fastosa composizione, nella quale c'è una netta prevalenza dell'elemento ornamentale.[15] Il centro di ogni parete è occupato da un'edicola con quadro mitologico sorretta da preziose *columnae coelatae*. Ciascuna edicola è inquadrata da architetture in

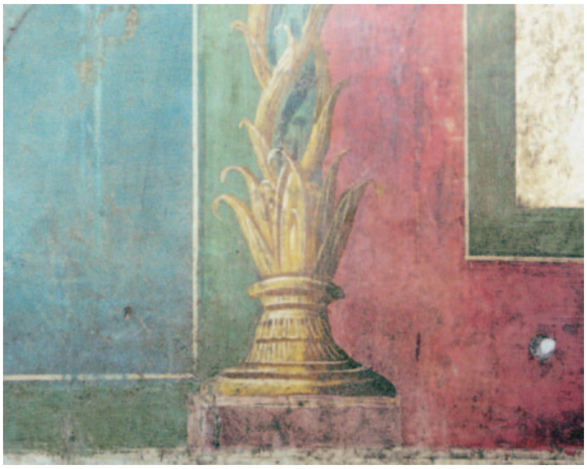

Fig. 9. Triclinio (p), parete sud, tratto ovest: candelabro tortile.

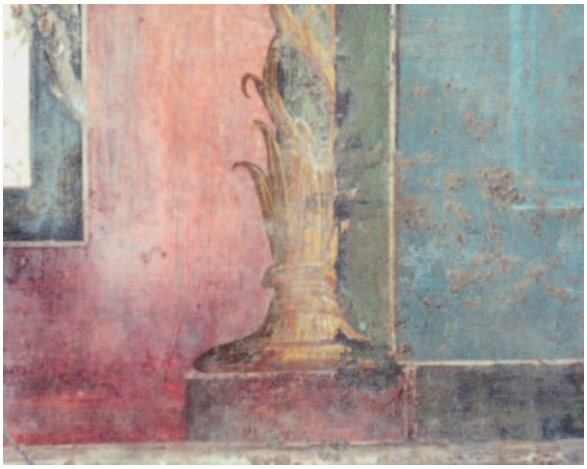

Fig. 10. Triclinio (p), parete nord, tratto ovest: candelabro tortile.

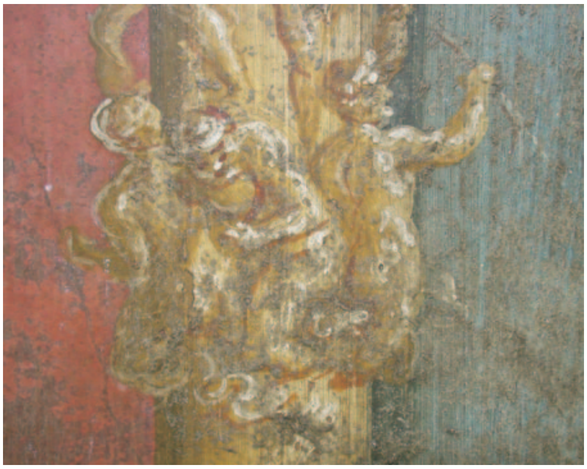

Fig. 11. Triclinio (p), parete est tratto nord: columna coelata, *dettaglio.*

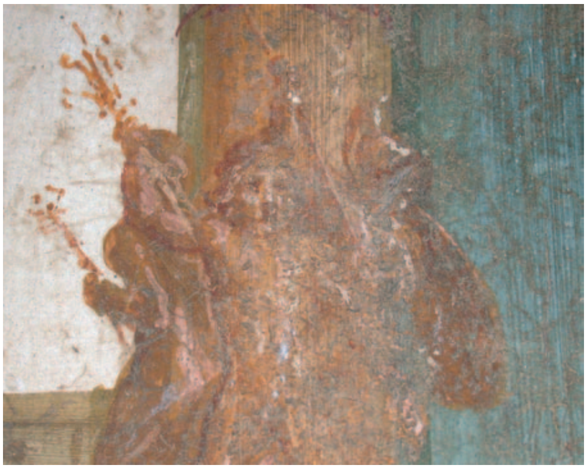

Fig. 12. Triclinio (p), parete sud, tratto est: columna coelata*, dettaglio.*

prospettiva viste attraverso ampie finestre, chiuse in basso da tramezzi azzurri, sui quali poggiano dei *pinakes* con naumachie e ciste mistiche.[16] Nei pannelli laterali, a fondo bianco, sono dipinte coppie di figure che si librano in volo. La zona superiore è occupata da una complessa *scaenae frons* che, come già si vede nel salone (q), non ha una relazione diretta con la zona mediana. Lo zoccolo, invece, ha un finto rivestimento di marmi policromi.[17]

Nonostante l'accostamento di sistemi decorativi molto diversi tra loro, nel suo insieme la decorazione di questa stanza appare molto omogenea e non si notano grandi differenze di esecuzione. L'osservazione dei dettagli, tuttavia, permette di riconoscere anche in questa sala le mani di almeno due decoratori. Si possono citare come esempi i candelabri tortili che fiancheggiano gli scorci architettonici della zona mediana ed i gruppi di statue dorate che impreziosiscono le *columnae coelatae* della zona mediana. Il primo si contraddistingue per l'utilizzo di colori brillanti, per la pennellata densa ed il tocco veloce ed efficace (*figg. 9, 11*). Il secondo si caratterizza per una pennellata più fluida, per l'uso di colori più sfumati, per un disegno più attento alla resa dei dettagli (*figg. 10, 12*). Nell'insieme il pittore A sembra aver eseguito gli scomparti con scorci architettonici dipinti nel tratto ovest della parete sud, quelli dipinti nel tratto ovest della parete nord ed an-

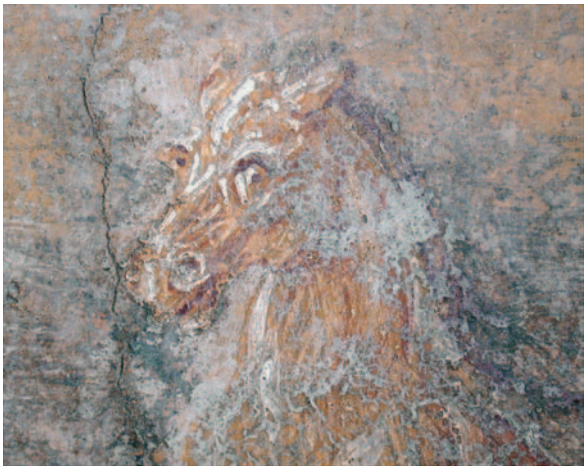

Fig. 13. Triclinio (n), parete sud, tratto ovest, predella: cavallo marino.

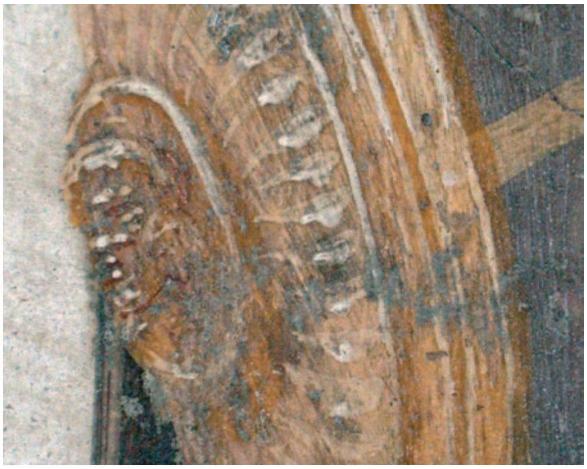

Fig. 14. Triclinio (n), parete nord, tratto est, zona mediana, imago clipeata.

cora quelli del tratto sud della parete est. Al pittore B, invece, si possono attribuire gli scomparti con architetture prospettiche dipinti nell'angolo nord-est e quelli del tratto est della parete sud.

Un discorso analogo si può fare per il triclinio (n), che si apre sul lato opposto del peristilio. Peters ha sottolineato come la struttura della parete e la sintassi decorativa dei due triclini sia sostanzialmente la stessa ed ha evidenziato come le due decorazioni dimostrino una grande omogeneità nella loro realizzazione, giungendo alla conclusione che entrambe siano opera della stessa officina.[18] Le differenze consistono soltanto nella maggiore ricchezza degli ornamenti del triclinio (p). In questo ambiente lo schema decorativo prevede un'ampia edicola al centro della parete, contenente un quadro mitologico e ampi pannelli laterali, nei quali si aprono delle finestre affacciate su padiglioni in prospettiva.[19] Lo zoccolo, a fondo rosso, si adatta alla partizione della zona mediana e presenta pannelli separati da basamenti gialli che richiamano quelli dell'atrio (d). Il registro superiore, andato quasi completamente perduto, prevedeva anche qui la *scaenae frons*.

L'osservazione dei dettagli consente di affermare con sicurezza che anche in questa sala i pittori A e B hanno lavorato fianco a fianco. In particolare nella zona mediana il pittore A ha lavorato sulla parete nord e nel tratto nord della parete est; il pittore B ha lavorato nel tratto sud della parete est e sull'intera parete sud. La mano del pittore A riemerge chiaramente nell'*imago clipeata* dipinta tra gli scorci architettonici del tratto est della parete nord e nel cavallo marino dipinto nel tratto ovest della parete sud (*figg. 13-14*).

La decorazione della sala (e) riprende, semplificandoli, degli schemi decorativi già utilizzati per la decorazione dell'atrio e per quella dei grandi saloni affacciati sul peristilio. La zona mediana presenta un'edicola centrale, molto leggera, contenente un quadro mitologico sormontato da un fastigio di viticci che formano girali. Ai lati sono dipinti dei leggeri padiglioni con avancorpi ornati da erme, all'interno dei quali sono dipinti dei candelabri vegetali sormontati da ciste mistiche. Il registro superiore ripropone lo schema della *scaenae frons*, con una grande edicola centrale e avancorpi laterali, tra i quali si vedono delle figure di Satiri e Menadi. In questa stanza il pittore A ha lavorato sulla parete ovest e nell'angolo nord-est della stanza; il pittore B, invece, sulla parete sud e nel tratto sud della parete est. L'osservazione dei dettagli minori ci aiuta, anche in questo caso, nel riconoscimento. L'erma dipinta sulla parete ovest mostra lo stesso uso del colore e la stessa pennellata della figura di *Pothnia* dipinta dal pittore A sulla parete sud dell'atrio e della statua dorata dipinta sulla parete est del salone (q) (*figg. 15, 24, 25*). L'erma dipinta nel tratto ovest della parete sud, invece, è stata dipinta con uno stile più disegnativo, con l'uso di colori più fluidi, che hanno reso anche meno intelligibili i tratti del volto dell'erma (*fig. 16*).

GLI STESSI PITTORI HANNO LAVORATO ANCHE NEGLI ALTRI COMPLESSI DECORATI DALL'OFFICINA DEI *VETTII*

L'analisi dei dettagli sembra dunque dimostrare in maniera assolutamente chiara che in tutte le principali stanze della Casa dei *Vettii* hanno lavo-

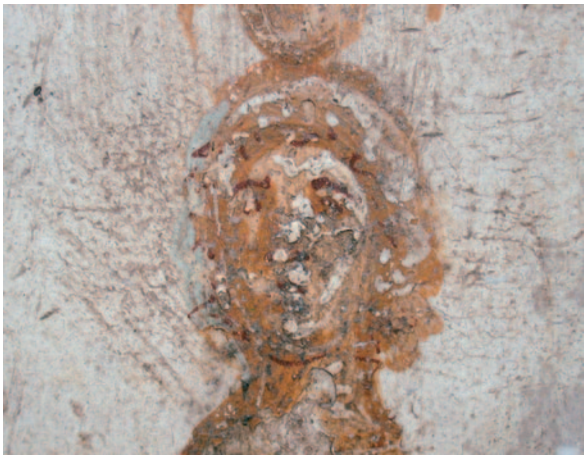

Fig. 15. Sala (e), parete ovest, tratto nord, erma.

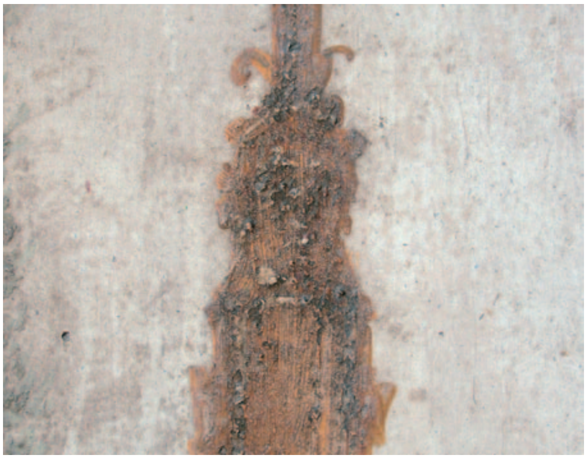

Fig. 16. Sala (e), parete sud, tratto ovest, erma.

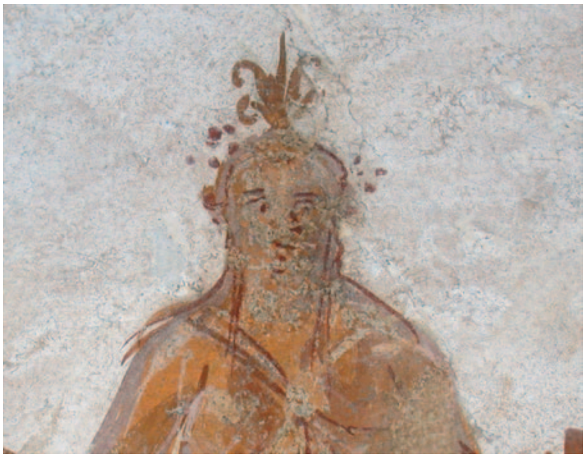

Fig. 17. Tempio di Iside, Ekklesiasterion *(6), archi d'ingresso: sacerdotessa dai capelli sciolti.*

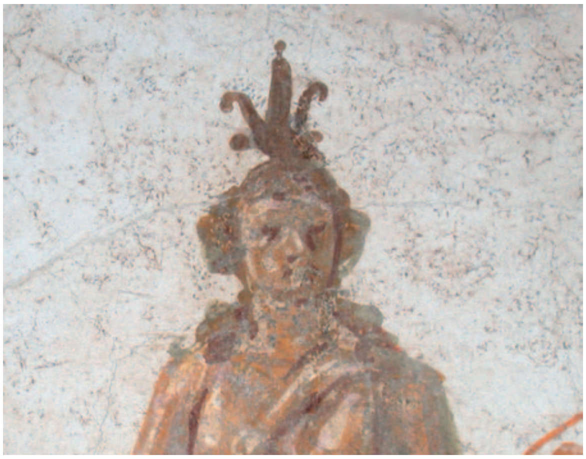

Fig. 18. Tempio di Iside, Ekklesiasterion *(6), archi d'ingresso: sacerdotessa dai capelli raccolti.*

rato gli stessi pittori, i quali hanno coordinato il proprio lavoro per affrescare omogeneamente i diversi ambienti della casa. Per poter affermare che il gruppo di pittori è fisso bisogna prima dimostrare che gli stessi pittori hanno lavorato stabilmente anche in altri complessi decorati dalla stessa officina.

Un ottimo punto di partenza è rappresentato dalle pitture del Tempio di Iside. Qualche anno fa V. Sampaolo ha dimostrato che il Tempio di Iside fu ridecorato all'indomani del terremoto del 62 d.C. dalle maestranze dell'officina dei *Vettii*.[20] La studiosa ha potuto sostanziare la sua ipotesi grazie alle puntuali osservazioni sulla maniera di comporre la parete e sull'individuazione di una copiosa serie di dettagli ornamentali che ritornano identici anche nelle pitture della Casa dei *Vettii*, a dimostrazione del fatto che l'officina disponesse di repertorio di modelli che poteva proporre ai diversi committenti e che utilizzava in maniera sempre nuova ed originale. La Sampaolo ha evidenziato anche la presenza di più decoratori impegnati nella realizzazione del fregio a girali del portico (1) e delle pitture dell'*Ekklesiasterion* (6). Nel fregio a girali si distinguono le mani di almeno due decoratori: il primo pittore è molto attento alla resa dei dettagli e varia i colori per ottenere efficaci giochi di luce ed ombra;[21] il secondo decoratore denota una maggiore fluidità nella resa dei girali ed utilizza dei colori più sfumati e meno brillanti.[22] Ai due pittori se ne può forse affiancare un terzo, che appare molto simile al primo per il ricorso alle ricche variazioni cromatiche, anche se la sua mano risulta più affrettata nell'esecuzione dei tralci e degli animali.[23] Le corolle floreali che impreziosiscono il fregio a

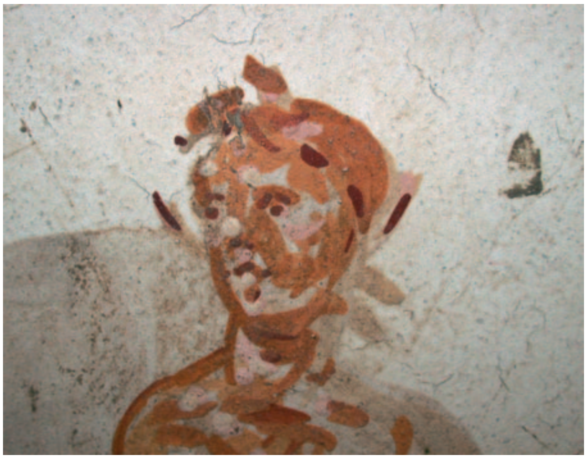

Fig. 19. Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, triclinio (19), parete ovest, tratto nord: Satiro.

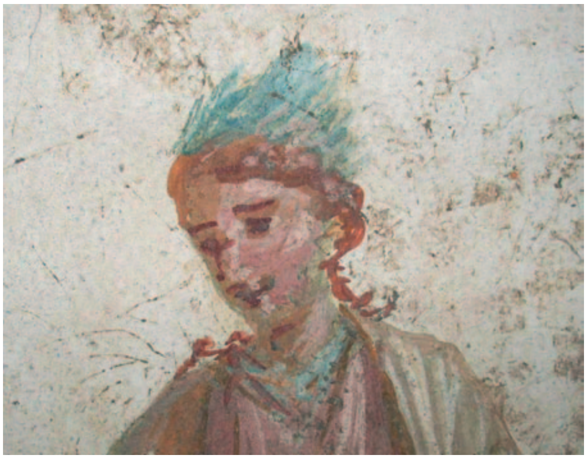

Fig. 20. Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, triclinio (19), parete nord, tratto ovest: Musa.

girali hanno la stessa resa delle corolle che ornano i candelabri dipinti nel salone (q) della Casa dei *Vettii*. Anche i cespi di acanto[24] dipinti al centro dei pannelli neri che chiudono in basso gli scorci architettonici della zona mediana ricordano gli analoghi esemplari dipinti sui basamenti dei tripodi delfici del salone (q) e sui pannelli azzurri che chiudono gli scorci della zona mediana nel triclinio (p) della Casa dei *Vettii*. In particolare la resa metallica delle foglie e degli elementi floreali ci riporta nuovamente al pittore A. La mano del secondo decoratore, se da un lato appare più fluida nella resa del fogliame, rivela una sostanziale freddezza ed una certa staticità, caratteristiche già riscontrate per il pittore B della Casa dei *Vettii*.

Le delicate architetture su fondo rosso, le vignette con i paesaggi e le figure isiache dipinte al centro dei pannelli della zona mediana del portico (1) tradiscono l'esecuzione ad opera di almeno due distinti decoratori. Il primo utilizza colori molto brillanti ed ha un tocco molto rapido e gustoso;[25] il secondo invece ha uno stile più disegnativo, preciso e attento alla resa dei dettagli.[26]

Le figure di sacerdotesse dipinte sui pilastri degli archi di accesso all'*Ekklesiasterion* sono state distinte dalla Sampaolo in due gruppi: quelle dai capelli raccolti (*fig. 18*) sono state eseguite da un decoratore più attento ai dettagli, e più sicuro nel disegno; quelle dai capelli sciolti (*figg. 17, 21*), invece, sono state dipinte da un pittore meno attento alla resa dei singoli particolari, anche se non gli si può negare una notevole capacità espressiva.[27]

Se si analizza la decorazione delle pareti interne dell'*Ekklesiasterion* ed in particolare i grandi paesaggi che fiancheggiano su ciascuna parete i quadri mitologici posti al centro della zona mediana, si notano delle chiare differenze di esecuzione. I paesaggi dipinti sulla parete nord si caratterizzano per una resa molto accurata ed uno stile disegnativo ed una pennellata precisa ed accurata;[28] i paesaggi dipinti sulla parete ovest e quello dipinto nel tratto est della parete sud sono caratterizzati da uno stile espressionistico, basato sul vivace accostamento dei colori senza uso di sfumature.[29] Le caratteristiche sopra evidenziate per i pittori che hanno lavorato alla decorazione del portico e dell'*Ekklesiasterion* del Tempio di Iside ci riconducono ancora una volta ai pittori A e B della Casa dei *Vettii*.

Un altro complesso sicuramente decorato dall'officina dei *Vettii* è la Casa del Bracciale d'Oro.[30] Le pareti del triclinio (19) sono ornate da un ciclo di Muse,[31] alle quali è stata associata una figura di Satiro che suona il doppio oboe (*figg. 19, 22*).

Alcune muse si possono accostare alle figure delle sacerdotesse dai capelli raccolti dell'*Ekklesiasterion* (6) del Tempio di Iside: si caratterizzano per l'uso di colori delicati, con graduali passaggi di colore, senza i vivaci contrasti dovuti al semplice accostamento di linee di colore diverso (*fig. 20*). A differenza delle figure di Muse il corpo del satiro è stato reso come se si fosse trattato di una statua di bronzo dorato. La silhouette è campita in giallo ocra con vivaci lumeggiature in rosa e in bianco. L'espressione del viso è resa con dei veloci tocchi di colore rosso bruno ed in particolare dei puntini per rendere gli occhi, le narici e le labbra; puntini bianchi e rosa simili a delle gocce sono stati utilizzati per le lumeggiature.

La maniera di dipingere di questo pittore è sempre quella del pittore A della Casa dei *Vettii*. La

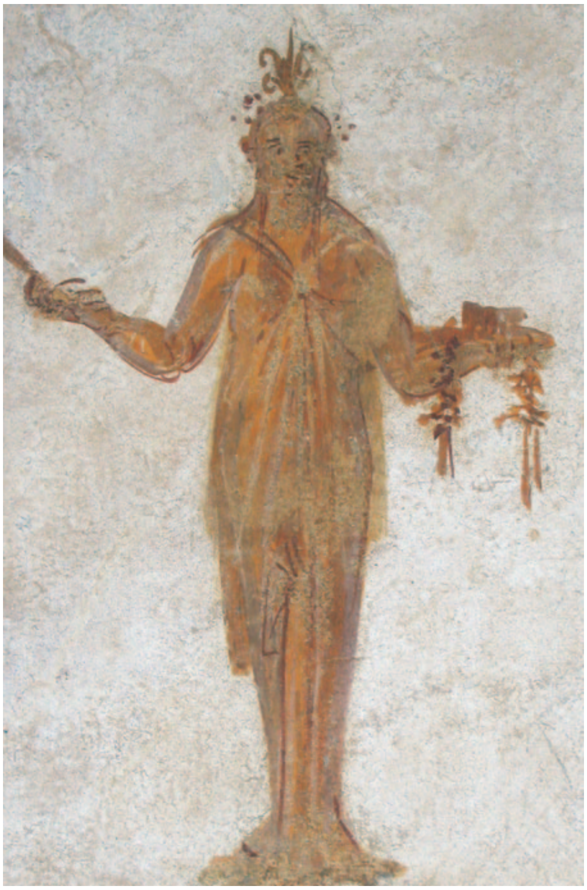

Fig. 21. Tempio di Iside, Ekklesiasterion *(6), archi d'ingresso: sacerdotessa dai capelli sciolti.*

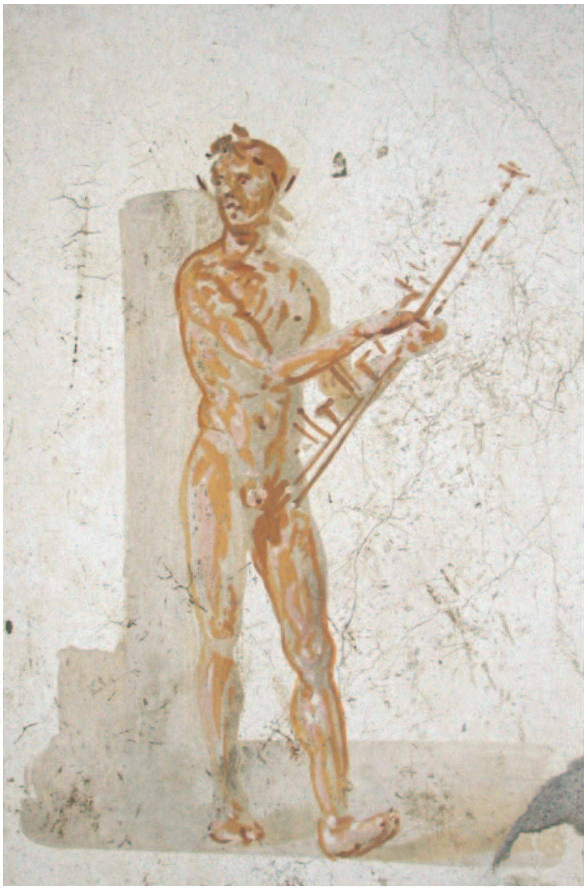

Fig. 22. Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, triclinio (19), parete ovest, tratto nord: Satiro.

figura del Satiro si può infatti accostare a quelle delle sacerdotesse con i capelli sciolti sulle spalle dell'*Ekklesiasterion* (6) del Tempio di Iside, alla figura di *Pothnia* dipinta sulla parete sud dell'atrio (d), alla statua di Menade dipinta sulla parete est del salone (q) della Casa dei *Vettii* (*figg. 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25*). La mano del pittore A si riconosce, del resto, abbastanza agevolmente anche in altri complessi attribuibili all'officina dei *Vettii* per la maniera di comporre la parete. Nella Casa dei Dioscuri la sua mano riemerge nella figuretta di *Pothnia* dipinta nel registro superiore della parete ovest del portico occidentale (*fig. 26*). Nella Casa della Caccia antica sono sue alcune figure di amorini dipinte nelle predelle[32] e nel registro superiore del tablino (7) e le statue bronzee dipinte tra gli scorci architettonici del salone (18) (*figg. 28, 29*). Nell'esedra (y) della Casa della Parete Nera egli ha dipinto le statue dorate poste a coronamento degli scorci architettonici della parete sud (*fig. 23*).

Si può a questo punto sostenere che all'interno del gruppo di pittori si riconoscono le figure di due decoratori i quali hanno lavorato stabilmente insieme in tutti i complessi decorati dall'officina dei *Vettii*.

ESISTE UNA GERARCHIA TRA I PITTORI? DIVISIONE DEL LAVORO ALL'INTERNO DEL GRUPPO DI PITTORI

È importante a questo punto evidenziare alcune dinamiche concernenti l'organizzazione e la suddivisione del lavoro all'interno del gruppo di pittori. Da quello che si evince dall'osservazione della maniera di lavorare dei pittori della Casa dei *Vettii*, sembrerebbe che i decoratori si suddividessero equamente la superficie da decorare all'interno della stanza. È difficile in ogni caso capire se esistesse una vera e propria gerarchia tra i pittori.

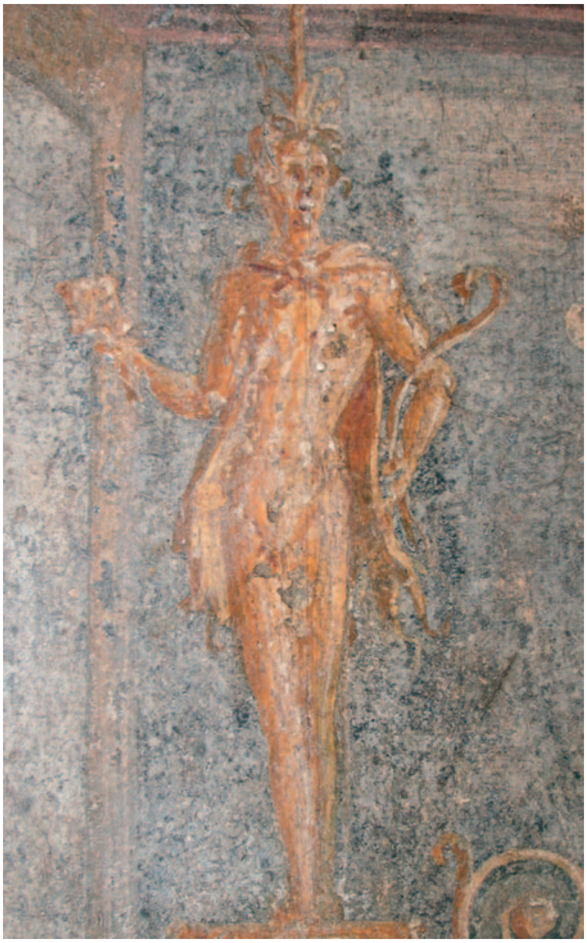

Fig. 23 Casa della Parete Nera, esedra (y), parete sud: statua dorata.

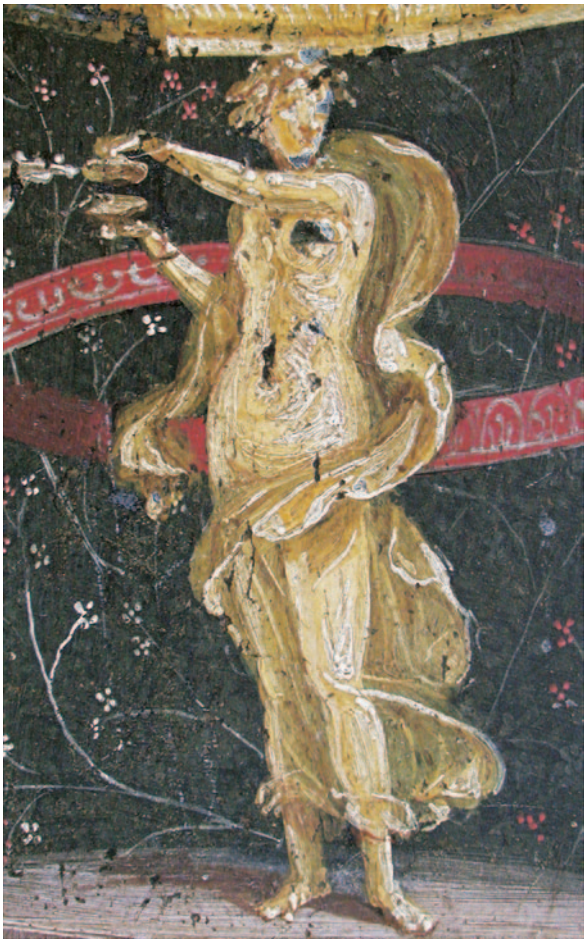

Fig. 24. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete est, tratto ovest: statua dorata.*

Peters e Moormann, occupandosi dei pittori della Casa di *M. Lucretius Fronto*, hanno proposto di prendere in considerazione la migliore esposizione alla luce delle pareti e l'assenza di aperture nella parete come criteri attendibili nell'individuazione di un'eventuale maggiore importanza di un pittore rispetto ai propri colleghi.[33] Nell'atrio (d) della Casa dei *Vettii* il pittore B ha dipinto i settori di pareti più liberi dalle aperture e meglio esposti alla luce durante l'intero arco della giornata, mentre al pittore A sono stati assegnati segmenti di parete molto limitati. Anche nella sala (e) al pittore B è stata assegnata una parete assolutamente libera da interruzioni e ben illuminata e tra l'altro si tratta dell'unica parete della sala ben visibile dall'atrio (d). In questo settore della casa quindi sembra si possa intravedere una preminenza gerarchica del pittore B. Nei saloni di rappresentanza che si aprono intorno al peristilio (triclini n, p, q), invece, il pittore A e quello B lavorano fianco a fianco sulle diverse pareti senza che si possa intravedere una reale gerarchia. Va sottolineato, però, che queste lussuose sale di soggiorno funzionavano anche da vere e proprie pinacoteche e dunque la presenza dei grandi quadri mitologici e degli altri elementi figurati in qualche modo monopolizzavano l'attenzione dell'osservatore rispetto agli ornamenti accessori.

VA RICONSIDERATA LA DISTINZIONE TRADIZIONALE TRA *PICTORES PARIETARII* E *PICTORES IMAGINARII*

Un aspetto molto importante è quello della possibilità di istituire agganci sicuri tra gli elementi figurati inseriti nella decorazione e la cornice ornamentale che li accoglie. Si tratta di un punto

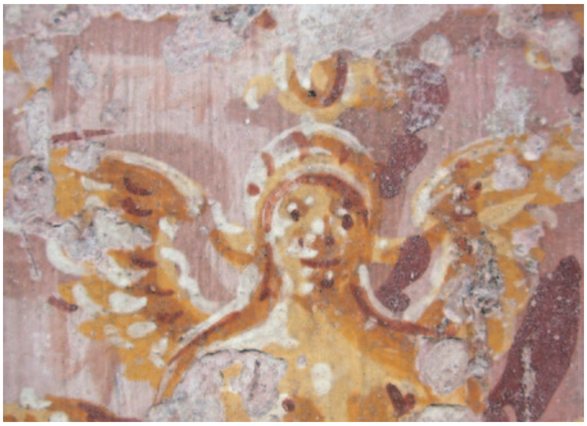

Fig. 25. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d), parete sud: figuretta di* Pothnia.

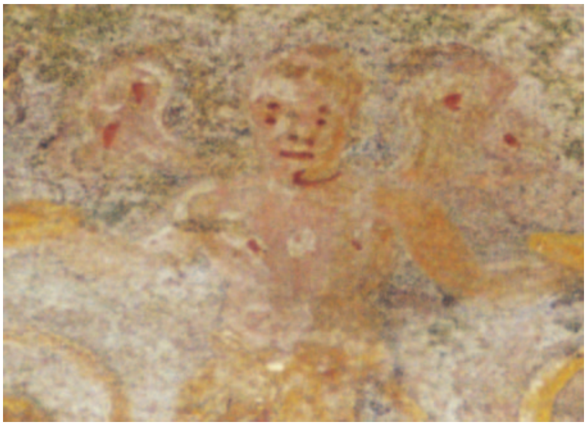

Fig. 26. Casa dei Dioscuri, peristilio (53), parete ovest: Pothnia.

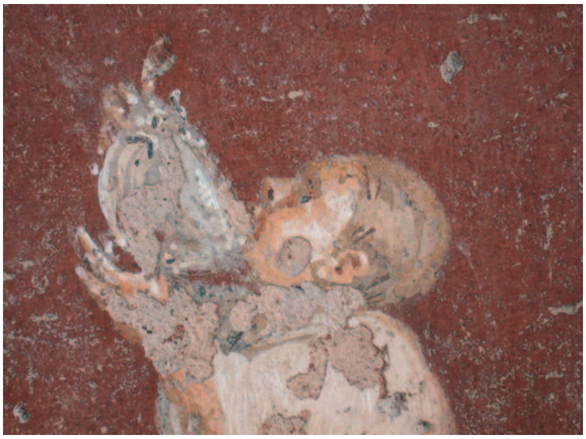

Fig. 27. Casa dei Vettii, *atrio (d) parete sud, zoccolo: fanciullo.*

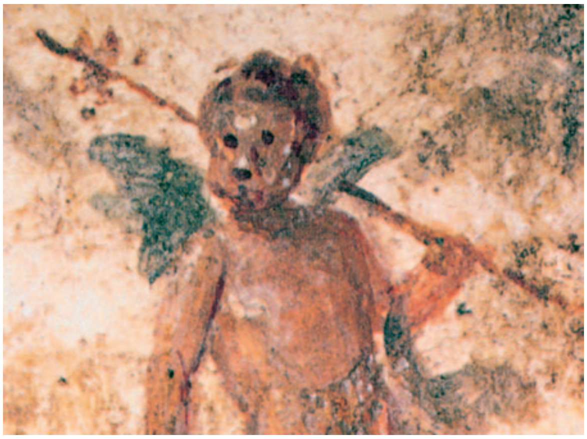

Fig. 28. Casa della Caccia Antica, tablino (7), parete sud, tratto ovest: amorino.

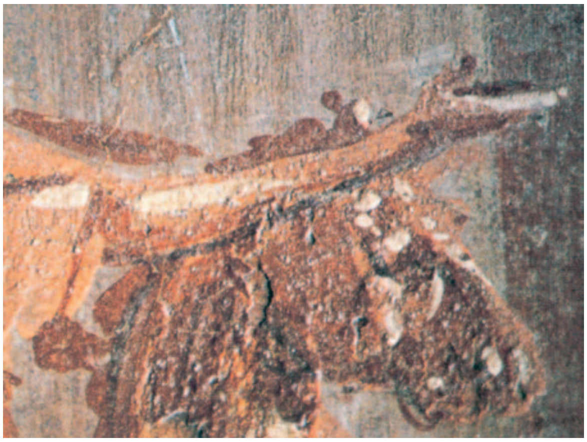

Fig. 29. Casa della Caccia Antica, triclinio (13), parete sud, zona mediana: statua equestre.

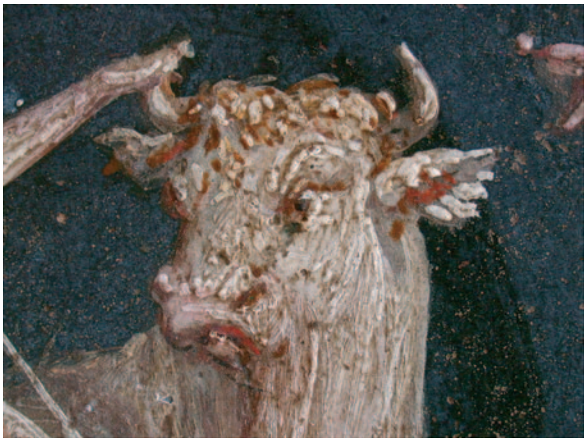

Fig. 30. Casa dei Vettii, *salone (q), parete est, predella, dettaglio.*

molto delicato, che ha delle implicazioni non secondarie nella distinzione tradizionale dei decoratori in *pictores parietarii* e *pictores imaginarii*. Solitamente, infatti, si ritiene che ai *parietarii* fosse demandato il compito di impostare le linee generali della decorazione e di realizzare tutti gli elementi ornamentali, mentre i *pictores imaginarii* avrebbero lavorato quasi sempre in autonomia, in una sorta di isolamento, anche tecnico, rispetto ai propri colleghi *parietarii*.

Nella Casa dei *Vettii* l'osservazione di tutti gli elementi che compongono la decorazione delle varie stanze consente di dimostrare che gli stessi pittori che hanno realizzato gli elementi figurati spesso hanno dipinto anche la cornice ornamentale, nella quale questi elementi erano inseriti. Nell'atrio (d) compaiono molti elementi figurati, come i riquadri con fanciulli che reggono vasi dipinti nello zoccolo, le predelle a fondo nero con amorini impegnati in gare e combattimenti scherzosi e le figure poggiate sui candelabri della zona mediana.

Dal punto di vista dell'esecuzione tutti questi elementi figurati possono essere distinti in due gruppi, che si differenziano soprattutto per la resa stilistica e per l'uso del colore. Alcuni presentano un disegno piuttosto sommario, dall'effetto espressionistico e sono resi con colori vivaci e brillanti.[34] Altri sono stati dipinti in maniera più accurata, con molta cura nella resa dei singoli dettagli e sono stati utilizzati dei colori più sfumati, con una tecnica più disegnativa.[35] Come è stato dimostrato nelle pagine precedenti tali caratteristiche sono riconducibili all'operato del pittore A e del pittore B. Ne consegue che anche gli elementi figurati sono stati realizzati da due pittori diversi, che sembrano coincidere per le caratteristiche tecniche e stilistiche ai pittori A e B.

L'osservazione della tecnica di esecuzione, in particolare delle 'giornate' dell'intonaco, conferma che su ciascun segmento di parete dell'atrio (d) gli elementi figurati e le cornici ornamentali che li contengono sono stati eseguiti insieme, senza cesure nella stesura dell'intonaco. Questo significa che il *pictor imaginarius*, che ha realizzato gli elementi figurati, ha eseguito anche la cornice architettonica ed ornamentale nella quale questi elementi erano inseriti. Nel salone (q) si ripropone la stessa situazione: le predelle ed il fregio degli amorini sono stati dipinti dagli stessi decoratori che hanno realizzato i preziosi scomparti a fondo nero con candelabri vegetali e tripodi delfici. Le predelle della parete est, in particolare quelle con scene ispirate alle tragedie euripidee dell'Ifigenia in Aulide e dell'Ifigenia in Tauride, sono attribuibili alla mano del pittore A. Le figure sono rese con rapidi tocchi di colore e spesso il pittore ricorre a dei puntini per caratterizzare i tratti somatici e le espressioni del viso. La figura di Apollo dipinta nella predella si può confrontare in maniera puntuale con la statua di Menade dorata dipinta nel padiglione soprastante (*figg. 24, 31*). Vi ritorna identica la maniera di utilizzare il pennello e l'uso di colori brillanti con puntini o gocce di colore bianco e rosa per rendere luci ed ombre. La figura del toro, raffigurato nella stessa predella dove compare Apollo, presenta la stessa resa della figura del cavallo nel gruppo statuario dipinto sulla parete sud del triclinio (13) della Casa della Caccia Antica: in entrambe i casi ritornano identiche la pennellata e le lumeggiature, rese con densi puntini - quasi gocce - di colore bianco (*figg. 29, 30*). Lo stesso si può dire per il fanciullo che beve da una coppa dipinto nello zoccolo della parete sud dell'atrio (d) della Casa dei *Vettii* o per l'amorino dipinto nel registro superiore del tablino (7) della Casa della Caccia Antica (*figg. 27, 28*).

L.J. Richardson, nel suo catalogo dei pittori di figure che si possono identificare a Pompei, Ercolano e *Stabiae*,[36] ha sostenuto che le predelle con amorini ed i riquadri con fanciulli dipinti nei basamenti dello zoccolo dell'atrio (d), e le predelle, il fregio degli amorini e le coppie di amanti divini posti al centro dei pannelli della zona mediana del salone (q) sono tutti opera di un pittore di immagini che ha denominato 'Dioscuri Painter'.[37]

Nelle pagine precedenti è stato dimostrato che gli stessi elementi sono stati realizzati da un decoratore che, in questa sede, è stato soprannominato 'pittore A'. Se si accettano le attribuzioni di Richardson, bisogna assumere che il pittore A vada identificato con il 'Dioscuri Painter'. Ciò significa allora che il *pictor imaginarius* 'Dioscuri Painter' oltre alle parti figurate ha dipinto anche gli elementi accessori, ovvero le cornici ornamentali, nelle quali le sue figure erano inserite.

Le differenze tra gli elementi figurati e quelli ornamentali consistono soltanto nella maggiore stilizzazione dei primi e nella maggiore ricchezza cromatica dei secondi. Tali differenze, dunque, sono imputabili soltanto al grado di complessità del soggetto da riprodurre, dal momento che l'esecuzione, ovvero la maniera di dipingere, è sempre la stessa.

Il confronto tra la figura di Apollo nella predella del salone (q) e quella di Anfitrione nel quadro con 'Ercole bambino che strozza i serpenti' dipinto sulla parete nord del triclinio (n)[38] (*figg. 31, 32*) è illuminante: identico è il disegno, con le rapide

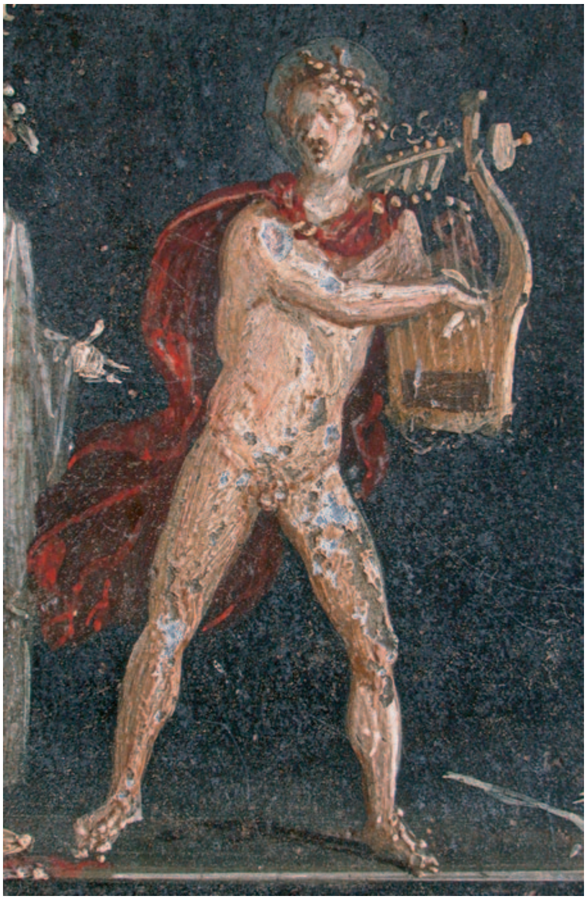

Fig. 31. Casa dei Vettii*, salone (q), parete est, tratto ovest, predella: Apollo.*

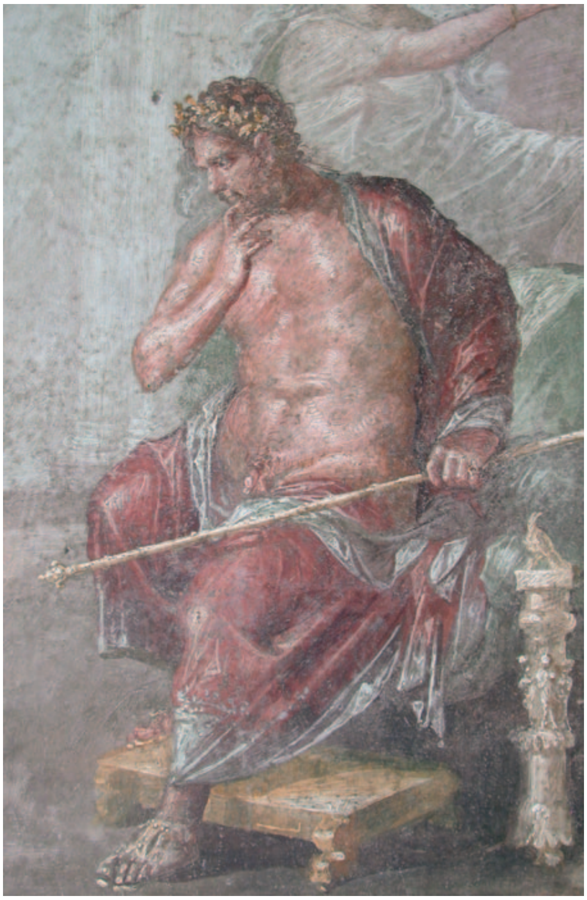

Fig. 32. Casa dei Vettii*, Triclinio (n), parete nord, quadro centrale: Anfitrione.*

ed efficaci pennellate utilizzate per rendere i dettagli anatomici e le espressioni del viso; identico è l'uso del colore, con le lumeggiature rese con puntini, quasi gocce, di colore bianco (*figg. 33-36*). Le differenze tra le due figure sono imputabili soltanto alla diversa scala ed alla maggiore complessità della scena raffigurata nel quadro mitologico.

Se le cose stanno in questi termini bisogna prendere seriamente in considerazione la possibilità che il *pictor imaginarius*, ovvero il pittore specializzato nella realizzazione degli elementi figurati, si identifichi talvolta con il *pictor parietarius*, nel quale spesso si riconosce il semplice decoratore.

CONCLUSIONI

Lo studio dell'organizzazione del lavoro all'interno del gruppo di decoratori di cui si compone un'officina pittorica è uno strumento necessario ed imprescindibile per ricostruire i meccanismi di produzione della pittura parietale romana.

Lo studio delle modalità operative dei pittori dell'officina dei *Vettii* a Pompei dimostra inequivocabilmente che non è possibile immaginare che le officine pittoriche funzionassero come delle realtà professionalmente sciolte, con pittori che si raggruppano di volta in volta in base alla committenza. I pittori A e B della Casa dei *Vettii* lavorano insieme non soltanto sulle diverse pareti di una stessa stanza, ma in tutte le stanze della casa dove si incontrano decorazioni realizzate dall'officina dei *Vettii*. Considerando un campione più ampio si è visto che in tutti i complessi dove ha lavorato l'officina dei *Vettii* si ritrovano sempre i pittori A e B. È più che ragionevole pensare, quindi, che i due pittori fossero inseriti stabilmente nello staff dell'officina.

L'indagine volta al riconoscimento delle 'mani' dei pittori dimostra, quindi, che il gruppo di pittori di cui si componevano le officine era fisso ed era composto dalle stesse persone. Il riconoscimento delle 'mani', inoltre, permette di chiarire le dinamiche operative interne al gruppo, precisando i rapporti gerarchici e la suddivisione del lavoro sul cantiere. A questo riguardo va forse riconsiderata la distinzione tradizionale tra *imaginarii* e *parietarii*, utilizzata, forse, con troppa rigidezza. Gli esempi sopra discussi dimostrano chiaramente che i pittori di cui si componeva un'officina erano figure di un'altissima professionalità ed è dunque naturale che essi fossero in grado di realizzare sia gli elementi figurati isolati, sia le complesse cornici ornamentali, nei quali questi elementi erano inseriti.

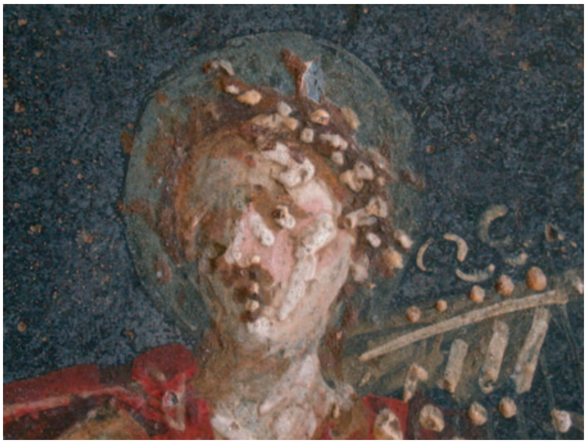

Fig. 33. Casa dei Vettii, *salone (q), parete est, tratto ovest, predella: Apollo, dettaglio.*

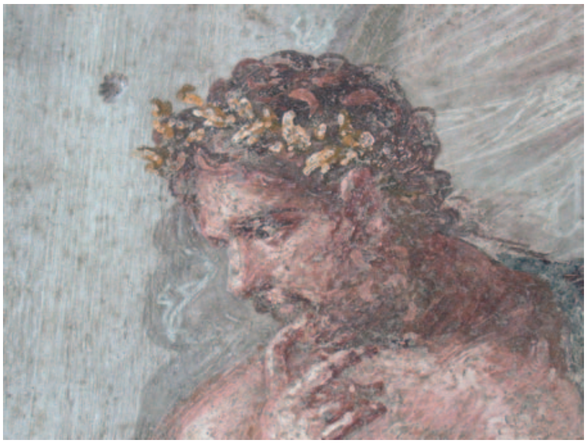

Fig. 34. Casa dei Vettii, *Triclinio (n), parete nord, quadro centrale: Anfitrione, dettaglio.*

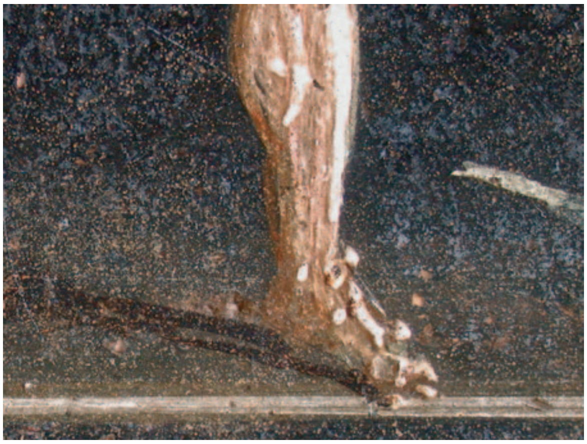

Fig. 35. Casa dei Vettii, *salone (q), parete est, tratto ovest, predella: Apollo, dettaglio.*

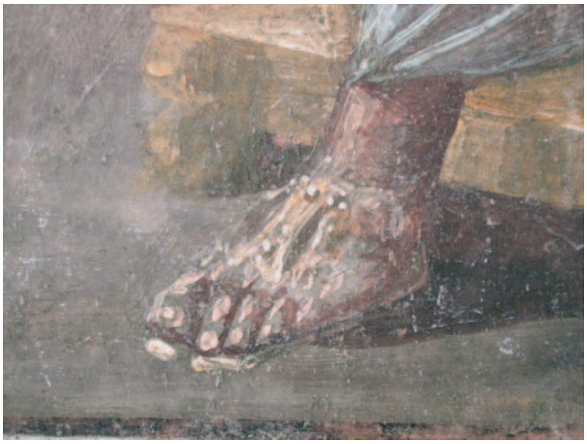

Fig. 36. Casa dei Vettii, *Triclinio (n), parete nord, quadro centrale: Anfitrione, dettaglio.*

NOTE

[*] In ricordo di Stefania Adamo Muscettola.

[1] Peters 1993, Peters/Moormann 1995; Moormann 1995; Sampaolo 1995; Esposito 1999; 2005.

[2] Allison 1989; 1991; 1995; 2002; Bragantini 2004.

[3] Allison 1995; 2002.

[4] Bragantini 2004, 145.

[5] Peters 1977.

[6] Esposito 1999, 53-55.

[7] PPM 5, 1994, 475, fig. 9; 477, fig. 12; 478, fig. 13; 479, figg. 15, 17; 480, figg. 19-20.

[8] PPM 5, 1994, 478, fig. 14; 479, figg. 16, 18.

[9] PPM 5, 1994, 476, figg. 10-11; Peters 1977, tav. 62-64/6-12.

[10] PPM 5, 1994, 475, fig. 8.

[11] Si nota in particolare che il pittore ha usato il colore rosa per rendere le ombre, assieme al beige e al rosso-bruno. Si tratta chiaramente di un colore raro e prezioso che non viene utilizzato molto frequentemente dai pittori, tanto meno per rendere dei dettagli tanto minuti.

[12] PPM 5, 1994, 543, figg. 125-126; 552, fig. 141; 558, fig. 148.

[13] PPM 5, 1994, 555, fig. 144.

[14] PPM 5, 1994, 545, fig. 130; 550, fig. 137; 552, fig. 141; 558, fig. 148.

[15] PPM 5, 1994, 535-536, figg. 112-113; 538, fig. 118.

[16] PPM 5, 1994, 537, fig. 117.

[17] PPM 5, 1994, 534, fig. 112.

[18] Peters 1977, 107.

[19] PPM 5, 1994, 526, fig. 104; 529, fig. 107; 531, fig. 109.

[20] Sampaolo 1994; 1995.

[21] PPM 8, 1998, 746, fig. 20.

[22] PPM 8, 1998, 756, figg. 37-38.

[23] PPM 8, 1998, 785, fig. 85.

[24] PPM 8, 1998, 741, fig. 10; 743, fig. 14; 764, fig. 50; 771, fig. 61; 773, fig. 64; 774, fig. 66; 778, fig. 73.

[25] PPM 8, 1998, 756, fig. 38; 762, fig. 48; 764, fig. 50; 765, fig. 52; 772-773, figg. 63-65; 783, fig. 82; 784, fig. 84.

[26] PPM 8, 1998, 744, figg. 15-16; 745, fig. 18; 756, fig. 37; 771, fig. 61; 772, fig. 62; 774, fig. 66; 775, fig. 68; 776, fig. 69; 778, fig. 73; 779, fig. 75.

[27] Sampaolo 1995, 203-204; PPM 8, 1998, 832-833, figg. 197-201.

[28] PPM 8, 1998, 824, fig. 187; 826, fig. 189.

[29] PPM 8, 1998, 836, fig. 205; 840-841, figg. 211, 213.

[30] De Caro 1998-1999; V. Sampaolo in PPM 6, 1996, 44; Esposito 1999, 53.

[31] PPM 6, 1996, 64, fig. 46; 65, fig. 48; 67, figg. 53-54; 68, fig. 56; 70, fig. 61; 72, fig. 64.

[32] Allison/Sear 2002, figg. 116-119, 122.

[33] Peters/Moormann 1995, 171-172.

[34] PPM 5, 1994, 477-478, figg. 12-14; 479, figg. 15- 16, 18; 480, figg. 19-20.

[35] PPM 5, 1994, 475-476, figg. 8-11; 479, fig. 17.

[36] Richardson 2000.

[37] Richardson 2000, 107. In realtà, come è stato dimostrato sopra, non tutte le predelle dell'atrio (d) e quelle del salone (q) sono attribuibili alla mano di questo pittore; ma bisogna considerare che vi abbiano lavorato due diversi decoratori.

[38] Recentemente Richardson ha attribuito al Dioscuri Painter anche i quadri mitologici del triclinio (n), che precedentemente aveva attribuito al Perseus Painter: Richardson 1955, 155-159; 2000, 111.

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Toilets with a View
The Luxurious Toilets of the Emperor Hadrian at his Villa near Tivoli

Gemma Jansen

Abstract

An investigation of the many toilets at the villa of the Roman emperor Hadrian, near Tivoli (Italy), both multi-seat and single-seat varieties, shows that the emperor preferred to have some privacy in his toilet. The multi-seat latrines found there were for servants. For Hadrian himself, his family and especially his guests, the emperor built toilets with space for a single person. These were vast rooms with high ceilings and large windows providing light. They were equipped with sophisticated water systems and very luxurious decorations. A special feature of some of these toilets with large windows was a spectacular view. All toilets are different in shape and decoration, and many have no equal elsewhere in the Roman Empire. It is well-known that the emperor Hadrian loved to entertain and surprise his guests. It looks like his toilets were part of the surprise too.[1]

From 1999 onwards, the author has studied - together with a small team of colleagues and students - the many toilets at Hadrian's villa (*fig. 1*). This site presents an extremely valuable assembly of thirty-five toilets. They are not only well preserved, but they show a cross-section of toilets throughout the entire Roman society. Here is the opportunity to study the toilets of the lowest servant up to the toilet of the most powerful man of the Empire: Hadrian himself. All these things make this site unique and allow us to study some issues impossible to investigate elsewhere: For which social group was a particular toilet built? and: How much privacy was available for each social group?[2]

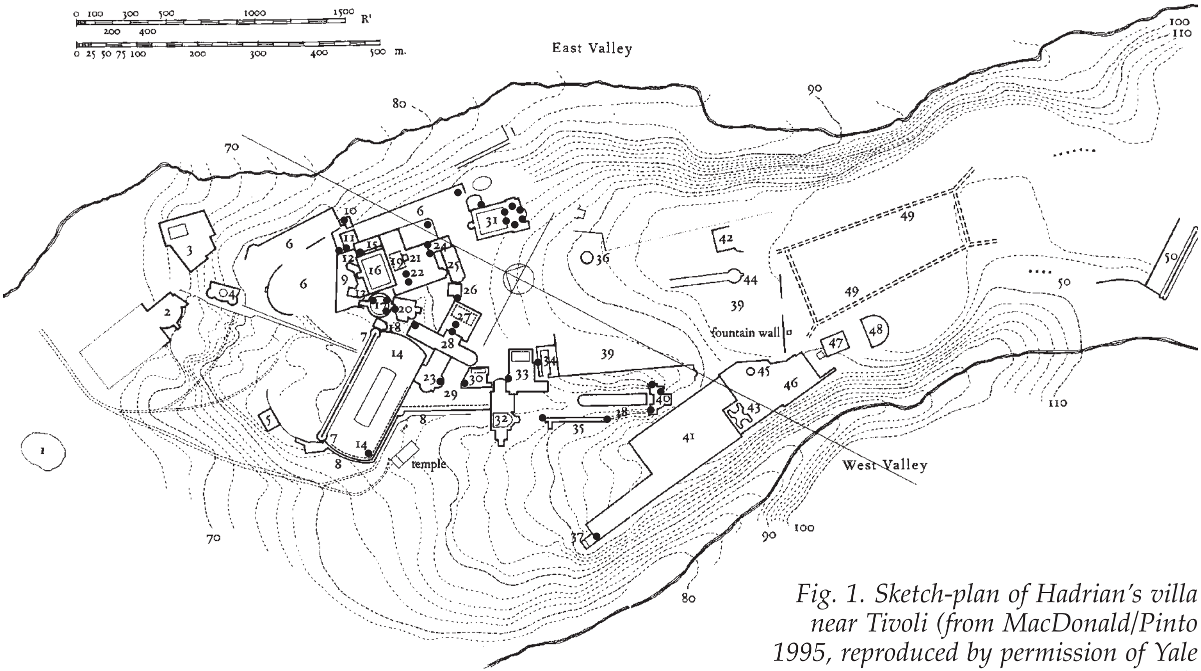

Fig. 1. Sketch-plan of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli (from MacDonald/Pinto 1995, reproduced by permission of Yale University Press, copyright).

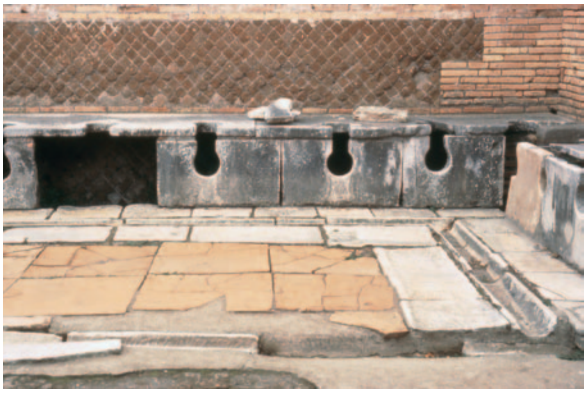

Fig. 2. Public toilet with marble seats, front plates and sponge gutter near the Forum Baths at Ostia.

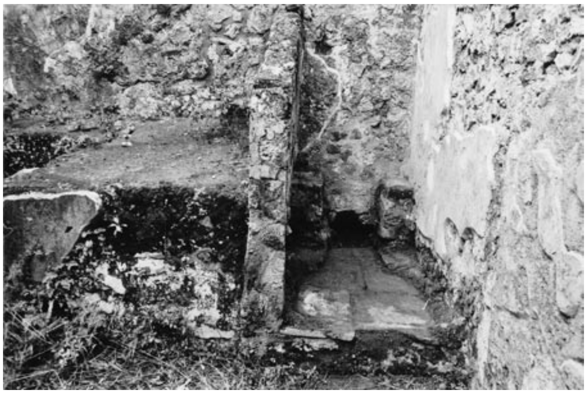

Fig. 3. Flush toilet with raised tiled floor in the kitchen of the House of Apollo at Pompeii.

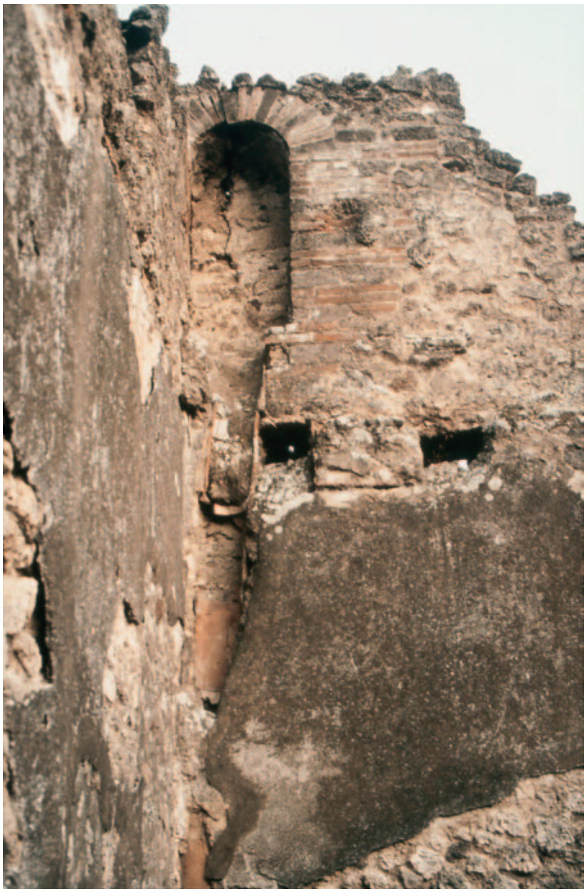

Fig. 4. Niche toilet on upper floor of House V 1, 30 at Pompeii.

Furthermore, as the toilets are so well preserved, they also provide answers to more basic questions about water systems and decoration schemes. Especially since most of the toilets have been cleared of the debris on their floors, there is a lot of new information available on their water supply and drainage systems. Besides, the drains appeared to be full of parts of the original toilet decoration: pieces of coloured marble, mosaics and fragments of wall plaster. There was only one drain, belonging to the toilet of the Smaller Baths (30), which still contained the original Roman deposit. For the many finds in this drain, representing unusual luxurious decoration, see the article by Alessandro Blanco (in this volume pp. 183-190). Because of the organic nature of this deposit, samples were taken and analyzed. The results revealed that no seeds, fruits or pollen were preserved in the samples. Even the chrysalis of flies are absent, a very common feature in fecal surroundings.[3]

This article, then, presents new information on the water systems and the decoration of the toilets of the villa. To put the toilets of Hadrian's villa in perspective, however, a short presentation of toilets elsewhere in Roman Italy is needed.

ROMAN TOILETS IN POMPEII, HERCULANEUM AND OSTIA

Since Scobie's inspiring publication on Roman sanitation, published in 1986, modern scholars have re-investigated Roman toilets and toilet behavior. Several researchers have published on the issue, though mainly focusing on Italy. From their work some general conclusions can be drawn on toilets in this central part of the Empire.[4]

Roman toilets resemble modern western toilets in many ways. The Romans, for example, preferred to sit down; therefore, their toilets are equipped with seats. The Roman seats, however, have a different design, as the Romans did not use toilet paper; instead, they used a sponge on a stick. There was a hole in the front plate of the toilet seat in order to use these sponges (*fig. 2*). The other difference is that Romans were not always alone on a toilet. Besides the many one-person toilets in private houses, two-seaters and three-seaters also occur. And public toilets were nearly always group toilets, so-called multi-seaters. As the small private and the larger public toilets differ both in water technique and in decoration, they will be dealt with separately.

All Roman toilets needed water: both to rinse the sponge and to flush the toilet after use. Therefore group toilets had gutters in front of the seats, filled with running water to wash the sponges. To create an efficient and continuously flowing stream, this water could only be pipe water. The overflow of the sponge gutter was directed in the deep feces gutter underneath the seats and together with sewage was led into the city sewer system. It is not clear whether these feces gutters underneath the seats were flushed additionally with an extra water pipe. Recent investigations of Van Vaerenbergh into the toilets belonging to baths show that the flushing system was not always working smoothly. This is remarkable, as toilets near baths profit from the best circumstances: good nearby sewers and enough flushing water at hand, either from the swimming pool, the bathtubs or the overflow from the many fountains. Private toilets are much smaller and seldom have a sponge gutter. Sponges were rinsed in small basins or jars. Toilets were flushed manually with a bucket of water. This led to a different design: the front plate is missing so that the toilet could be flushed.

The toilets of Hadrian's villa can be compared best with the toilets of the Roman harbor town Ostia. Most of these are built in the 2nd century and thus provide the right timeframe with which to contrast Hadrian's own toilets. In order to get a good chronological overview of all the possible examples of toilets, however, it is good to have a quick look first at the toilets found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were in use more than a century earlier.

The slim evidence of only ten public group toilets from Pompeii and Herculaneum shows only a glimpse of the appearance of the toilets in use in the 1st century BC and AD.[5] Based on the evidence available, we can state that the public toilets were simple in design. Small high-positioned windows gave the toilets a dark appearance. Koloski-Ostrow calls them 'grim'. To compensate darkness the walls were painted white, mostly with a dark dado to hide stains. The toilets were provided with running water for the sponge gutters (nearly all executed in masonry - no marble) and for flushing the gutter underneath the seats. When connected to the baths, they were additionally flushed with water from the baths or swimming pools. All of these public group toilets were connected to a sewer that brought the toilet waste out of the city.

Private toilets can be found in great abundance in Pompeii and Herculaneum. From the 200 toilets investigated by the author in Pompeii and the more than sixty toilets in Herculaneum, it can be concluded that every household must have had at least one toilet. This is confirmed by the recent investigation of all the toilets of region V at Pompeii by Hobson. He also discovered that private toilets are part of the houses from the very beginning of Pompeian urbanization. Most of the private toilets are single-seaters, though two-seaters or three-seaters occur. They tend to be dark rooms with tiny windows (if any windows at all). The only decorations visible are red lines on white plastered walls and, in a few cases, painted floating ornaments in between (dolphins, garlands etc.). The toilets occur frequently in kitchens, under stairs and upstairs in rented apartments. In most cases, two brick walls or a slot can be seen to support the wooden seat (now gone). There was no sponge gutter, but a basin to clean the sponges. To fill these basins, the Pompeians seldom had running water; they had to fill the basin with water from the cistern in the courtyard or a street fountain. Besides, to flush the toilet, they had to use a bucket of water, filled at the same water source. Households with good water supplies installed flush toilets, which mostly occur in kitchen areas. To facilitate flushing, a tiled chute was built in front of the toilet seat. The chute slanted slightly towards the drain underneath. The fact that these toilets were also provided with footrests shows that it was apparently not unusual to throw water into the drain while somebody was using the toilet (*fig. 3*). Households where water was more scarce, for example the rented apartments upstairs, had toilets built in niches in the wall. Thus one could sit right above the drainpipe, which was led into the wall. In these cases not much water was required for good flushing (*fig. 4*). Only few private toilets were connected to a sewer, most emptied into cesspits.

To get an idea of what the toilets in Hadrianic times looked like, we have to turn to Ostia. As this busy port town with a high population density, is completely different from the relatively quiet residential town Pompeii, it is not a surprise that here more public toilets can be found: twenty-seven, of which at least twenty date from the 2nd century. The most famous toilet, the one near the Forum Baths (*fig. 2*), dates from the 4th century. Only 2nd-century toilets will be taken into account here.[6] The water supply and drainage systems of these toilets very much resemble those of the Pompeian examples. The only difference is that here, in addition to the sponge gutter, an extra water basin or *labrum* is added in many of the toilets.[7] The multi-seaters in the tenement houses have the same somber aspect as the toilets of Pompeii. They remain dark due to the lack of large windows. They have only a modest wall decoration in the form of a simple flower motif, floors are laid out in black and white mosaics without a pattern, and sponge gutters are made of masonry, or sometimes of travertine or marble. The multi-seaters found in more public areas are somewhat different, mostly with regard to decoration. Especially, the toilets that are connected to baths are decorated with more detail. The windows in the upper parts of the walls are large and bring in a lot of light. The wall decoration is still very plain: the same white plaster with flower motifs or yellow and red squares. But the floors are much fancier: varying from simple black and white mosaics, decorative mosaics, small coloured marble stones to a floor of white marble slabs. Many toilets have white marble sponge gutters and three 2nd-century toilets still contain marble seats.

Neudecker calls some of these toilets 'Prachtlatrinen'. From the end of the 1st century onwards this new phenomenon is adopted in the Roman Empire: vast latrines in which a lot of light comes in through large windows or peristyles. They are indeed large: average seat capacity is for about thirty-five persons with an absolute maximum of eighty.[8] These toilets are executed completely in marble (floor, gutter, wall, and seats) and are adorned further with mosaics, statues and spouting fountains. The large amount of flowing water from the fountains provided good flushing capacity and the vast windows guaranteed fresh air. Although this would have diminished the bad smell, clients were not meant to loiter in the toilets. According to Neudecker, the decorations were intended to alienate one from the very fact that one was supposed to do on a toilet: a dirty act is camouflaged by shining marble and sparkling fountains. The three toilets of Ostia that fit into his category of 'Prachtlatrinen' are the most modest of Neudecker's list.[9] 'Prachtlatrinen' do not occur so often in Italy, anyway. The most elegant and dazzling examples are to be found in the Near East (twenty examples) and North Africa (twenty-eight examples).

The more than seventy private toilets of Ostia date mostly from the 2nd century. They have been preserved on ground floors only and mostly are in bad shape.[10] As far as can be detected they are most charming in their simplicity: a board with a hole fixed in a slot in the walls of a small room.[11] Some had footrests. Underneath was a hole or gutter connected to a drain. These toilets hardly differ from the small and dark private toilets of Pompeii: many are found at the back of shops in a small space underneath staircases. No decoration (no wall paintings, no marble) has been found in them except for one: the toilet of the Casa del Fortuna Annonaria has a beautiful floor in *opus sectile*.[12]

All toilets must have been connected eventually to the city sewer system, which in Ostia is laid out very systematically. How these private toilets were flushed is still unclear as the long tile chutes that are in front of the Pompeian toilets are missing. Some toilets have an imprint of a lead pipe, but it is not clear whether this pipe was meant to flush the toilet or to fill a missing sponge basin. Four toilets have preserved their sponge basins, all with an imprint of a supplying lead pipe. In this respect, the toilet of the Casa del Fortuna Annonaria forms an exception too: the basin there was filled automatically with the effluence from the *nymphaeum* fountain in the adjacent room.

In short, in the 2nd century AD at Ostia toilets were standard commodities. Public group toilets were spacious, well lit, simply decorated and equipped with a rather good water supply and drainage system, whereas the private toilets were small and dark. They had no decoration, seats were made of wood and their water supply and drainage systems were executed with less sophistication.

TOILETS AT HADRIAN'S VILLA

Just after becoming emperor in 117 AD, Hadrian started to build a new and vast palace, 120 hectare large, in the countryside about 30 km from Rome.[13] The architecture Hadrian choose for this palace was very rich, new for his times and sometimes even unique in the Roman world. Whenever he was not on his travels outside Italy, he stayed either in Rome or here. He was never alone at Tivoli, but always surrounded by 1000 people or more, among whom were his family, friends, the imperial administration, his other personnel, slaves ... and many visitors. The many dining rooms present at the villa suggest that Hadrian seemed to love banqueting and entertaining his

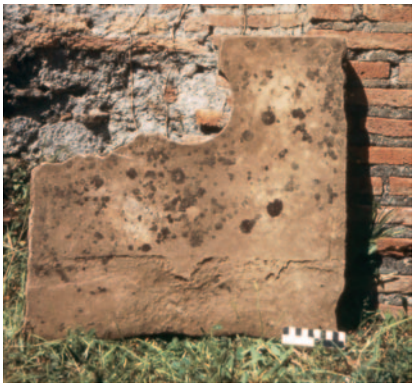

Fig. 5. Front plate of the round toilet at the East Terrace (6) (photo R. Kragting).

guests. These dinning rooms range from large areas where a lot of guests can be received (as for example the large Water Court, 31) to smaller areas (for example the Scenic Triclinium, 40) and very intimate rooms for a few private guests (as at the Island Enclosure, 17). These guests could marvel at the beautiful architecture, pieces of art and the large surrounding gardens filled with marvelous water displays.

For all those people toilets were provided. This article deals only with the sanitary provisions that are built within the palace architecture. Some sanitary practices, such as relieving oneself against a wall or defecating in the wild, cannot be retrieved from the archaeological record; other practices are hard to track down, such as the use of chamber pots and wooden toilets. The later are mentioned in ancient Latin texts, but their use in the villa has not been established yet.[14]

Dispersed over the villa terrain the author and her team have investigated ten multi-seaters and twenty-five single-seaters.[15] Most of these toilets are mentioned by several researchers of the villa or have been excavated recently by the Soprintendenza di Lazio.[16] The toilets of this large estate, however, have not been studied systematically until now. The multi-seaters are recognizable by remnants of seats above a deep gutter in front of which a small sponge gutter was laid out. This sponge gutter is not sunken in the toilet floor, but usually placed on top of it and serves at the same time as a convenient footrest. None of the seats are still preserved as the wooden ones have decayed and the stone ones have been robbed. What is left are traces of the fastenings: slots in side or back walls, small holes for little wooden or marble beams, rests of the marble beams themselves, larger holes for stone supports, rests of travertine supports or supporting walls. In several toilets a combination of the different methods of fastening were applied. The seats were once closed with a front plate as ledges or marble rests in the wall indicate.[17] We were lucky to uncover a marble front near the round toilet on the East Terrace (6) (*fig. 5*). Seating capacity varied from three to twenty people. The rooms were vast and the few toilet walls that are standing show large windows above shoulder height.

The single toilets are somewhat different and consisted of a single marble seat above a drain. In seven toilet rooms footrests also remain. The rooms were spacious, both with respect to surface area and height. This might be due to the round architectural design, so popular at the villa, which provides a lot of space for these toilets and most of them can be found on either side in the rest area at the back of the apses. A lot of light came in through large windows, sometimes as large as door openings.

As it is possible to establish the specific function of the different buildings of the villa, it is also possible to determine which of the social groups of the villa (the emperor and his family, his guests, his staff and slaves) used or visited a specific building and the adjoining toilet.[18] In those parts of the villa identified as the private domain of the emperor, only single toilets occur. Examples include the single toilets of the Island Enclosure (17) and the toilets in the Peristyle Pool Building (27). In the large areas where guests were entertained, clusters of single toilets were constructed. Near the dining halls of the Water Court (31) six single seat toilets were built; the dining hall of the Scenic Triclinium (40) offers three separate toilets. It does not come as a surprise that multi-seaters were located in the baths and in the service areas. Relying on these data we can conclude that different toilets were built for people of different social rank. The emperor and his guests used mainly single-seaters. Staff and slaves only had multi-seaters at their disposal. The lavish decoration of the single-seaters and their excellent water systems (both discussed below) underline this conclusion.

WATER SUPPLY AND DRAINAGE

Like other Roman toilets elsewhere, the villa toilets needed water for rinsing sponges and flushing, and a drain connected to a sewer to carry away urine and feces. There was plenty of water at the villa site, as we know that Hadrian tapped one or two aqueducts passing his villa terrain on

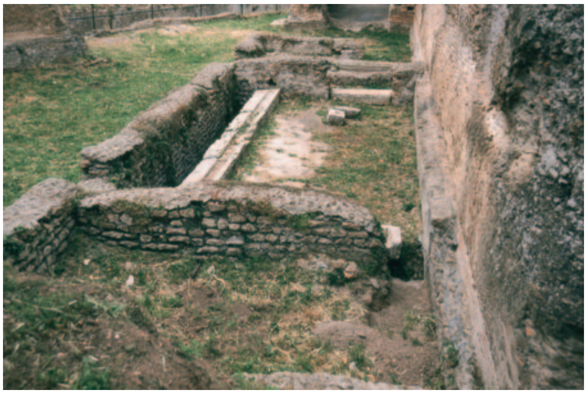

Fig. 6. Multi-seater of the North Service Building (26) (photo R. Kragting).

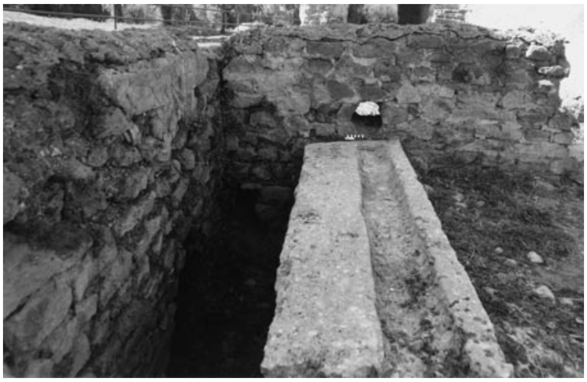

Fig. 7. Start of the sponge gutter in the multi-seater of the North Service Building (26) with hole for the supplying lead pipe.

their way to Rome.[19] Water played an eminent role in the villa and its gardens. Salza Prina Ricotti describes it thus: 'Così la villa si riempì non soltanto di verde, ma si illuminò di fontane monumentali, di graziose fontanelle, di cascate, di ninfei, di canali grandi e piccoli, di ampi bacini, geometrici laghetti piacevoli da ammirare nella calura estiva e, mentre il minimo soffio del vento faceva fremere la loro superficie ed il continuo moto dell'acqua scorreva negli euripi suddividendo ed illuminando l'area, i giardini, da belli che erano, divenivano magici.'[20] Besides, water was used inside dining rooms to enliven architecture.

Right now, several international research groups are working on the water systems and drainage in and around the villa.[21] Their research, however, is severely handicapped by the fact that nearly all lead pipes have been robbed during the last few centuries.[22] There is only indirect evidence for lead pipes: holes in the walls for leading the lead

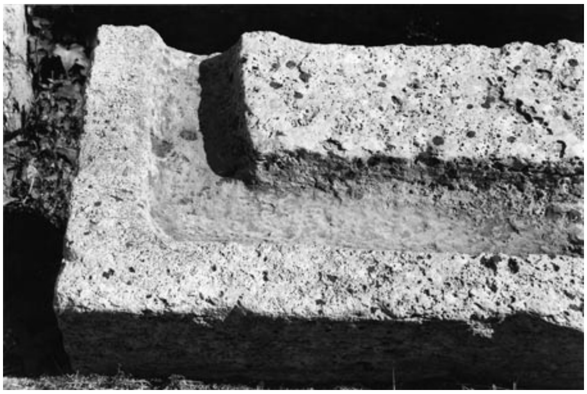

Fig. 8. End of the sponge gutter of the multi-seater of the North Service Building (26).

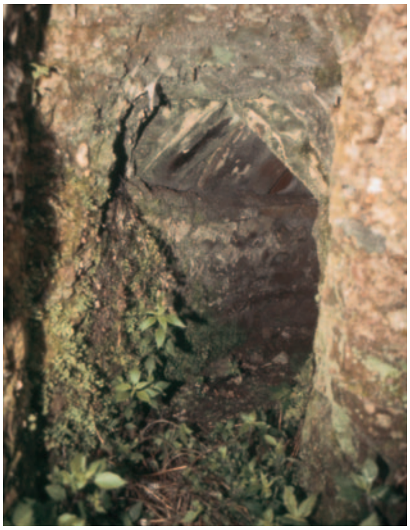

Fig. 9. Drain with an a cappuccina *roof connected to the feces gutter of the multi-seater of the Central Service Building (34) (photo R. Kragting).*

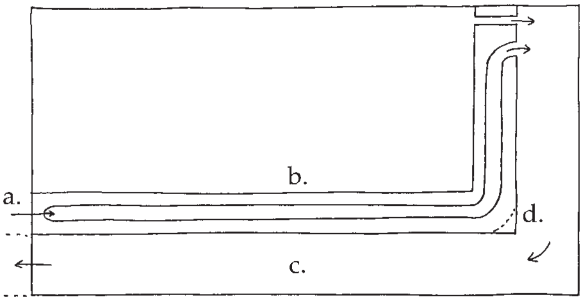

Fig. 10. Schematic presentation of the water supply and drainage system of a multi-seater: a = hole for supply pipe, b = sponge gutter, c = feces gutter underneath the seats, d = round corner.

pipes through, the imprint of the pipes in sub floors, and cut away ridges left by the looters. A team of speleologists is mapping the villa sewer system, which is not easy as well as that the sewers are hardly accessible:[23] they are relatively small (50 cm or lower) and most of them have not yet been excavated. In addition, the channels for water supply and the ones for drainage do not seem well systemized. There are, for example, no distribution points built at regularly intervals nor is there a main sewer with branches. To get a clear and coherent picture of how the overall water system and drainage was planned and how it worked, we have to wait until the results of the investigations of the several teams have been published. On a smaller scale, at the level of the toilets themselves, however, it is possible to reconstruct the water and sewer systems.[24]

Water systems at multi-seaters

The multi-seater next to the North Service Building (26) illustrates the basic principles of the water system in these toilets best (*fig. 6*). There is a staggered entrance with a small *nymphaeum* in the porch. The toilet room itself has seats along two sides. Water was brought in once with a lead pipe of which the hole (ø 5 cm) is still visible (*fig. 7*). It filled the shallow sponge gutter made of travertine in front of the seats. The overflow was led into the deep feces gutter (150 cm) underneath the seat (*fig. 8*). The gutter, partly hewn out of the underlying tuff bedrock and partly built in masonry, was made waterproof with layers of *opus signinum*. The gutter is connected with a drain *a cappuccina* (conical in form, made by two tiles) to the villa's sewer network further downwards (*fig. 9*). In addition to wastewater from other (unknown) places, which was led into this gutter, the spillovers and the cleaning water from the ground was also led into it, aided by the slightly sloping floors. Figure 10 presents all the different elements working together to establish a good water supply and drainage system.

At five other multi-seaters a hole or imprint of a pipe has been found.[25] Only at the west toilet of the Canal Block (35) another washbasin has been found, other toilets only had sponge gutters.[26] The sponge gutters of other toilets are also shallow with an average depth 9 cm and an average width of 12 cm. This does not suggest a large stream of water flushing the gutter underneath the seats. The question can be asked whether these toilets were flushed adequately. One would expect the toilets to be built above the large villa sewers, through which all the surplus water from the large ponds and water displays was drained away. This only appears to be the case at a few toilets.[27] Therefore additional flushing was needed and for this reason the toilet of the North Service Building (26) was probably connected to a small reservoir.[28] Most toilets, however, form the beginning of a new sewer line, and it seems that they had to be flushed with one jet of water only. Especially the toilets that are connected to baths have additional flushing. Although there is no proof for it, it seems highly plausible that the toilet of the Service Quarters (8) was flushed by the surplus water of the above lying pool of the East West Terrace (14).

To get rid of waste materials round drains would serve best. From this point of view the round toilet at the East Terraces (6) and the semicircular one of the Larger Baths (33) are very functional. The other rectangular toilets show rounded edges to streamline the drain. Besides, all drains had a smooth coating of *opus signinum* and a slope of approximately 30 cm. Studying the feces gutters revealed how the multi-seaters were built. To create a drain deep enough, a large rectangle was dug out of the underlying bedrock. On top of this, the upper part of the gutter walls were built. Most gutters were therefore partly hewn in the rock and partly built. Tiles were placed at the bottom. The gutter was then completed with a waterproof layer of *opus signinum*. The gutters are about 45 cm wide and about 1 m deep.

The only exception in every sense is the toilet in the Service Quarters (8). As this is situated on the first floor, it was impossible to build a deep feces gutter underneath the seats: it is, indeed, not much deeper than the floor level, starting at both ends at 5 cm underneath the floor. The gutter was made deeper by raising the sponge gutter and the footrests in front of the toilet seats. In the corner there is a large drain in the form of a round hole leading to the floor underneath. Around the hole there still is a square impression, which might indicate a lead sheet connected to a lead drainpipe. The lead pipe (now gone) was probably connected to a sewer in the underlying room.

Water systems at single-seaters

In broad terms, the water system of single toilets worked according to the same principle as that of the multi-seaters. However, their appearance was completely different. Instead of a sponge gutter there was a sponge basin; instead of a feces gutter underneath the seats, there was a collection

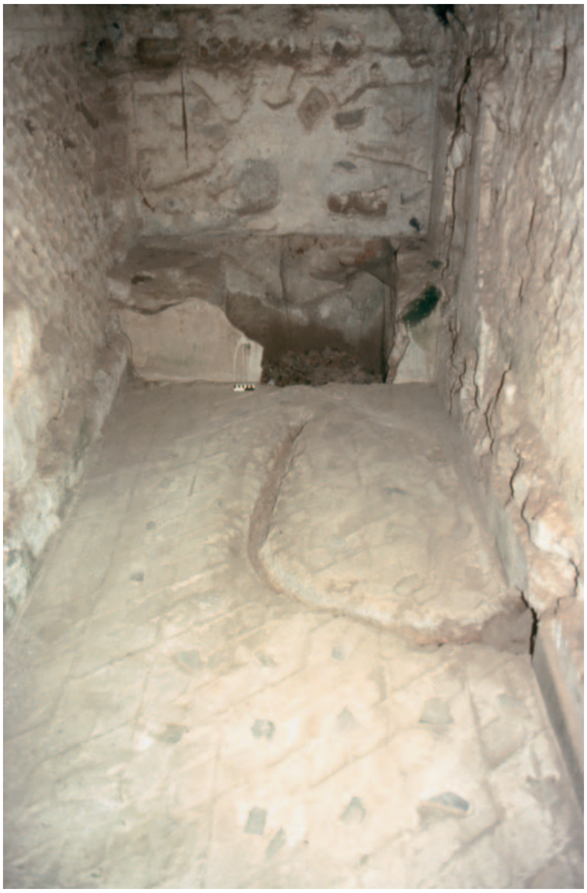

Fig. 11. Single-seater in the west wing of the Scenic Triclinium (40) with remains of marble seat and imprint of opus sectile *floor. The groove indicates the position of the water pipe (photo R. Kragting).*

box with a connection to the sewer. The system can be illustrated best with the three toilets at the Scenic Triclinium (40). In the dining area around the Canopus where Hadrian must have entertained his guests, two toilets were in the side buildings and one behind the cupola. The toilets in the side buildings are rather similar (*fig. 11*): a vast room in which - at the back - there is a marble toilet seat, more a throne than a toilet. On the walls are the remains of marble decoration and the imprint of an elegant pattern of marble pieces can be seen on the floor. Here is also a deep impression of a lead pipe preserved going in the direction of the toilet seat, stopping at about 30 cm in front. This implies that once a lead pipe fed something in front of the toilet seat: this must have been a small charming, bubbling fountain in which sponges could be cleaned. The toilet at the east side has, though placed in a symmetrical position, something extra: footrests under which the overflow of the little sponge basin is led. Both toilets are connected to a collection box, which in turn was connected to a drain. The toilets appeared to be the start of a small sewer lines with a roof *a cappuccina*, connecting with the large villa sewer a little further away. The third toilet of this area can be found near the cupola, it differs from the other two: here the toilet seat is built into a niche, the collection box is very shallow and connected to a very small drain channel. A drain from a roof above also ends into this channel. The water supply system with a pipe leading to the basin in front of the seats is the same, however.

The toilet in the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31) gives more specific information

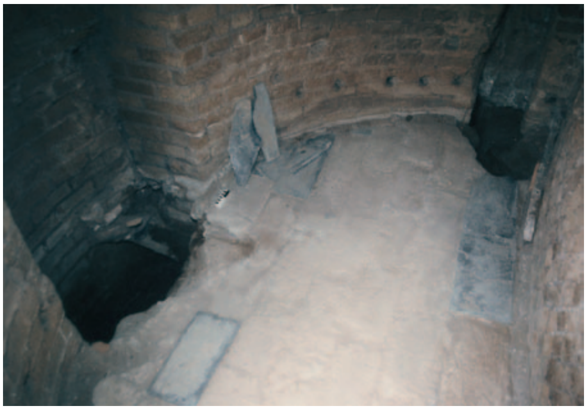

Fig. 12. Toilet room of the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31) with collection box (left), down spout for rainwater (right) and gray slates as floor decoration (photo R. Kragting).

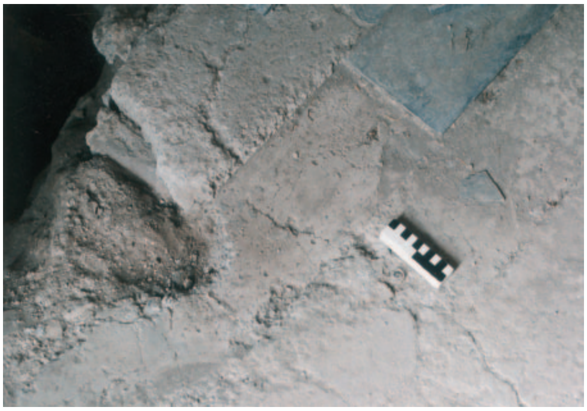

Fig. 13. Detail of the toilet floor in the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31) with lead water pipe ending in collection box (top left) and small pipe next to metre-stick (photo R. Kragting).

about the water system (*fig. 12)*. The toilet is built in a niche of this rather large room. The collection box is connected to a drain with an *a cappuccina* roof. In one of the corners a drain from above comes down. The floor decoration in gray schist and the skirting in yellow marble are partly preserved. The lead pipe that flushed the toilet is still *in situ*, together with a small rolled lead pipe, a diversion, which had to fill a sponge basin (*fig. 13*). The center of the basin was 60 cm in front of the seat. The pipe had a diameter of 4.5 cm and the diversion 2 cm.

We discovered parts of a marble sponge basin at only two toilets.[29] At eleven others an imprint of a pipe or a real pipe was heading in the direction of a sponge basin.[30] The basins are not far from the seats, mostly within a range of 30 to 40 cm. The water pipes entered the room mostly through the door openings. In three toilets a diversion of pipes can be seen. This means that with this stream of water several things at one time were supplied. How the water pipes of the toilets fit in the larger scheme can be seen very well on the drawing of the floor of the Water Court (31) by Rakob, showing how from two central points each toilet gets water with a separate water line.[31] This suggests that the taps that operated all the waterlines were operated from these two central places.

Most single-seaters seemed to be flushed with only one water jet. Maybe this was sufficient, as the collection boxes are still very smooth today and have a chute downwards (with a decline between 3 and 15 cm) to the sewer (*figs. 14, 15*). The depths of the boxes depended on the location of the sewer to which they had to be connected. Most are 76 cm deep, though some are rather shallow (10-25 cm). The later ones are mostly found on upper floors, where one has to drain the toilet between the ceiling of the ground floor and the floor of the first floor. Some special maneuvering was needed also at the Island Enclosure (17), where the drains had to dive underneath the canal. Not all toilets were connected to drains. It is remarkable that some toilets seem to dispose their material into gardens or down the cliffs of the valleys.[32] Maybe the pipes that once carried the waste of these toilets have since disappeared.

The drain from above in the toilet at the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31) and in other toilets, and the find of a ‘toilet’ in the theatre, seduced Hidalgo and Leon to speculate about a flushing system with higher placed reservoirs.[33] This is a rather interesting theory which would be very sophisticated if true. A systematic check of all these pipes and their provenance revealed that rainwater from adjoining roofs was led into these down pipes and in the already existing drain. This water was not meant for flushing, as in this case the toilets could be flushed only during a rain shower.

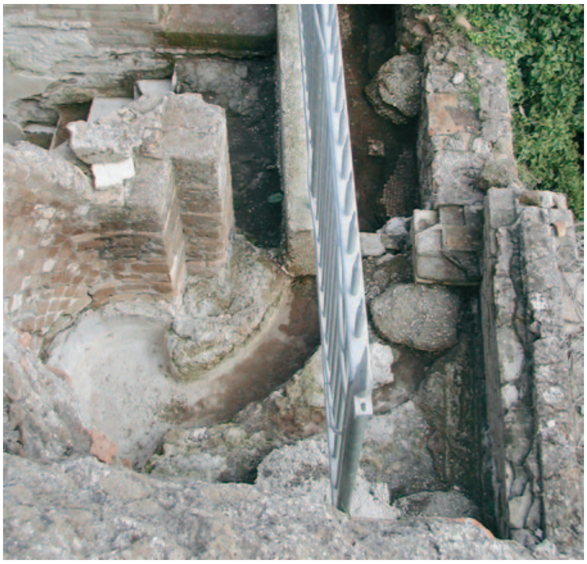

Fig. 14. Single-seater at the West Belvedere (37) with modern fence in the middle (photo A. Vela).

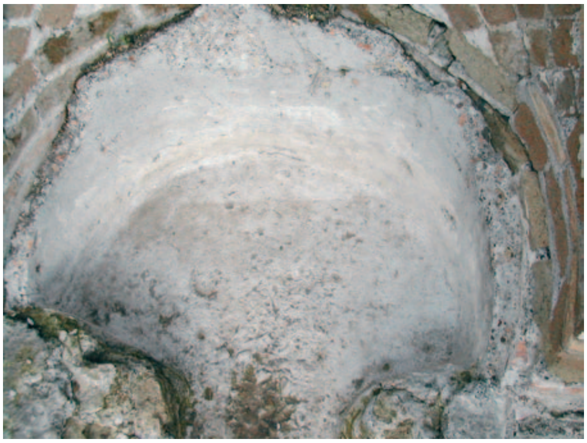

Fig. 15. Detail of the collection box at the toilet at the West Belvedere (37) (photo A. Vela).

The principles of the water supply and drainage systems are summarized in figure 16. These toilets were equipped with sophisticated water systems feeding charming marble basins, in which fresh water bubbled. The water system definitely added to the comfort of these luxurious toilets.

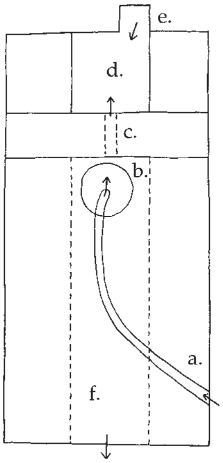

Fig. 16. Schematic presentation of the water supply and drainage systems of a single-seater: a = imprint of lead supply pipe, b = imprint of the sponge basin, c = drain for the overflow of the sponge basin underneath the foot rests, d = collection box underneath the seat, e = rain water pipe discharging in collection box, f = connected sewer line.

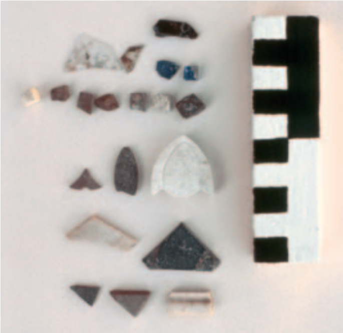

Fig. 17. Small finds from the drain of the west toilet of the Island Enclosure (17).

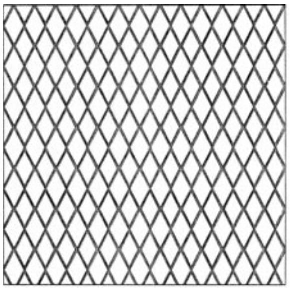

Fig. 18. Reconstruction of the opus sectile *floor in the two toilets of the wings of the Scenic Triclinium (40) by Guidobaldi (1994).*

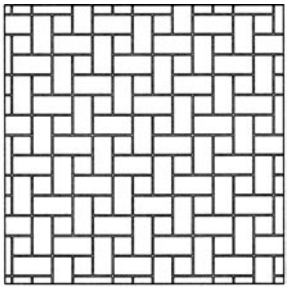

Fig. 19. Reconstruction of the opus sectile *floor in the toilet of the East Belvedere (10) by Guidobaldi (1994).*

FORM AND DECORATION

The robbing of art and decorations of the villa must have started shortly after the abandonment of the site in the 5th century. That is the reason why almost all decorations are gone. Only tiny pieces show us a glimpse of how beautiful and magnificent the villa must have been once. The walls must have been decorated with frescos, marble slabs or *intarsia*, the latter made of delicately shaped small pieces of coloured marbles set in natural slate fields to form floral or architectural designs. Ceilings once were plastered with stucco decorations. Floors were covered with coloured marbles from all over the world, alternating with black and white mosaic floors with floral or geometric patrons.

Although toilet rooms did not escape the robberies, there are enough clues left to reconstruct the decoration of these rooms. For example the sub floors, and especially those that have been protected by a roof, show the negative impressions of *opus sectile* floor patterns. Plaster on the walls shows the negative of the revetment with marble slabs, while clamp holes in the walls indicate the presence of wall decoration. Besides, during our cleaning operation of toilet floors and drains we found parts of decoration in many toilets: small parts of wall plaster with colourful painting (red, blue, green, yellow), small mosaics cubes in all colours, parts of many types of coloured marble and other stones, and *intarsia* (*fig. 17*). Unfortunately, most of these finds do not reveal anything of the decoration of the specific toilet room. The finds were dumped in the toilet drains - together with modern material - probably during the several restorations.[34] Alternatively, the finds seem to be transported - after the collapse of the villa - from elsewhere (far or near) along the drains.[35] Some fills tell something about the history of the villa after abandonment, for example the fill in the toilet of the West Belvedere (37) with glazed shards from post-antiquity inhabitants (1500-1800). Only in two toilets we can state that the finds are definitely from the toilet rooms themselves.

On the basis of all the gathered information it can be concluded that the single-seaters were extremely rich in decoration. Toilets seats and front plates that have survived are made of marble; remaining footrests are covered with marble slabs. Of two toilets a part of the floor survives: the Stadium Garden (28) toilet had a floor with small marble squares in red and white, the toilet of the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31) had rectangular gray slates on the floor with a skirting of yellow marble (*fig. 12*).[36] Of eight other toilets we have imprint of various patterns in *opus sectile* in the sub floor: the imprints are either rectangles or diamonds (*figs. 11, 18, 19*). Thresholds and skirting boards are preserved better. Seven toilets still have one or more marble (white, pink or yellow) or slate slabs left. Toilet walls were plastered but had no paintings, they show signs of marble

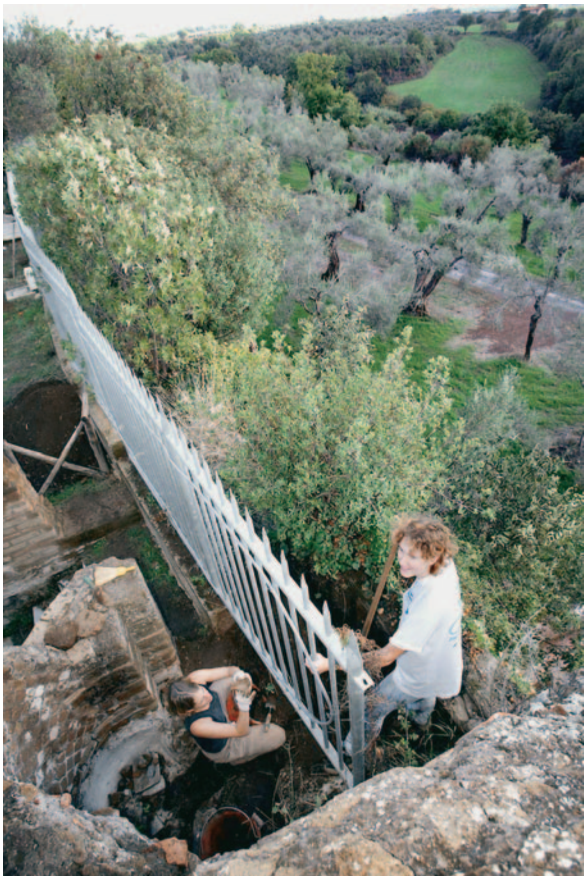

Fig. 20. View over the east valley from the single-seater at the West Belvedere (37) (photo H. Heuts).

revetment, though at no toilet wall are the actual marble slabs still attached.

It is remarkable that most toilet seats are built in niches in the room.[37] These niches offer a special place for decoration: the apse. One of the toilets in the Peristyle Pool Building (27) is known to have a mosaic in this apse in the form of a *velum*.[38] Ceilings are mostly made in the form of cross vaults or semi-domes covered with plain white stucco. Windows in these vaults light two toilets. Besides all these luxurious decorations the single-seaters had yet another special item: a view. Eight toilets have large windows, sometimes as large as a doorway opening to a wide variety of views: to the artificial canal around the island, the villa gardens, and the dramatic valleys on each side of the villa terrain. The views can always be enjoyed best from the toilet seat (*fig. 20*).[39]

In general, the multi-seaters are more soberly decorated than the single-seaters, although there is some variety within this framework. Their floors can range from *opus signinum* or *opus spicatum*, to crude white mosaics or more elegant black and white mosaics to marble floors. The sponge gutter goes from masonry built and coated with *opus signinum* or plaster to travertine and marble examples. In most cases the seats seem made of wood, sometimes of heavier material like travertine or marble. Walls were covered with *opus signinum* or plastered white without any paintings, except for the toilets of the Smaller Baths (30), where wall decoration with *entarsia* can be reconstructed.[40] Most walls are preserved only at such a low height that it is not possible to conclude anything about windows and the amount of light in these rooms. Only three toilets have (remains of) windows that were placed high in the wall. They were placed too high to enjoy the surroundings.[41] From this, however, it can be concluded that these toilets were well-lit.

The simplest toilets occur in the slave areas: the toilet of the Service Quarters (8) and of the service area of the Heliocaminus Baths (20).[42] The three most beautiful toilets, all with marble decorations are the ones in the Smaller (30) and Larger Baths (34) and the round one at the East Terraces (6). Due to their position they do not seem to have been destined for slaves or servants, but for the guests of the Emperor. Their lavish decorations also point into this direction.

From this survey of the decorations in the toilets, we can conclude that especially the single-seaters were decorated extremely colourfully with shiny materials. This indicates that the toilet rooms were not isolated entities in the villa, but that they were part of the overall villa conception, where lavish and variegated decorations are the standard. Some toilets had exactly the same decorations as the surrounding rooms, as for example the six toilets at the Water Court (31).

We can observe that no two toilets at the villa grounds are the same. Though some are placed in a symmetrical position and their ground plans may be the same, furnishings and decorations show many small variations. One of the two toilets in the wings of the Scenic Triclinium (40), for instance, has a footrest, whereas the other one does not. Besides, the toilets at the villa are not only variations of the common types: two are so exceptional in form that they have no parallels in the Roman Empire. They can be regarded as novelties of Hadrian or his architect. Their form is so different that at first we had serious doubts whether these rooms were toilets at all.[43] Only after cleaning their floors and drains did they prove to be toilets.

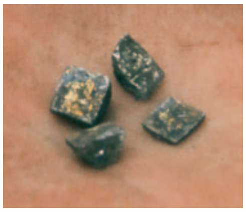

Fig. 21. Gilded mosaic tesserae from the apse of the toilet in the Fountain Court East (12) (photo R. Kragting).

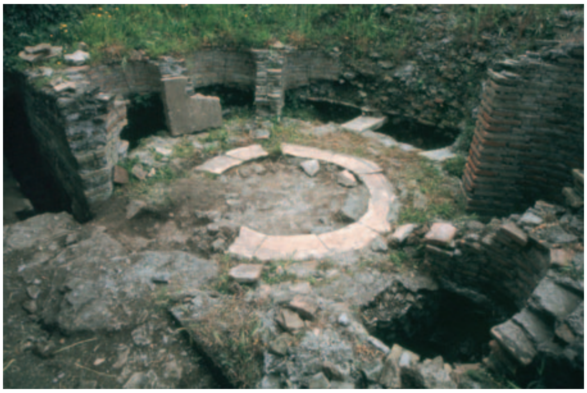

Fig. 22. Round group toilet with seven separate seats at the East Terraces (6) (photo R. Kragting).

One of them is the vast two-person toilet in the Fountain Court East (12). The room has an area of 12 square m and is 4 m high. A large window is overlooking the adjoining garden with fountain. The toilet seats themselves were placed in two niches, one in front of the another. Beneath the seats were the normal collection boxes, smoothened with several layers of fine *opus signinum*. In front of the seat some parts of marble sponge basins remain. Though floors, walls and ceiling were decorated just like the other villa toilets, the niches of the seats, however, had a special adornment. In the apse of the east toilet (the apse of the west one is a modern reconstruction) many imprints of mosaics can still be detected. The mosaics themselves have been discovered in the drain and on the toilet floor: eighty-eight turquoise tesserae and eight gilded ones (*fig. 21*). This toilet, which is matchless in the Roman world due to its two opposing seats, is also unique because of its shining decoration in the apses.

The other exceptional toilet is the round group toilet at the East Terraces (6) (*fig. 22*). This very elegant toilet, decorated completely with marble slabs, had a small fountain in the middle of the room. Although there are a few other round group toilets in the Roman Empire,[44] this is the only one with separate seats for each user: seven users sat on seven individual seats. The round shape of this toilet echoes the continuous repetition of round forms found everywhere in the architecture of the villa. More than in the other toilets, the visitors must have felt surprised. In this sense it is a pity that we can not establish the user group of these two toilets: we do not know exactly what function the Fountain Court East (12) had, nor what other buildings surrounded the round toilet. From their exclusiveness, however, we can conclude they must have been for the most privileged visitors.

TOILETS IN USE

It would be naive to assume that all toilets discussed here were built in one stroke and were in use at the same time. At least seven toilets show alterations that provide clues for dating or that tell us something about their period of use. Most toilets seem part of the general building process of Hadrian.[45] One room seems to have been planned as a toilet at first, but somewhere during the building process its design was changed.[46] Two more toilets were built later than their surrounding buildings and thus form no part of the original plan.[47] It is remarkable that both are multi-seaters for personnel.

After Hadrian's death the villa was in imperial hands for at least some eighty more years. This can be deduced from the imperial portraits of all Hadrian's successors that have been found on the terrain, as late as the reign of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla. We can conclude that the villa had not yet been abandoned then from a few brick stamps dating from the beginning of the 4th century. This implies that the villa was in use for more than 300 years.[48] It seems only natural that some toilets have been altered as, for example, one of the doors of the eastern toilet of the Residence (22) has been closed.[49] Two other toilets were put out of use while the villa was still inhabited.[50]

The finds in the drain of the Smaller Baths (30), parts of terra cotta cooking pots, so-called casseroles, from the early 3rd century AD and a strong corroded coin that can be dated to the years 296-305 AD, probably do not tell us anything about the late use of this toilet, but instead give us something about the date of dismantling this toilet and this part of the villa.[51]

CONCLUSIONS

The people that built and designed the toilets of Pompeii and Ostia were severely restricted: space and money determined the appearance of their toilets. Hadrian, who was not limited in any way, *Tab. 1. Multi-seaters of Pompeii, Ostia and Hadrian's villa.*

	Pompeii/Herc.	Ostia (2nd century)		Hadrian's villa	
	tene-	ment houses baths	simple	luxurious	
10 examples	12 examples	8 examples	7 examples	3 examples	seat
wood	wood	marble	travertine,	wood, marble marble	wall
white plaster	white plaster	with flower motif white plaster	with flower motif *opus signinum*,	white plaster *intarsia*	marble floor
simple	simple	marble, mosaics,	colored stones *opus signinum*,	*spicatum*, crude white mosaics white or colored	marbles, fine mosaics windows
small; high	position	small; high position	small; high position	large; high position	large with a view
dark/light	dark	dark	light	light	light
water	pipe water	pipe water	pipe water	pipe water	pipe water
sponge gutter	not preserved	not preserved	marble	masonry or travertine	marble
extra wash basin	–	–	*labrum*	–	–
discharge	sewer	sewer	sewer	sewer	sewer

Tab. 2. Single-seaters of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and Hadrian's villa.

	Pompeii/Herculaneum	Ostia (2nd century)	Hadrian's villa
	200 and 60 examples	70 examples	25 examples
seat	wood	wood	white marble
wall	white plaster	not preserved	white plaster or marble revetment
floor	tiles	not preserved	*opus sectile* in many colors
windows	small; high position	not preserved	large with views
dark/light	dark	–	light
water	bucket of water	bucket, sometimes pipe water	pipe water
sponge basin or gutter	basin or bucket	basin or bucket	marble basin
discharge	cesspit	sewer	sewer

could order the toilets to be built just the way he liked. The interesting question is: 'Do these toilets differ from the toilets of Pompeii and Ostia, discussed in the first part of this article?' When we compare the toilets of Hadrian's villa with other toilets in the Roman world (*tab. 1*), it appears that the multi-seaters for slaves are just as somberly decorated as in other places of the Empire, whereas the water systems very much resemble the systems of toilets elsewhere. Compared to the multi-seaters of Pompeii they receive a lot of light - just as do the ones in Ostia. None of these servant toilets, however, fits into Neudecker's category of 'Prachtlatrinen'. In contrast, Hadrian's multi-seaters for guests and his single-seaters are the most luxurious toilets to be found in the entire Roman Empire (*tab. 2*). They are the absolute pinnacle, not only with regard to space and decoration, but also in terms of their hydro-technology. Large, lowly placed windows not only provided an abundance of light, but also spectacular views.

The toilets cannot be regarded as separate entities. They form an integrated part of the villa complex. They are not only imbedded in the infrastructure of water and sewer systems, but they are also part of the architectural program and decoration schemes. Indeed they fit in very well with the many other playful surprises in the villa. Just as MacDonald and Pinto (1995, 170) discovered that no two rooms in the villa look the same, no two toilets are equal. Even within one building toilets differ in form and decoration. Apart from that, the two toilets with remarkable ground plans, the round one of the Terrace (6) and that of the Fountain Court East (12), have no parallels in the Roman world. Hadrian's guests must have marveled and felt surprised at the sight of these toilets, just as they did at the view of the unconventional architecture of the buildings, the dazzling gardens and unexpected water displays.

It is much discussed whether Hadrian was the architect of his own villa. It is a fact, however, that whoever made the drawings and sketches had to please him. The buildings of the villa must have been approved by Hadrian and must have been executed according to his taste. In this way the buildings and toilets still visible do reveal something of Hadrian's preferences and gives us a glimpse of his character. He seems to have been someone who wanted to impress others, and someone who did this in a creative, artistic and even frivolous way. To find out whether these many luxurious toilets are typical for Roman emperors or for Hadrian alone, more comparative research must be done in other imperial palaces and villas. The fact that his direct successors longed for more soberness can be read in the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, who recommends his readers to live a simple Stoic life. One piece of advice he offers is: '[...] Do all things as a disciple of Antoninus (Pius) [...] how he would remain the whole day at the same occupation, owing to his spare diet not even requiring to relieve nature except at the customary time.'[52] This quote gives us at least a hint that not all emperors wanted (and needed) a luxury toilet around every corner.

NOTES

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[1] I want to thank Soprintendente A.M. Reggiani of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio for her kind permission to research the site. My thanks go also to Benedetta Adembri and the excellent staff at the excavation site, Mr Di Croce and Mr Galli, who were always willing to help. Pina Cinque owes my gratitude for sharing her information on recently discovered toilets. Furthermore, I would like to express my kind gratitude to Hubertus Manderscheid for all his much appreciated help and advice regarding this research. Special thanks are for Ann Koloski-Ostrow, who not only discussed the subject of latrines with me many times, but who also kindly corrected and revised the English of this paper. Above all, I would like to thank my fellow toilet researchers at the site for their creative ideas and enthusiasm: Carmen Flagiello, Béatrice de Fraiture, Nathalie de Haan, Lynn Hagendoorn, Robert Kragting, Frederike Schipper, Jeroen Van Vaerenbergh, Anneleen Van de Water, Mandy van der Velden and Eveline Vermeulen. Many of their ideas and thoughts have found a place in this article. I owe them for that. This investigation is financially supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). Photographs and drawings in this article are by the author, unless stated otherwise. The photographs are printed with the permission of the Ministerio per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio.

[2] For a discussion of these problems, see Jansen 2000 and 2005.

[3] The samples were analyzed voluntarily by Lieselotte Meersschaert and Bart Klinck of the archaeobotanical laboratory of the Archaeology Department Waasland at Sint-Niklaas (Belgium). For more detailed information about these investigations see Van Vaerenbergh, forthcoming.

[4] This paragraph is based on Neudecker 1995, Koloski-Ostrow 1996 and 2000, Hobson 2004 and forthcoming, and Van Vaerenbergh 2006. Interesting are remarks on latrines by Garbrecht and Manderscheid (1994, 23-24 and 66-67). The results of the author's own investigations at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia (Jansen 1993, 1997 and 2002) are included too.

[5] These toilets are not only few in number, but do not all provide crucial data: one is overbuilt by the modern restaurant (toilet in the Forum Baths), and three others were not yet finished when Vesuvius destroyed the city (toilet at the Forum, the Great Palaestra and the Central Baths).

[6] In comparison to Pompeii, it is much more difficult to distinguish between public toilets and private ones at Ostia. In this article public toilets are the independent ones, the ones found in/near baths, in guild houses, in other public buildings as the fire department, and on the ground floor of the tenement houses. Most of these toilets are directly accessible from the streets. The public ones accommodating one or two persons only (six examples) are not taken into account here.

[7] The function of this extra basin is not clear, it could be for washing hands and faces, or for storing the sponges.

[8] Neudecker 1995, Abb. 72.

[9] These are the two large toilets of the Baths of Neptune and the toilet in the south part of the *palaestra* of the Baths of the Forum.

[10] Boersma (1996) has raised a lot of confusion, arguing that down pipes on the outer site of a house are for discharging rainwater of the roofs and that down pipes inside are for toilet waste of upper floors. As no toilet has been found yet on an upper floor in Ostia, his statement is regarded as an assumption. In the Casa delle Volte Dipinte is a 'possible' toilet on the upper floor connected with a down pipe and this is a down pipe on the inside. Boersma does not refer to this toilet in his argument.

[11] In several toilets dispersed over the city these boards have been reconstructed in concrete.

[12] The fact that this toilet is the only single-seater of which the marble seat has been preserved is at least suspicious. Especially since the marble is not weathered and is completely intact, it could be one of the many reconstructions by the excavator Calza. Besides, he (*Giornali degli Scavi* 25, 1938-1939, 58) does not mention a seat in his excavation report, he only mentions the beautiful floor: '[…] nel sottoscala è ben conservato un gabinetto personale con una pavimentazione in mattonelle esagonali di marmo giallo antico […]'. I thank Jane Shephard and Luigi Mastromarino, both of the Soprintendenza di Ostia, for providing this useful information.

[13] For this paragraph see MacDonald/Pinto 1995 and Salza Prina Ricotti 2001. The reference system to the buildings (names and numbers) used in this article is that of MacDonald/Pinto 1995, see also figure 1.

[14] See for a list of these texts, Salza Prina Ricotti 1995a, 108-110. Besides, she (1995a, 77-110; 2004, 39-40) argues that the women in the palace did not use the normal toilets, but (now disappeared) chamber pots and wooden toilets.

[15] This is the number known in November 2005. In addition to the catalogue published in Jansen 2003 seven new toilets have been detected. The toilet at Fountain Court East (12), though offering seats for two persons, is regarded here as a single-seater as it has all other

characteristics of a single-seater. Multi-seaters: eighteen-person toilet at Service Quarters (8), eleven-person toilet at Hall of the Cubicles (15), seven-person toilet at the East Terrace (19), three- or four-person toilet at the Heliocaminus Baths (20), twelve-person toilet at North Service Building (26), two- or three- person toilet at the Smaller Baths (30), twenty-person toilet at the Larger Baths (33), six- or seven-person toilet at Central Service Building (34), a ten- person and a sixteen-person toilet at the Canal Block (35). Single-seaters: one toilet at the East Terraces (6) (new), one toilet at East Belvedere (10), two-person toilet at Fountain Court East (12), three toilets at the Island Enclosure (17) (one new), two toilets at the Residence (22), one toilet at the Arcaded Triclinium (23) (new), two toilets at Residence Fountains (24) (both new), two toilets at the Peristyle Pool Building (27), one toilet at the Stadium Garden (28) (new), six toilets at the Water Court (31), one toilet at the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31), one toilet at the West Belvedere (37) (new), and three toilets at Scenic Triclinium (40). The author does not regard the 'toilet' discovered recently at the North Theater (2) by Hidalgo and León (2004) as a toilet, but rather as a *nymphaeum* room: there is no sign of a seat, the collection box underneath the seat does not resemble the others in the villa, nor is it in the middle of the back wall as with the others. There are still some potential toilet rooms which have not been cleaned by our team: in the Northern Ruins (3), one at East Belvedere (10), one at Hall of the Cubicles (15), two toilets on the terrace of the Central Service Building (34), two toilets next to the *nymphaeum* behind the Scenic Triclinium (40), and in the Circular Hall (45).

[16] See, Adembri 2000, 77; MacDonald/Pinto 1995, 172; Neudecker 1995, 68-69; Salza Prina Ricotti 1995a, 106 n. 44; 2001, passim. In several monographs of buildings of the villa toilets are mentioned. More recently the following toilets have been excavated and are studied at the moment: the toilet in the Arcaded Triclinium (23) by Letizia Rustico, the toilet of the Stadium Garden (28) by Benedetta Adembri and the toilet of the West Belvedere (37) by Alessandro Vella and Marella Maccarone.

[17] Ledges indicating front plates have been found at the toilets of the Smaller Baths (30), at three of the toilets of the Water Court (31) and at one of the toilets of the Scenic Triclinium (38) a small part of the front plate is still *in situ*.

[18] See for an extended discussion of this theme, Jansen 2003.

[19] MacDonald/Pinto 1995, 170-182.

[20] Salza Prina Ricotti 1995b, 367. See also Ehrlich (1989) for an evocative description of the 'structural role of water architecture in Hadrian's villa' in which she portrays Hadrian as 'a virtuoso amateur architect, who thrived upon the creation of magnificent water shows'.

[21] For many years Hubertus Manderscheid (2000, 2002 and 2004) has been studying the waterworks of the villa, including those of the baths and the Scenic Triclinium (40). Since 2001 a Scandinavian group has carried out a multi-disciplined survey of the water supply of Villa Adriana and its possible relations to the urban Roman aqueducts with participants from the Universities of Copenhagen, Lund and Oslo under the direction of Jørgen Hansen, Copenhagen, and sponsored by the Carlsberg Foundation. The results are expected to appear as a supplementary volume 'Water for the Emperor - Survey of the External Water-Supply of Villa Adriana' in the series of the Accademia di Danimarca in Rome in 2007. More recently, a team of German engineers led by Henning Fahlbusch (2003) started studying the overall waterworks in the project 'Wasserkultur in der Villa Adriana in Tivoli'.

[22] Among the few that have survived is the pipe in the mouth of the crocodile fountain statue found at the bottom of the Canopus basin (the original is now in the site museum) and one found by our team in one of the toilets in the External Nymphaeum of the Water Court (31). See pp. 168-169 and figs. 12, 13.

[23] The speleologists of the Associazione Roma Sotterranea are presently mapping the underlying sewer system.

[24] During our research Hubertus Manderscheid helped us with lead tests to establish whether the holes and imprints really indicate the presence of lead pipes. The name of the test is Rmerckoquant R 10 077 Pb 2+ and its use is described by Eggert 1988. In most cases the results of this test were positive. Furthermore, we tried to trace lead pipes still hidden underneath floors with a metal detector. This method proved to be successful at Pompeii earlier (see Jansen 2001). However, in the villa it was used in vain. We want to thank dottoressa Benedetta Adembri for lending us a metal detector.

[25] These can be found in a toilet at the East Terraces (6), Heliocaminus Baths (20), Smaller Baths (30), Central Service Building (34) and the east toilet of the Canal Block (35).

[26] In two multi-seaters, the one at the Heliocaminus Baths (20) and the one of the Smaller Baths (30), no sign of a gutter can be detected. As these are the smallest of the multi-seaters, serving only few people (respectively for three to four and two to three persons), there might have been a sponge basin. Research of the author at Ostia has revealed that sponge basins were used at toilets servicing up to three or four people, while sponge gutters were available at toilets for more than three to four people.

[27] The round toilet at the East Terraces (6), the multi-seater of the Central Service Building (34) and both single-seaters of the Residence (22).

[28] Although wastewater from elsewhere was discharged in some gutters, this was not done to flush the toilet but rather to find an easy way to dispose of that water in an already existing drain.

[29] In the toilet of the Fountain Court East (12) and the Stadium Garden (28).

[30] Rakob (1967, 12-15) describes this feature for the six toilets of the Water Court (31). He calls the way the water was provided on these toilets 'extravagante sonst nicht übliche Weise'.

[31] Published in Rakob 1967 Abb.1 and Guidobaldi 1994, Tav. F. The team of Fahlbusch has investigated the water system of the Scenic Triclinium (40) and made a reconstruction of the water system including the toilets. For a first impression see Manderscheid 2004, 118 and Fig. 3.

[32] Gardens: toilets at the Residence (19) and the Smaller Baths (30). Cliffs: toilet at East Terraces (6) and West Belvedere (37).

[33] See Hidalgo/León 2004. The other toilets with drains from upstairs are three of the toilets at the Water Court (31) and the one described above, the toilet behind the cupola in the Scenic Triclinium (40).

[34] Modern bottles and plastic bags in the toilet drain of the round toilet on the East Terraces (6), a cement sack and parts of a grenade in the toilet drain of the Residence Fountains (24), some lead sheets, a small drawn lead water pipe from the first half of the nineteenth century, glass and drinking vessels in the toilet drain of External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31). The drain of the east toilet of the Canal Block East (36) appeared a dump for every kind of material: dead animals, parts of mosaic floors from elsewhere and all kinds of plastic objects.

[35] For example, the finds in the drains of the toilets at the Island Enclosure (17), the Residence (22), the Arcaded Triclinium (23) and the Peristyle Pool Building (27).

[36] In the drain we have found many more slabs of the yellow marble skirting.

[37] Only three single-seaters have no niche: the east toilet of the Island Enclosure (17), and the two larger toilets of the Scenic Triclinium (40).

[38] Sear (1997, 109) describes his find of yellow and red glass *tesserae*; these are not visible anymore. Another toilet with mosaics in the apse is the east toilet of the Fountain Court East (12). In the drain of the west toilet of the Residence Fountains (24) we found a part of stucco of the apse with two white mosaics still in place and many imprints.

[39] In the toilets at the rim of the East Terraces (6) and at the West Belvedere (37) the walls are preserved at too low a height to conclude whether here was a window or not. Due to their location next to the valley panoramas, it seems most probable that they had windows offering a spectacular view.

[40] See Blanco forthcoming and pp. 183-190 in this volume.

[41] Except for the window in the toilet of the Smaller Baths (30), which must have been lower in the wall and opened into the garden.

[42] The toilet for the visitors of these baths has not been found yet.

[43] Others, too, had doubts, for example, Guidobaldi (1994, 91 and 76) who names the room of the Fountain Court East (12) 'latrina?' and the round room at the East Terraces (6) 'fontana prolibata'.

[44] Other round toilets can be found in the Maxentius' Baths on the Palatine in Rome and at Piazza Armerina (Sicily).

[45] See for building periods of the villa MacDonald /Pinto 1995, 33, Adembri 2000, 35 and Salza Prina Ricotti 2001.

[46] This is the eastern room of the External Nymphaeum at the Water Court (31).

[47] The multi-seater at the Hall of Cubicles (15) has been built in a previously existing room and the one at the North Service Building (26) is built against the already standing building. It is hard to tell how much later. Salza Prina Ricotti (2001, 153-156, 157-158) supposes that they were ready at Hadrian's return to Italy in AD 125.

[48] MacDonald/Pinto 1995, 198-199.

[49] In the toilet of the East Belvedere (10) footrests were added later.

[50] The drain of the western toilet of the Peristyle Pool Building (27) was deliberately blocked by building a terrace room over viewing the Stadium Garden (28). After blocking the drain this room was altered at least three times, as is indicated by the remains of three different floors. The other toilet that has been put out of order is the round toilet at the East Terraces (6) of which one of the front plates was used outside the toilet. That this plate was used as a sewer drain tells us that one was afraid of falling in a still functioning sewer and thus that the toilet was put out of use while the villa was still inhabited.

[51] See for more details Van Vaerenbergh, forthcoming.

[52] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* VI.30 quoted from Loeb translation.

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Recenti scoperte alle Piccole Terme di Villa Adriana

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Abstract

*The analysis of the finds discovered in the channel of the Smaller Baths' toilet made the stratigrapy clearer; furthermore, it shed light on the room's marble decoration. Many crustae were found, some of them relating to the floor. Indeed, its pattern can be reconstructed by means of a comparison. Other inlays probably concern the wall decoration; they are characterized part by geometric patterns, part by curvilinear foliage ones. Two pieces stand out from all the rest. One of them is a white marble wing, which could belong to a little bird or a winged head deity such as Hermes. The other one is a game board, engraved on a marble slab.**

Nell'ottobre 2003 G. Jansen, nell'ambito delle sue ricerche sulle distinzioni sociali e sul diverso grado di intimità nelle latrine di Villa Adriana, ha compiuto con il suo staff uno scavo anche nella latrina delle Piccole Terme,[1] riportando alla luce il piano del pavimento e approfondendo lo scavo nel canale fognario limitatamente alla zona posta sotto ai sedili.

Le operazioni di scavo, fortemente rallentate da una quantità notevole di reperti di piccole dimensioni, hanno evidenziato la presenza di due strati: quello inferiore (altezza 5-12 cm), molto più compatto, presentava elementi architettonici e scultorei, una moneta, frammenti informi di metallo (ferro, piombo e bronzo) e vetri di finestra; quello superiore (altezza 65 cm), più friabile, recava al suo interno elementi architettonici, ceramica, ossa ed intonaci.

Sono proprio i materiali, del resto, a farci capire meglio la natura dei due strati rinvenuti.

Quello inferiore, infatti, è il deposito formatosi nel periodo di abbandono iniziale delle terme, quando si interrarono i canali fognari:[2] ciò si deduce dall'assenza di tracce residuali di urine e di escrementi nei campioni di terra analizzati e dal livello d'interro del canale che recava acqua nella latrina, pari a quello di questo strato. La datazione si colloca a partire dalla fine del III sec. d.C., come si deduce dalla presenza di una moneta con l'effigie di Diocleziano, databile tra il 296 e il 305: in quest'epoca dunque la decorazione architettonica e scultorea del complesso stava già andando in rovina, processo accelerato evidentemente da una spoliazione (soprattutto di metalli) che ha lasciato in questo strato solo gli avanzi.

Lo strato superiore deve essersi formato, invece, in una fase di abbandono più avanzato del complesso e la presenza di reperti provenienti dagli ambienti vicini,[3] di ceramica e di ossa (relative ad un gallo) potrebbe far pensare inoltre ad un uso come immondezzaio. L'assenza di metalli prova per quest'epoca, non meglio precisabile,[4] una spoliazione più sistematica.

La stratigrafia di crollo dell'ambiente si presenta, inoltre, fortemente frammentaria[5] e del resto non è stata trovata traccia di parte dell'edificio visibile ancora all'epoca di A. Penna.[6] Ciò può essere attribuito ad uno sterro dell'ambiente di cui non esiste documentazione, eseguito forse negli anni immediatamente precedenti il 1919:[7] si può ipotizzare che durante questo sterro si trasportarono alcuni reperti rinvenuti nella sala W, cioè al limite della zona sterrata, dove si trova fino ad oggi una mensola del sedile della latrina.

La maggior parte dei reperti rinvenuti è costituita da elementi marmorei: frammenti di lastre talvolta modanate, piccole cornici e soprattutto una grande quantità di *crustae*, sia parietali che pavimentali, che rivestivano originariamente l'ambiente.

Come ci testimoniano le fonti antiche, l'usanza di decorare le pareti con semplici lastre di marmo risale ad epoca tardo-repubblicana;[8] ma è solo con il principato di Claudio che si cominciò a '*pingere lapide*' utilizzando intarsi marmorei per rappresentare oggetti ed animali;[9] sotto Nerone, in un'epoca di lusso sfrenato,[10] si arrivò anche ad alterare il colore naturale dei marmi.[11]

Lo schema compositivo del pavimento della latrina è stato identificato, con un buon margine di certezza,[12] grazie al confronto con un pavimento in *opus sectile* del c.d. Edificio con Peschiera,[13] dove più di cento lastrine ricorrono in maniera assolutamente identica per tipo di marmo e misure (*figg. 1, 3*). Questo consta di quadrati contornati da tre listelli (lato 35 cm) con scacchiere interne a due motivi: il primo è costituito da quadrati di marmo africano e di portasanta posti diagonal-

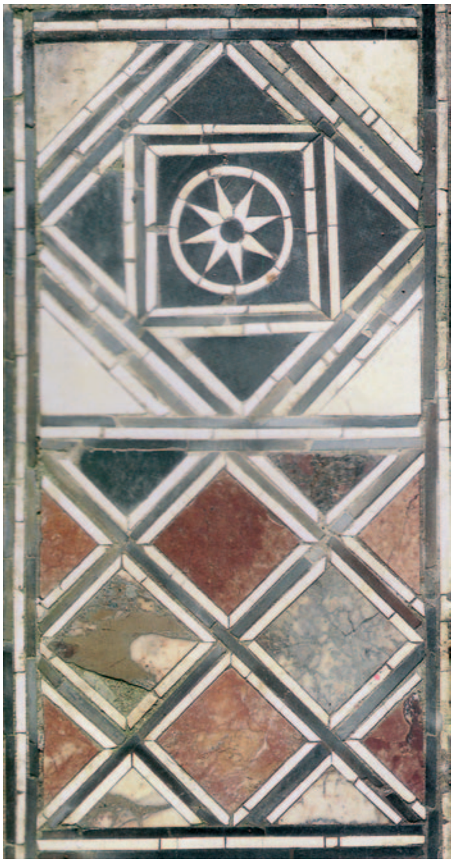

Fig. 1. Il modulo pavimentale della latrina (da Guidobaldi, tav. 69).

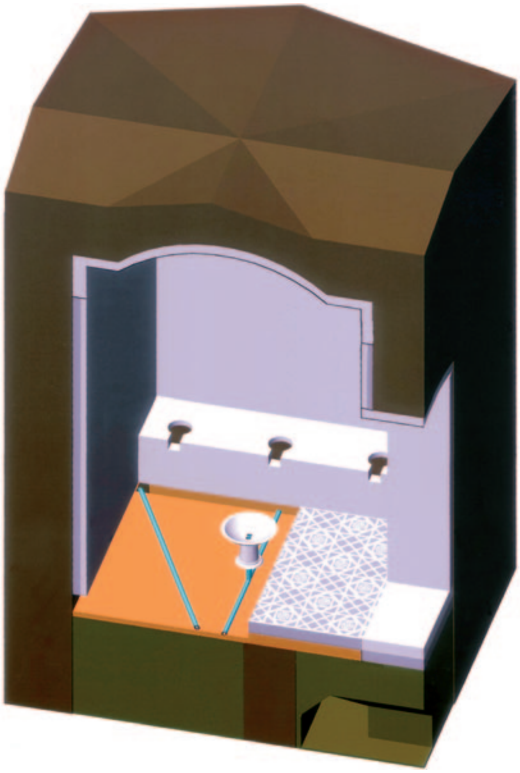

Fig. 3. Ipotesi di ricostruzione della latrina.

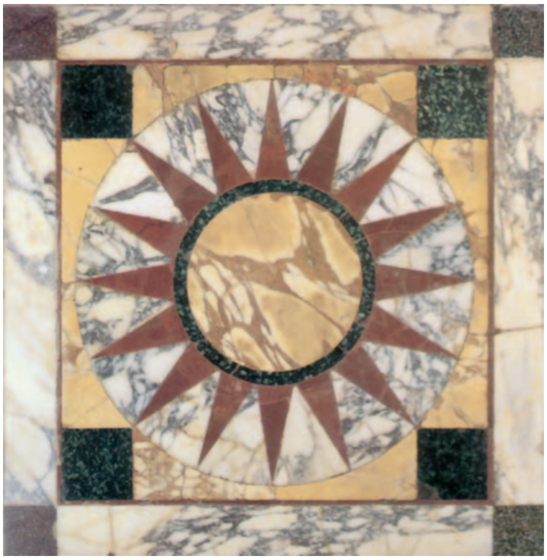

Fig. 2. Il motivo a 'stella' nel pavimento dell'ambiente H (da Guidobaldi, tav. 62).

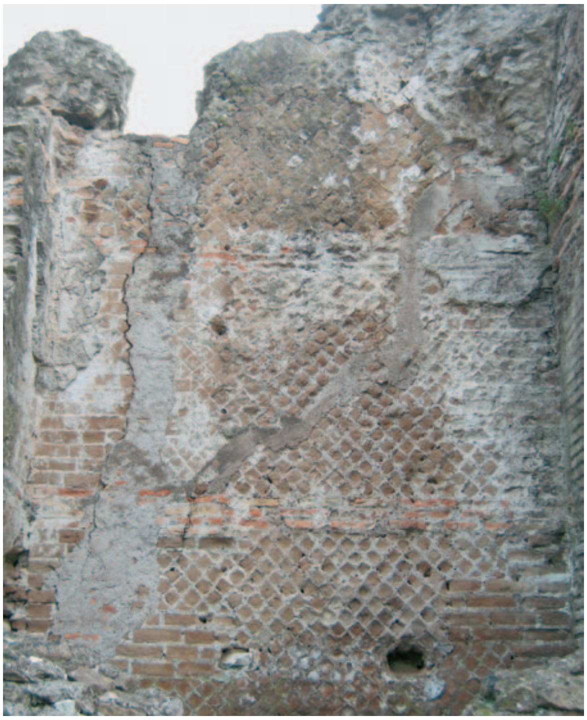

Fig. 4. La pariete orientale della latrina.

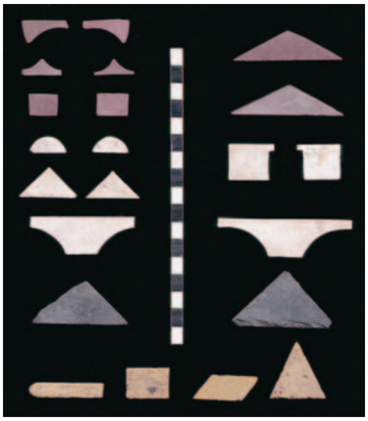

Fig. 5. Intarsi geometrici in rosso antico, palombino, ardesia e pasta vitrea gialla.

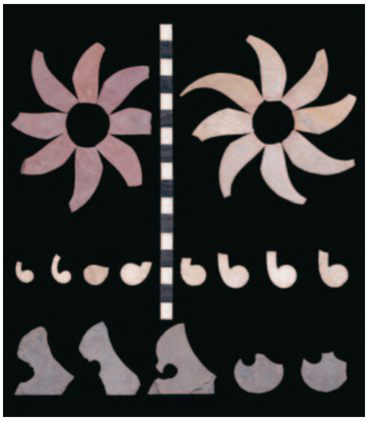

Fig. 6. Crustae *con motivi curvilinei di origine vegetale.*

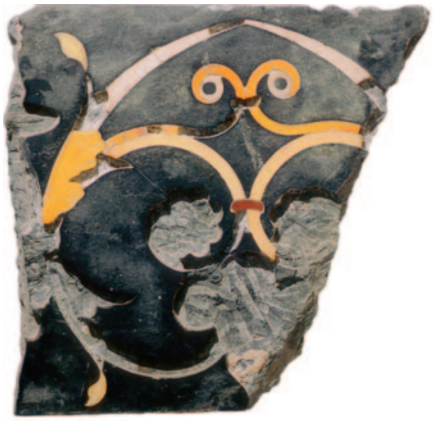

Fig. 7. Lastra proveniente da un edificio presso le Grandi Terme (da Adembri 2005, 111).

mente e circondati da listelli, il secondo, in ardesia e palombino, è formato da due quadrati inscritti l'uno nell'altro ruotati di 45° e cinti da più listelli;[14] al centro di questi si trova un disco con una stella a otto punte.

L'uso di questo schema compositivo assume un significato particolare all'interno delle Piccole Terme: il motivo a 'stella', infatti, ricorre anche nell'ambiente H, formato da un disco in giallo antico listellato e da sedici raggi in rosso antico (*fig.* 2).

È già stato evidenziato[15] come questo schema compositivo riassuma in sé molte caratteristiche del gusto pavimentale di epoca adrianea, che altrove emergono solo separatamente, come la creatività, l'uso di varie listellature in forte contrasto cromatico (provocato dall'accostamento di ardesia e palombino), mentre d'altro canto risulta più moderato il contrasto tra portasanta e africano, con sfumature comuni nella macchiatura dei marmi. Deve essere sottolineato anche lo stretto legame cromatico (bianco-nero) tra la latrina e il corridoio adiacente (ambiente C), che presenta uno zoccolo in ardesia con lastrina angolare in marmo bianco ed una pavimentazione in ardesia con distanziatori in giallo antico.[16]

Questo legame cromatico trova un altro elemento di conferma nel rinvenimento di tre lastre in giallo antico,[17] identificabili con lo zoccolo della latrina. Queste presentano, infatti, la faccia inferiore grezza, quella superiore con fori per grappa e quella a vista con tracce di malta per un'altezza di 4.5 cm, resti dell'attacco del pavimento: la decorazione delle pareti precedeva, infatti, la messa in opera dei pavimenti, che quindi venivano gettati direttamente contro lo zoccolo.[18]

Molto più arduo è il tentativo di ricomporre le *crustae* che decoravano originariamente le pareti dell'ambiente, inserite all'interno di lastre di supporto in ardesia e palombino:[19] questi materiali, preferiti all'epoca perché facili da lavorare, raramente si conservano intatti fino ai nostri giorni a causa della loro fragilità.

Inoltre l'elevatissimo numero di elementi ritrovati (più di 450 frammenti)[20] rende altissimo il numero delle combinazioni: da un'analisi complessiva, che tiene conto soltanto degli elementi di cui si conservano almeno due esemplari, si possono individuare, infatti, almeno venti forme diverse.

Questa ricostruzione è resa ancora più ardua dal cattivo stato di conservazione della latrina, dove solo la parete orientale possiede una superficie analizzabile (*fig. 4*).

Su questa, a circa 0,60 cm dal pavimento, si conservano ancora le tracce dei sedili, posti su due mensole.

La parte superiore era decorata con *crustae* fino ad un'altezza di 2.70 m: la superficie si presenta parzialmente scalpellata e scialbata con latte di calce, accorgimenti che, insieme ad una fila verticale di quattro perni, miglioravano l'aderenza del rivestimento.[21]

La decorazione in *opus sectile* era sormontata, almeno in parte, da una piccola cornice di stucco, di cui tuttora si conserva un lacerto. Questa graduava il passaggio ad una fascia marmorea che correva, come si desume dai fori da grappa, tra i 2.70 m e i 2.90 m, mentre la parte restante della parete, così come la volta a crociera, erano rivestite di intonaco.

La scarsità di dati non impedisce, tuttavia, di farsi un'idea sull'aspetto complessivo della decora-

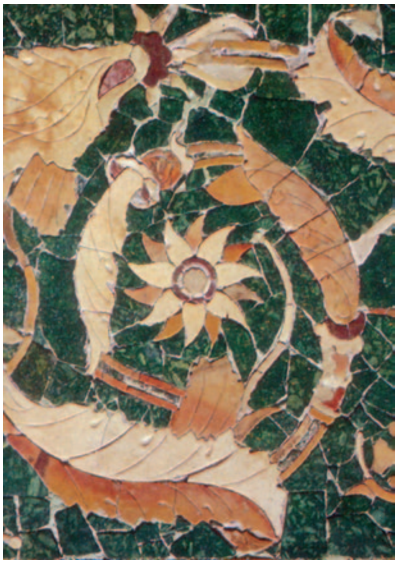

Fig. 8. Crustae *di tipo floreale da Ostia (da Becatti 1967, tav. 57).*

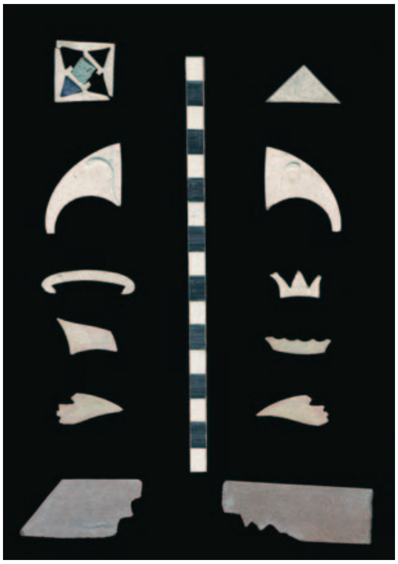

Fig. 9. Altre crustae *in palombino, giallo antico e rosso antico.*

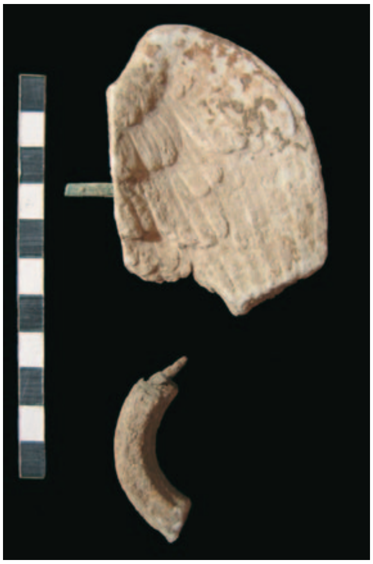

Fig. 10. Ala e ciocca di capelli in marmo bianco.

zione in *opus sectile*, caratterizzata da due diverse tipologie. La maggior parte delle *crustae* presenta, infatti, una forma geometrica regolare (triangolare, rettangolare, quadrata, semicircolare) ed è priva di incisioni sulla superficie, il che rimanda ad un gusto decorativo sobrio e geometrico, che spesso, però, non disdegna particolari effetti ottici (*fig. 5*).[22]

I confronti più pertinenti possono essere ricercati sia nella villa,[23] dato che i *sectilia pavimenta* potrebbero presentare, pur con proporzioni differenti, motivi analoghi, sia in due edifici più tardi, databili al IV secolo d.C.: pannelli geometrici parietali decoravano, infatti, anche la basilica di Giunio Basso,[24] come ci testimoniano alcuni disegni di Giuliano da Sangallo, e l'Edificio con *opus sectile* fuori Porta Marina ad Ostia.[25]

Altre tarsie, invece, rimandano a motivi ornamentali curvilinei, di derivazione vegetale.

Sono riconoscibili alcuni frammenti di lastre di supporto in ardesia e di intarsi in palombino (*fig. 6*), relativi probabilmente a volute, che trovano un ottimo confronto in alcune lastre rinvenute in un edificio presso le Grandi Terme (*fig. 7*).[26] Altre *crustae* formano ancora una volta il motivo a 'stella', ricorrente nelle Piccole Terme: sono degli elementi a 'raggio' in giallo antico focato e rosso antico (*fig. 6*), che presentano il lato minore curvo e sembra perciò molto probabile la loro originaria disposizione a raggiera intorno ad un elemento rotondo. Sembra azzardato tentare di ricavare dalla curvatura dei singoli intarsi la grandezza del disco centrale o calcolare il numero dei raggi, essendo possibile l'inserzione di altri elementi. Al di fuori di Villa Adriana, si possono trovare confronti per questi elementi in alcuni intarsi provenienti dall'Edificio con *opus sectile* fuori Porta Marina ad Ostia,[27] dove questo motivo è usato nei pannelli a decorazione vegetale per rappresentare fiori o quadrifogli (*fig. 8*).

Dall'analisi di questi elementi sembra da escludere, invece, la presenza di pannelli di tipo floreale, contraddistinti dall'uso di serpentino o pasta vitrea verde, da tarsie dalla forma frastagliata e dall'andamento curvilineo; allo stesso modo mancano i pannelli di tipo figurato, riconoscibili perché le *crustae* vengono caratterizzate nella forma e con incisioni come parte anatomica o oggetto.[28]

Un altro ritrovamento, inoltre, ci aiuta a comprendere meglio la tecnica di lavorazione delle *crustae*: preliminarmente si preparavano delle lastre di marmo spesse pochi centimetri, presumibilmente ancora non perfettamente levigate, su cui venivano incise le sagome dei pezzi da ritagliare. Successivamente si procedeva ritagliando i vari elementi prima in maniera grossolana, presumibilmente con tenaglie, poi profilandoli a lima, in maniera tale che i bordi fossero leggermente a svasare. Solo a questo punto avveniva o veniva ultimata la levigatura. Questo processo, sicuramente il più logico ed economico, è confermato proprio da un piccolo triangolo di palombino (*fig. 9*), sul cui retro sono visibili le sagome incise di un rettangolo e di un triangolo: evidentemente l'originaria incisione, cui appartengono queste due sa-

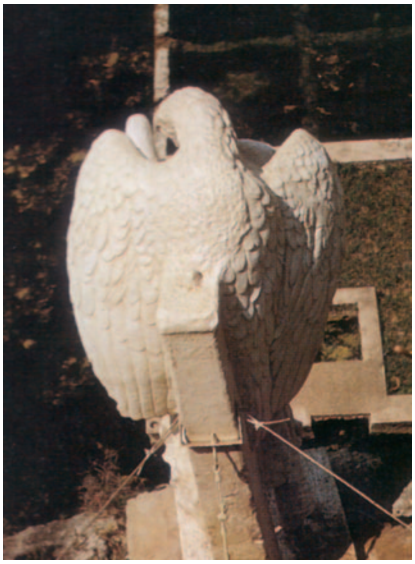

Fig. 11. Copia in situ *dell'aquila del gruppo di Sperlonga (da Andreae 1996, 348).*

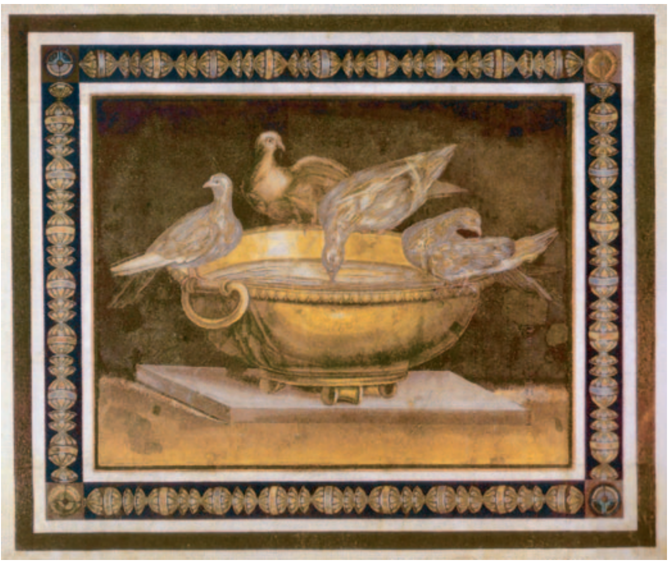

Fig. 12. Il mosaico delle colombe da Villa Adriana (da Donderer 2000, 94).

gome, non andava bene, quindi si rigirò la lastra e sull'altra faccia fu fatta una nuova divisione.

Le ultime *crustae* su cui si vuole porre l'attenzione sono dei frammenti relativi a dei quadrati di palombino, di dimensioni differenti (*fig. 9*): è probabile che nei quattro spazi triangolari d'angolo e in quello quadrato centrale venissero inseriti degli elementi in pasta vitrea, come dimostra il ritrovamento, accanto alle comuni tesserine cubiche,[29] di prismi a sezione triangolare in pasta vitrea rossa e azzurra.

Tra i frammenti scultorei rinvenuti nello scavo merita di essere segnalata per la sua singolarità un'ala di marmo bianco (*fig. 10*), che incredibilmente conserva tuttora un perno di bronzo necessario al suo fissaggio: il piano di posa dell'ala non è lavorato, per cui è dubbio se l'uso del perno sia originario o conseguente ad una frattura accidentale del pezzo. Il piumaggio, frutto di una notevole abilità scultorea, è reso nei singoli particolari, potendo distinguere più esternamente due ordini di penne più lunghe (le c.d. remiganti) e più internamente sei ordini di penne più corte (le c.d. copritrici), che danno l'impressione, essendo confuse e mosse, che l'ala si stia per spiegare.

Si possono avanzare almeno due ipotesi riguardo la provenienza di questo reperto. Da un lato le dimensioni e le proporzioni del pezzo, la conformazione del punto di giunzione tra schiena ed ala farebbero pensare che esso sia relativo ad un volatile, forse a grandezza naturale, piuttosto che ad una figura umana alata (vittoria, erote) con proporzioni minori rispetto al vero. Del resto la resa del piumaggio trova confronti soprattutto in ali di uccelli, come l'aquila del noto gruppo scultoreo del rapimento di Ganimede proveniente dalla villa di Tiberio a Sperlonga (*fig. 11*),[30] anche se la grandezza (cm 8) e le proporzioni[31] del pezzo fanno pensare ad un uccello di dimensioni minori, come una colomba o simili. In assenza di confronti nella statuaria, l'esempio migliore per capire la posa dell'uccello cui appartiene la nostra ala potrebbe essere trovato proprio nel celebre 'mosaico delle colombe' proveniente da Villa Adriana (*fig. 12*), dove la colomba sullo sfondo è colta proprio nel momento in cui sta spiegando l'ala.

Dall'altro lato però non si deve dimenticare che molto spesso due piccole ali decorano la testa di alcune divinità o di personaggi che si fanno ritrarre con le loro fattezze: una statua di Hermes consevata al Giardino di Boboli di Firenze, ad esempio, presenta delle ali molto simili per forma e proporzioni alla nostra (*fig. 13*).[32] Seguendo questa ipotesi, acquista maggiore importanza il ritrovamento di un piccolo frammento curvilineo di marmo bianco, a sezione circolare, identificabile con una ciocca di capelli (*fig. 10*).

Un'estremità ospita un perno di ferro, forse legato ad un intervento di restauro, che assicurava l'incasso del pezzo; l'altra estremità doveva invece appoggiarsi alla testa o ai capelli, come si deduce dall'assenza della caratteristica forma a punta. La presenza di ciocche così sporgenti rimanda necessariamente ad una capigliatura folta e

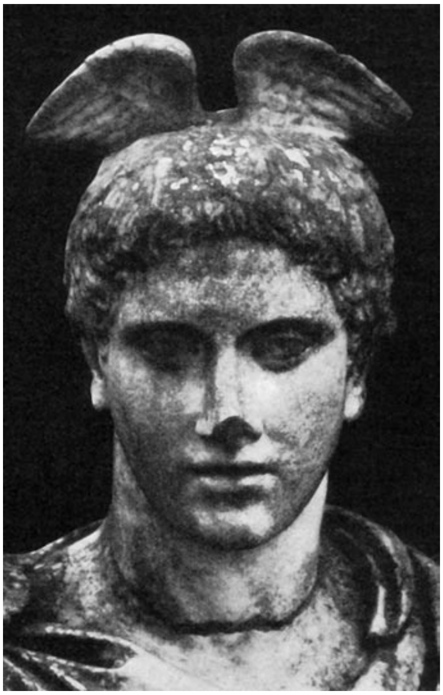

Fig. 13. Testa dell'Hermes da Firenze (da Sieveking 1909, 4, fig. 3).

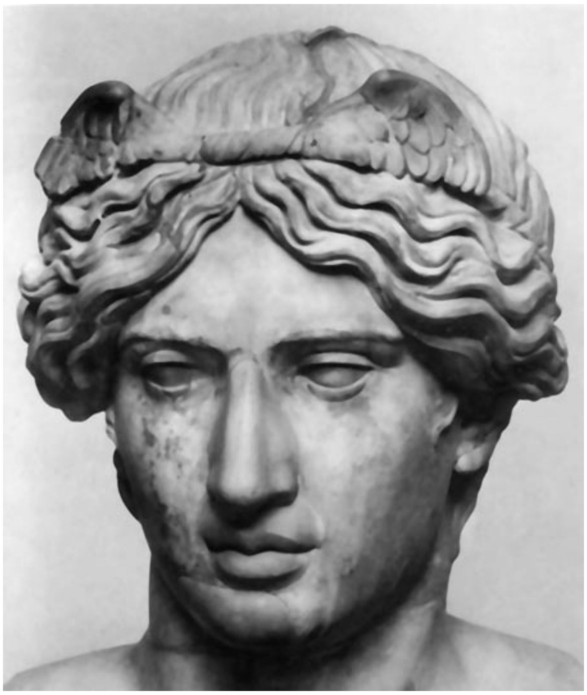

Fig. 14. Busto di Antinoo da Berlino (da Meyer 1991, tav. 99).

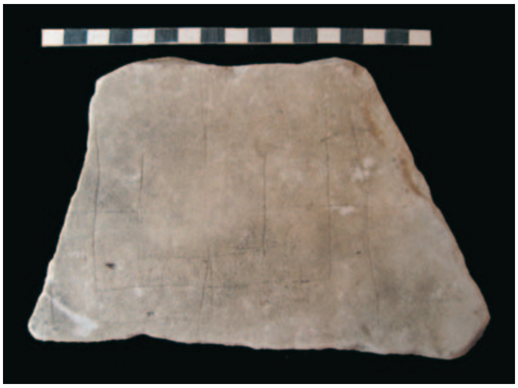

Fig. 15. Scacchiera da filetto.

mossa, con forti chiaroscuri, come quella che caratterizza il favorito dell'imperatore, Antinoo:[33] ad un'attenta analisi della pettinatura di questo personaggio, infatti, si può vedere che sul collo, sulla fronte ed attorno alle orecchie le ciocche sono più voluminose e, soprattutto nello spazio compreso tra orecchie e fronte, più di una si ritorce su sé stessa. Ed è interessante, a questo punto, notare che si conservano due ritratti di Antinoo con il capo ornato da due piccole ali: un busto,[34] trovato proprio a Villa Adriana da G. Hamilton nel 1769 ed ora conservato al Museo dell'Ermitage di Leningrado, presenta oggi delle ali di fattura moderna, a sostituzione forse di quelle originali, perdute;[35] una testa, conservata agli Staatliche Museen di Berlino,[36] presenta una composizione più elegante, con le ali poste su una tenia (*fig. 14*).[37]

In conclusione, tra le due, sicuramente è da preferire la soluzione che vede nelle Piccole Terme una statua di divinità dal capo alato oppure un personaggio rappresentato come un dio, identificabile forse con Antinoo nel caso in cui la ciocca appartenga alla stessa statua; tuttavia, in mancanza di dati più certi, questa identificazione deve essere considerata solo un'ipotesi di lavoro.

L'ultimo reperto di notevole interesse è una piccola lastra di marmo bianco (*fig. 15*), che reca incisa rozzamente sul retro una scacchiera da filetto. Questo gioco, le cui regole sono rimaste pressocché identiche fino ad oggi,[38] era diffusissimo nel mondo romano e scacchiere identiche a questa si trovano ancora incise, ad esempio, su una lastra pavimentale della Basilica Iulia al Foro Romano[39] o nelle balaustre dei chiostri delle chiese di S. Paolo fuori le mura e di S. Giovanni in Laterano.[40] Evidentemente questa scacchiera fu incisa, durante la costruzione della villa, da alcuni operai che realizzarono o che misero in opera la lastra e che approfittarono di una pausa per sfidarsi in questo noto gioco.

NOTE

* Desidero ringraziare innanzi tutto G. Jansen, per aver dato vita a questo studio, mettendomi dapprima a disposizione i reperti rinvenuti, poi tenendomi costantemente informato sui risultati delle sue ricerche; B. Marzuoli e F. Mollo, la cui amicizia ha reso più proficui questi anni di ricerche; C.F. Giuliani, A. Ten e P. Verduchi, per la loro massima disponibilità, le stimolanti osservazioni ed i preziosi consigli; E. Fileri e C. Di Clemente per i suggerimenti sui frammenti scultorei; la Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio e dell'Etruria Meridionale ed in particolare B. Adembri, per avermi messo a disposizione ogni mezzo per migliorare questa ricerca; l'intero personale di Villa Adriana ed in particolare P. Di Croce, per il supporto tecnico e morale.

[1] Su questo progetto vedi, in questo volume, G. Jansen, pp. 165-181. Sulla latrina delle Piccole Terme vedi anche: Blanco 2004; Jansen 2003, 142; Guidobaldi 1994, 159; De Franceschini 1991, 249; MacDonald/Boyle 1980, 22. Per la nomenclatura degli ambienti delle Piccole Terme, si segue quella indicata da MacDonald/Boyle 1980.

[2] Ciò implica che i reperti presenti in questo strato provengano, oltre che dalla latrina, anche dagli ambienti E e F, tramite i condotti fognari.

[3] Ad esempio una lastra pavimentale in ardesia dal vicino corridoio C o frammenti di intonaco dalla volta dell'ambiente A.

[4] La ceramica si trova in giacitura secondaria, essendo non databile o comunque pre-dioclezianea.

[5] Mancano, infatti, i resti della volta e dei muri crollati.

[6] Penna 1831-1836, II, n° 69. In questa immagine l'ambiente presenta tutti i muri ottimamente conservati fino alla copertura.

[7] Kennedy 1919, tav. 77: in questa pianta le Piccole Terme erano già state sterrate, come si deduce dalla presenza dei pavimenti.

[8] Sappiamo che Mamurra *primum Romae parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totos domus suae* (Plin., *HN* 36.48) o, ad esempio, che già Giulio Cesare *in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse* (Suet., *Iul.*, 46).

[9] Plin., *HN* 35.2.

[10] Cfr., ad esempio, Seneca (*Ep.* 86.6): *pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt, nisi illis undique operosa et in picturae modum variata circumlitio praetexitur, nisi vitro absconditur camera*.

[11] Plin., *HN* 35.3.

[12] L'identificazione non può essere ritenuta certa in quanto nella latrina non si è conservato neppure il sottofondo pavimentale.

[13] Per questo motivo vedi Guidobaldi 1994, 145, n° 81, con bibl. prec. Il pavimento è quello di E.P. III, 21.

[14] Da notare che questo effetto ottico è reso soltanto con l'uso di triangoli e distanziatori di ardesia e palombino.

[15] Guidobaldi 1994, 145, n° 81.

[16] Di questo pavimento restano oggi solo le impronte sul sottofondo pavimentale, i marmi utilizzati sono ricostruibili grazie al confronto con altri ambienti della villa (Guidobaldi 1994, tav. XXIII/2). Questa ipotesi è rafforzata dal ritrovamento, nel canale della latrina, di una lastra di ardesia con misure compatibili con queste tracce.

[17] Le lastre misurano cm 39 x 11 x 2.2 (ricomposto da due frammenti), 18 x 11 x 2.2, 9.5 x 11 x 2.2.

[18] Questo zoccolo era collocato molto probabilmente lungo la parete occidentale (al di sotto, cioè, della finestra), dove i fori da grappa sono posti ad un'altezza di circa 14 cm dal piano in cocciopesto. Non sono stati trovati resti dello zoccolo che correva lungo la parete settentrionale, dove i fori da grappa si trovano ad un'altezza di 22 cm.

[19] Non ci sono resti di lastre di supporto in palombino: il ritrovamento, però, di *crustae* in ardesia rende ipotizzabile la loro presenza.

[20] Da questo numero sono esclusi i frammenti di lastre di supporto in ardesia, gli elementi relativi ai pavimenti ed i listelli.

[21] La fila verticale dei perni non si trovava al centro della parete: così nella parte a sud di questi, larga 1.70 m, era necessario scalpellare la superficie, mentre nella parte a nord, larga soltanto 90 cm, questa lavorazione era superflua.

[22] Cfr. nota n° 14.

[23] *Crustae* sparse di questa tipologia provengono anche da un ambiente dell'Edificio con Tre Esedre. Cfr. Adembri 2005, 109.

[24] Becatti 1967, tavv. LI, LII.

[25] Becatti 1967, tavv. LIII, LIV, LXV, LXIX (sui capitelli si trova una serie di semiovoli), LXXI.

[26] Adembri 2005, 110-111.

[27] Becatti 1967, tavv. LVII, LXIX.

[28] Da ricordare, però, che entrambe queste tipologie sono presenti a Villa Adriana. Cfr. Adembri 2002, 471-474.

[29] Tessere cubiche di pasta vitrea sono comuni a Villa Adriana, utilizzate nelle decorazioni delle volte. Cfr. Sear 1977, 20-43, 109-112.

[30] Andreae 1996, 346-348.

[31] L'ala, infatti, appare più tozza rispetto a quella di un'aquila.

[32] Sieveking 1909, 4, fig. 3.

[33] Per l'iconografia di questo personaggio, v. Meyer 1991.

[34] Meyer 1991, 51 e tav. 32.

[35] Raeder 1983, 37, 293.

[36] Meyer 1991, 113 e tav. 99.

[37] Tuttavia, molto probabilmente, in questo ritratto Antinoo viene rappresentato non come Hermes, ma come Dioniso Psilax.

[38] Per le regole del gioco del filetto, v. Salza Prina Ricotti 1995, 98-99.

[39] Rieche 1984, 72, fig. 30.

[40] Fittà 1997, 166-167.

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A Reworked Antisthenes

Anne Marie Nielsen

Abstract

The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek marble portrait, I.N. 2466, has for the last half century lived under the name of Philip II, king of Macedonia, and considered a Roman copy of a Greek work of the 4th-3rd century BC. This identification, widely accepted, is put in doubt, as inconsistent features, stylistically as well as technically, in the portrait point towards a palimpsest, in casu *a recut Antisthenes.*

We know a great deal about the appearance of many people from the ancient world, or rather how their contemporaries envisaged them, in that these were hardly instances of extremely realistic portraits in the modern sense.

Many ancient figures are, however, in the bizarre situation of having their likeness preserved for posterity while they themselves are now in a kind of limbo, because there is no one left to put a name to them. In the course of research many portraits are identified, first as one person then as another, and the dating of an individual portrait careens back and forth through the centuries. In the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods there are very few fixed chronological points, so if one cannot relate to one of these, one lands in serious trouble as far as establishing a date is concerned.

The Glyptotek's portrait, the so-called Philip II - Cat. 450 a, is one of many such examples (*fig. 1a-e*).[1]

KING PHILIP II OF MACEDONIA

The Glyptotek's portrait of a gruff, bearded gentleman has, for half a century, gone under the name of Philip II. He was king of Macedonia, and when he was murdered in the royal city of Aigai in 336 BC he was succeeded by his son, the young Alexander, later known by the appellation 'the Great'.

In 1954 the identification of the portrait as the Macedonian king was proposed by Vagn Poulsen on the basis of criteria which even then were not particularly firm.[2]

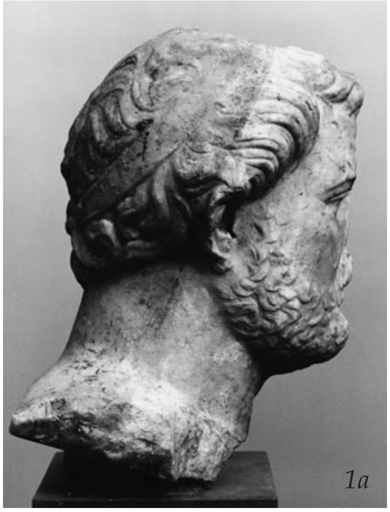
Poulsen looked around amongst the Hellenistic rulers, since going by the band, a Hellenistic insigne of royalty, he considered the portrait to represent such a man. Stylistically he would go further, claiming to be able to date the portrait to the 4th century BC. The one possible candidate was thus Philip II. There were, however, at least two difficulties with this conclusion. Firstly, the royal head band was not worn until Alexander the Great borrowed the custom from the Kings of Persia following the conquest of their empire. Secondly, there were no certain portraits of Philip II with which to compare it. In contrast to later rulers he did not have his portrait stamped on the coinage.[3]

However, Poulsen compared our portrait with one of a number of portrait medallions from the time of Caracalla, right after AD 200, discovered at Tarsus in Asia Minor. Here were portraits of Heracles, Alexander and a third individual who might resemble our gruff gentleman. It was Poulsen's conjecture that Philip II would fit comfortably into such company.

Time passed and this identification persisted.

In 1977 new information came to light during the excavation of the royal tombs in Vergina, ancient Aigai in the Greek part of Macedonia: in the royal necropolis Manolis Andronikos had discovered a well-preserved princely tomb under a tumulus.[4] In a golden chest decorated with the Macedonian royal star lay the cremated remains of a powerfully-built man of between 30 to 50 years of age.

In 336 BC, according to antique sources, Philip II was murdered at Aigai/Vergina during his daughter's wedding. There is no literary testimony as to how he was subsequently entombed, and in the wake of Andronikos' excavations scholars have discussed whether what had been discovered in Vergina was actually Philip's tomb. The tomb is constructed with a barrel vault, a type of construction which was possibly used in Greece before Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire. Painted on the façade of the tomb is the representation of a lion hunt, an activity which may have originated with the Persians. The grave goods can only be dated very approximately. If it is possible to date the tomb to the 330s, it may be Philip's, but if it must be dated later then the possible can-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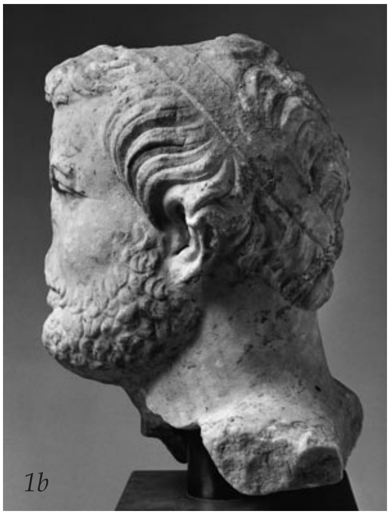
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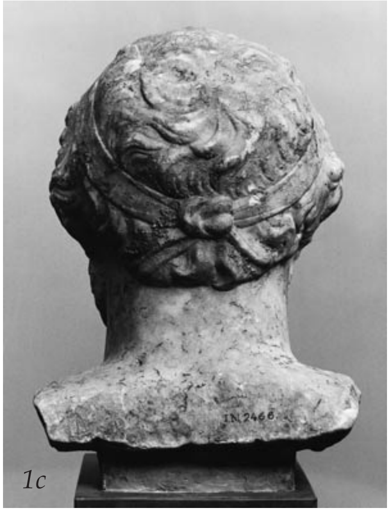
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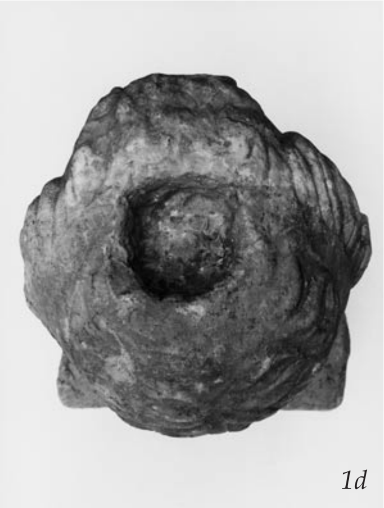
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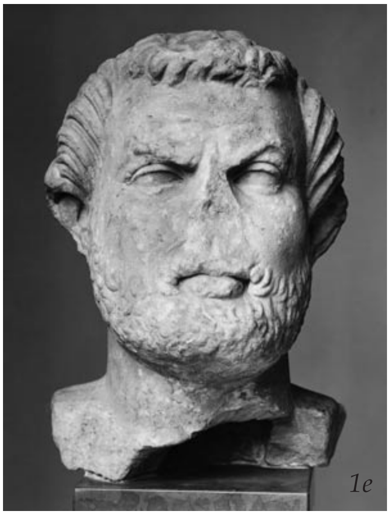
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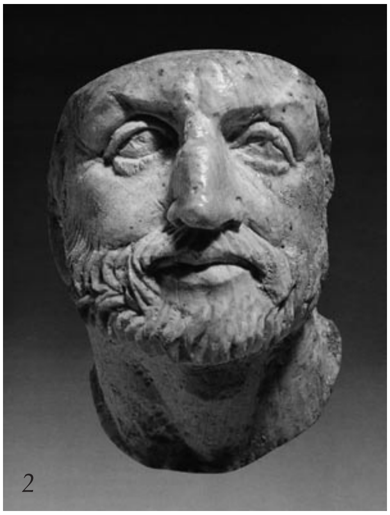
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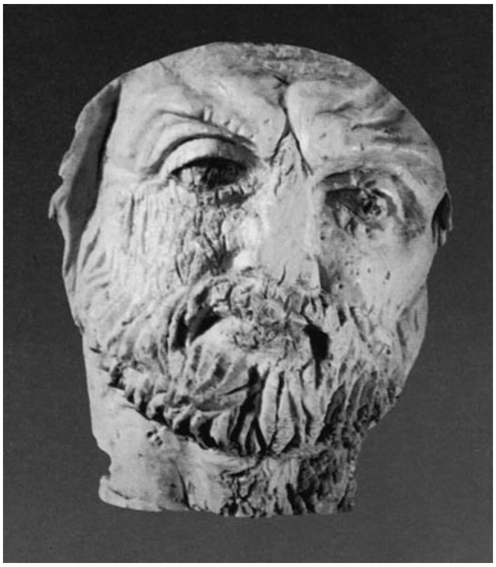
Fig. 1 a-e. 'Philip II'. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
Fig. 2. 'Philip II'. Saloniki, Archaeological Museum (after Andronikos 1984, fig. 81).
Fig. 3. Bearded head. Saloniki, Archaeological Museum (after Andronikos 1984, fig. 86).

didate is Philip III Arrhidaeus, son of Philip II and half-brother to Alexander. Philip III was murdered in 317 and buried, but his remains were later exhumed and cremated by Kassander, who by this display of honour to his predecessor sought to legitimise his own claim to the Macedonian throne. The bones of the deceased in the chest are relatively well-preserved and it is here that the battle over the deceased's identity now rages.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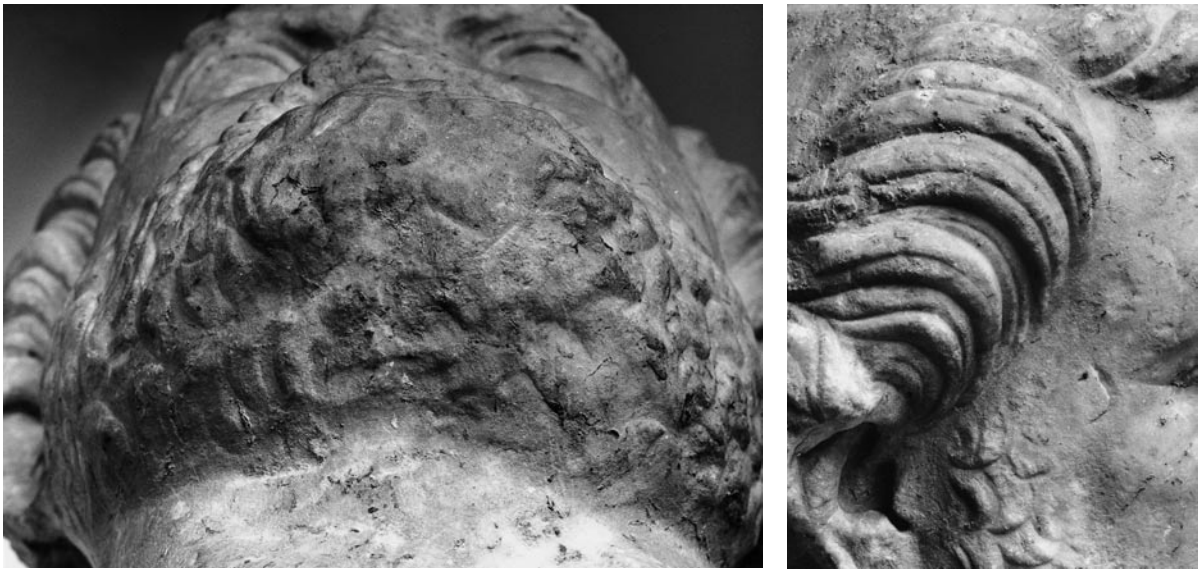


Fig. 4 and 5. 'Philip II'. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

In Manchester the remains of the skull were reassembled, and through a reconstruction the person's original appearance was established.[5] The researchers in Manchester, Jonathan Musgrave, John Prag and Richard Neave thought it possible to demonstrate that the right eye-socket was damaged, and that during healing, the skull had grown lightly crooked. From the literary sources we know that during the siege of Methone in 354 BC, Philip was hit in the right eye by an arrow. Philip survived both the wound and the subsequent medical treatment which had a fortunate outcome in that the skin healed neatly over the missing eye. However, a Greek anatomist, Antonis Bartsiokas has totally dismissed the notion that there is any original damage to the skull and he seriously doubts the widespread assumption that the skeleton was cremated while there was flesh left on the bones.[6] Burning with flesh is highly destructive to the bones whereas a 'dry' cremation tends to preserve them better - and the latter is consistent with the state of preservation of the bones from Vergina. Bartsiokas' theories, therefore, tend to favour Philip III: all the anomalies in the preserved skull could be caused by this cremation.[7]

Also found in the same tomb were a number of small ivory heads, the features of which come across as highly individualised.[8] Among them Andronikos claimed to be able to identify both Philip II and Alexander the Great.

Philip's small portrait seems to have minor damage over the right eye, and the bearded head, full of character, bears a certain generic similarity to the Glyptotek's portrait and the medallion from Tarsus (*fig. 2*). There is, however, another ivory head in the tomb that could be regarded as similar, but it is still open for discussion if the portraits represent the Macedonian royal house at all (*fig. 3*). But despite considerable scepticism among scholars it has nevertheless come to be an established fact that all three portraits depicted Philip II.[9]

The circle was thus complete, and the Glyptotek's head could now have its base inscribed:

Philip
King of Macedonia
359-336 BC
Roman Copy of a Greek Portrait from the 4th Century BC

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

The portrait was acquired through the agency of Wolfgang Helbig in 1909 in Rome, where it had allegedly been found. It is made of marble and is 34 cm high.

The portrait head appears to have been carved from a block which had the same width as the bust. The head has a squarish character as if it was the intention to preserve as much of the stone as possible, and it is almost as deep as it is high and wide. The head is turned a fraction to its left and is marked by a slight asymmetry. It may have surmounted a herm shaft.

The eyes seem to stare directly ahead under the heavily curved eyebrows; the slight elevation of the left eyebrow conveys the impression of a certain scepticism on the part of the subject; the outermost part of the left eyebrow has been cut away. The forehead bears horizontal lines with two parallel wavy furrows in the centre between the brow and the hairline, and two vertical furrows rising from the root of the nose. The frontal bone is not overly prominent, so the forehead appears quite vertical. Generally speaking, the preserved profile follows a straight line, and it appears that the crown of the head meets the forehead at a right angle. There is a suggestion of smile-lines either side of the eyes, beneath which slight pouches have been rendered. The cheeks are broad and smooth over the bones, which are suggested under the skin. The nasal bone is broad from the root and a small trace of the right nostril suggests that the nose itself was very short. A prominent moustache covers the upper lip of the relatively small mouth and curves inwards towards each corner of the mouth. The lower lip is quite powerful. There is a clear asymmetry about the corners of the mouth, and more of the mouth is shown in the left than in the right profile. The well-tended beard falls in short neat locks: only a small extent of it is indicated under the chin at the transition to a diffuse, poorly worked mass which has more volume on the left half of the subject's jaw than on the right (*fig. 4*).

The neck is fairly long and its muscles are indicated, which determines the direction of the head at the front, together with a small swelling in the place of the Adam's apple. The ears, which are set fairly low, protrude and on either side are encircled by a curl. The hair is short and falls in short, thick locks which spread out from the starfish-shaped whorl on the back of the head. A flat band is tied fairly high around the crown of the head. It is tied at the back of the neck and the ends blend discreetly into the thick neck curls. At no point is the band interrupted by the curls spreading over it, likewise the band does not crush the coiffure. The band is only faintly indicated on the top of the head, and although a large square hole breaks the band's course over the crown of the head, the two halves do not appear to ever have met (*fig. 1 d*). The hair on either side of the temples has a fundamentally different character from the rest of the coiffure. A horizontal row of individual, long, sickle-shaped locks is drawn forward from the band and cut abruptly at the temple, which in this area appears to be concave. A completely smooth, narrow, carved 'band' runs from the ear over the sideburns up into the beginning of the frontal hair (*fig. 5*).

Clearly visible drill-holes are to be found in seven places: in each of the inner corners of the eyes, at each corner of the mouth, in each ear between the tragus and the antitragus, also behind the right ear, where the ear is drilled free from the hair-mass.

The vertical sides of the bust piece which were originally concealed inside the herm have, technically, been cut in an identical manner to the vertical sides of the hole in the crown i.e. very coarsely and without any attempt at finer smoothing. The part under the chin and in front on the neck has almost the same coarse character (*fig. 4*).

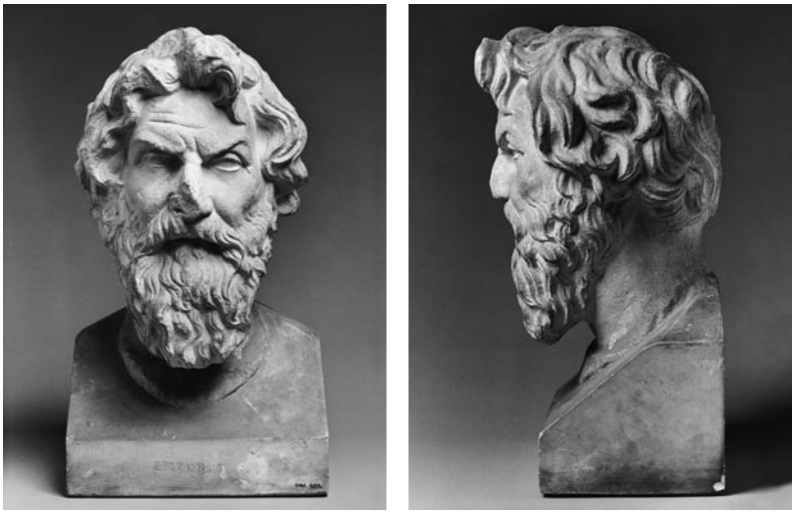
It appears as though the head, at some point, was subjected to secondary working. The hole may have been cut at the same time as the hair-band and the hair (*fig. 1 d*). The top of the head was likewise carved flat at this point. The flattening of the head may be linked to the cutting of the hole.

The hair-band suggests that the subject might be a Hellenistic king, but, as said before, this ornament as a royal distinction is not introduced into Greek culture until after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire many years after Philip's death.[10] Accordingly, the band may have been added under Alexander, or the entire portrait may be posthumous.

Greek portraits of rulers have, however, a quite different character, in that their ideal was more youthful and god-like, and not middle-aged like our head. Greek ruler portraits were a political testament to power. They showed the ruler as he wished to be seen - they filled the gap between ideal and reality. According to antique theory which saw a connection between personal appearance and personal qualities, a luxuriant growth of hair and a prominent forehead were signs of strength.[11]

The portrait of 'Philip II' has never been satisfactorily dated - both the 4th and 3rd centuries BC have been put forward. The early date rests on the assumption that it must be a king from before Alexander's time because of the beard: rulers from his reign onwards were generally beardless. The later date is based on the comparison with the portrait of Demosthenes, which can be dated to 280 BC.[12]

The portrait is marked by features which do not correspond. Nobody has been able to account for the peculiar hairstyle, which consists of four kinds of locks: the small ones standing upright on the forehead, the arched ones at the temples, the fine ones which radiate from the whorl, and the coarse ones held under the hair-band at the back of the neck (*fig. 1 c*). The lined forehead without a promi-



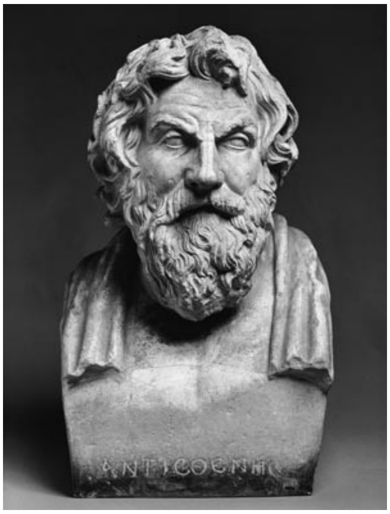


Fig. 6 a-b. (l) Antisthenes. London, British Museum. Cast in Copenhagen, Museum of Fine Arts.
Fig. 7. (r) Antisthenes. Rome, Vatican Museums. Cast in Copenhagen, Museum of Fine Arts.

nent frontal bone is not compatible with the hair-band which denotes a ruler - the lined forehead and the curved eyebrows are realistic traits. The asymmetrical mouth and the crooked jaw are out of place on Hellenistic portraits. The beard is clipped too short to give so much volume to the lower part of the face, particularly below the ears. Especially in the left profile of the face the jaw bone sits too far back in relation to the ears (*fig. 1 b*). Anatomically the ears sit very low and too far forward so that the back of the head appears too large in relation to the position of the ears. Furthermore, the hair-band sits so high up on the head and so far behind the ears that it could not have held itself in place without help.

The lined forehead and the sceptical expression are, on the other hand, clear distinguishing traits of portraits of Greek philosophers and poets, and it is in this context that it has been possible to find actual points of similarity in Greek portrait art.

Eyes and forehead show themselves to be identical with the eyes and forehead in the portrait of the Greek philosopher Antisthenes (ca 450-370 BC), founder of the Cynic School (*figs. 6 a-b, 7*).[13] Once this is acknowledged, it becomes obvious that the Glyptotek's portrait has its roots in a portrait of Antisthenes, i. e. that at a certain point in time a portrait of the Greek philosopher was recut to become a portrait of somebody else - a so-called *palimpsest*. The origin of the portrait becomes completely clear with the assistance of the computer programme Photoshop, where it is possible to position one image on top of the other. Antisthenes is, in the three Roman copies, of the same size as our 'Philip'. Through computer imaging it becomes clear, feature by feature how the 'Philip' portrait was created (*fig. 8 a-e*).

NEW INTERPRETATIONS

This state of affairs raises a host of questions. Where did this reworking take place? How much remains of the original portrait? Why did this reworking take place? Who is the present portrait supposed to represent?

It is possible that the Antisthenes portrait in its original form was a work by the Hellenistic-Pergamene sculptor Phyromachos (*fig. 7*).[14] The original was copied in Rome during the Imperial Period, and at least four copies have also been discovered in or near Rome - one provided with a name inscription whereby it can be identified.[15] There is some difference among the copies, but there is no doubt as to their common progenitor. What is particularly noteworthy is the upper face with the angular, raised eyebrows and the lined forehead. The face is surrounded by the pronounced curls of the hair and the beard, and this provided material for reworking. A tiny curl of hair at the left temple (*fig. 1 b* and *6 b*) and the hair in the whorl at the back of the head has survived the recut. The origin of the work is also revealed by a small detail in the beard: in the area of beard on 'Philip's' right cheek is a vertical depression which corresponds to the meeting of curls on Antisthenes.

Basically what happened with Antisthenes is that the hair and beard were trimmed so that the

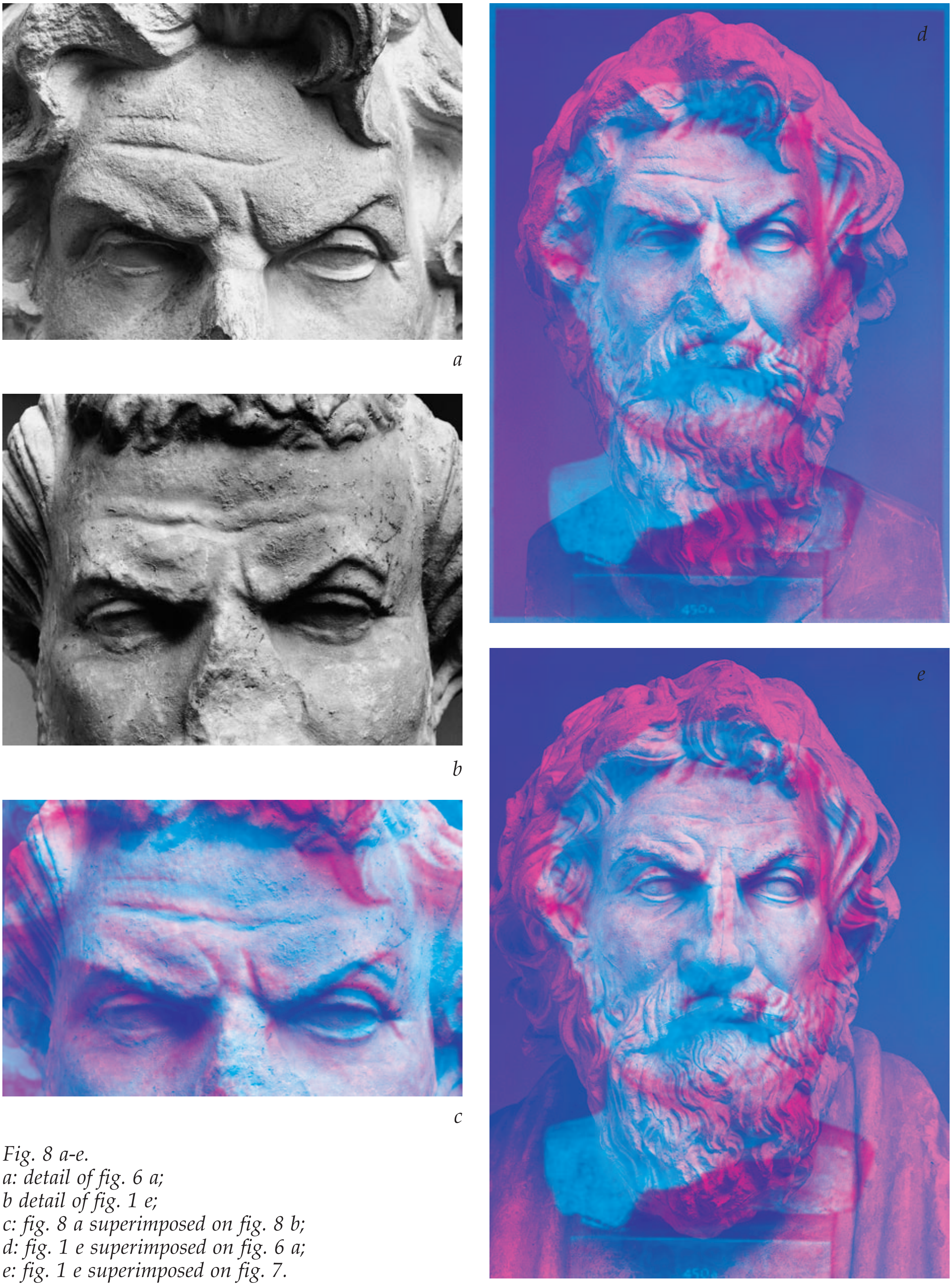


Fig. 8 a-e.
a: detail of fig. 6 a;
b detail of fig. 1 e;
c: fig. 8 a superimposed on fig. 8 b;
d: fig. 1 e superimposed on fig. 6 a;
e: fig. 1 e superimposed on fig. 7.

neck was left free, the ears were added, the mouth was cut free, the head-band was added and the large hole in the top was cut. The bust section was made to fit into a herm.

DATING

A recutting, whatever the reason, must have been undertaken in the style of the time, so that the product looked genuinely new. Since the first copying of the portrait and the later cutting of the portraits did not take place until the Roman Imperial Period, it is there that we must search for the stylistic and technical parallels to the Glyptotek's portrait.

The most prominent aspect of the re-cutting is the hair at the temples. In contrast to the rest of the coiffure it is completely devoid of curls, in that it is taken in regular parallel rows in an arch forward from the hair-band towards the face. This hairstyle at the temples is typical of Emperor Trajan and his time, AD 98-117. The parallel rows of hair at that time, however, most frequently cover the entire skull, the hair is cut short and then brought forward over the forehead. It is possible to distinguish a faint, smooth piece of reworking running from the jaw in under the ear and up along the hair at the temples, which indicates clearly that something has been cut away here; this is also the case with an area of the forehead, just over the left eye. In the context of the modelling of the hair at the temples and at the back of the neck under the hair-band, the ears are also cut free of the original hair-mass. They stick out in an unnatural manner, while a small curl on either side attempts to camouflage it.

The beard is not consistent with the reign of Trajan, though it is with that of his successor Hadrian (117-138). Hadrian was influenced by everything Greek, and was the first emperor to adopt the Greek fashion of beards. The Hadrianic beard is short and falls in well-defined sickle-shaped locks. During Hadrian's reign plastic details were added to the eyes, i.e. iris and pupil, whereas previously the custom seems to have been to indicate these details in paint: they have, thus, rarely been preserved. This procedure was maintained for the rest of the Imperial Period, a fact which rules out any date for our bust later than the early years of Hadrian's rule. The same applies to the representation of the hairs in the eyebrows: i.e. from the early Hadrianic period onwards these too were rendered plastically.

The distinctive hair at 'Philip's' temples has, in fact, a direct Trajanic-Hadrianic parallel in a male portrait in Munich.[16] It is quite badly damaged and heavily restored, but the forward combed locks of hair at the temples are identical in the two portraits. Similar locks of hair can be found on a number of Trajanic monuments, such as the reliefs in Palestrina, where several of the participants in a sequence of events have forward-combed locks.[17] There the hair falls in front more predictably as a conventional fringe. The 'mixed' coiffure like 'Philip's', where the front hair is combed upwards in shorter locks, can however, be found on a portrait in the Glyptotek, which may represent the young Hadrian.[18] In that case the coiffure combines the forward-combed, curved locks at the temples with a short, curlier fringe, and here there is also the short Hadrianic beard.

ATTEMPTING IDENTIFICATION

The above notwithstanding we still have to establish an identity for our portrait. For the sake of argument it might just as well be Philip II, but we have no means of proving this, or even rendering it probable. It hardly seems likely that anyone should set up a statue or herm of Philip II under either Trajan or Hadrian. Neither of these emperors had special connections with either Philip or Alexander - except for some signs of *imitatio Alexandri*, nor were they active in Macedonia.

In Rome there was a tradition of setting up statues of prominent enemies of the Empire. Another possibility which therefore suggested itself was that this is a barbarian king, since both emperors waged war against rebellious tribes at the borders of the Empire. Helbig himself was in fact reminded of such a possibility, a conjecture in which he was supported by Frederik Poulsen in the catalogue from 1951.[19] There was therefore the possibility that the portrait was part of a herm group which, as a united scheme of ornamentation, once represented vanquished enemies or past exemplary rulers, analogous with such works as the group of herms from the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum, which brought together a number of illustrious Hellenistic kings.

One still unsolved problem is the hole in the crown of the head. This was interpreted by both Frederik and Vagn Poulsen, without any hesitation, as a socket for the attachment of a *kalathos* or a *modius*, a symbolic measure of corn which signified fertility. This item of headgear is closely associated with the Greco-Egyptian deity Serapis, and it was adopted by female members of the Ptolemaic royal house.[20] There are no examples of its adoption by male rulers, Greek or Roman. This

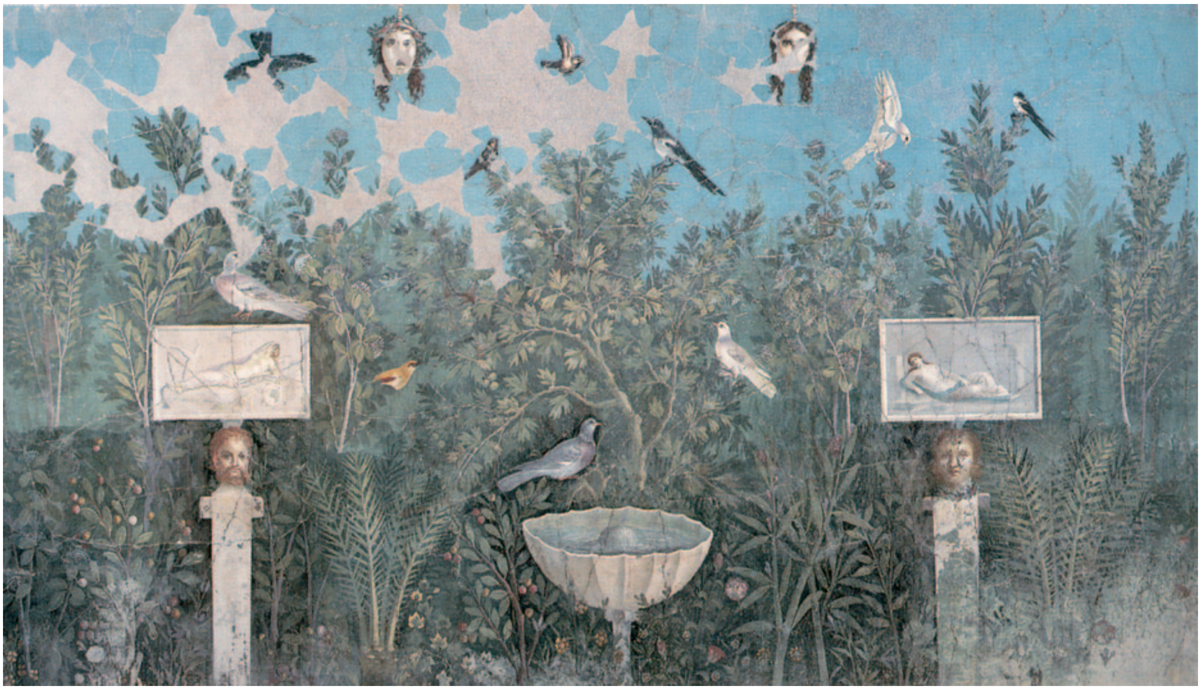


Fig. 9. Fresco from Pompeii, House of the Golden Bracelet (after Rediscovering Pompeii, *Rome 1990, 226-235, no 63).*

may be a case of the headgear of a priest of Serapis, but no known examples of this have been found.

A garden scene from the House of the Golden Bracelet in Pompeii shows a number of herms with pinakes attached to their heads in a way that could explain the socket for some sturdy head gear (*fig. 9*).[21]

RECYCLING

One is forced to conclude that the only certainty in this context is the recutting of the 2nd century AD. Research shows an increasing awareness of *palimpsests*, which seem to have been fairly widespread.[22] It is also relevant that marble was recycled and not just in times of scarcity.

The recutting of portraits happened for at least two reasons. In Antiquity portraits were regarded as 'animated' i.e. they contained elements of the subject represented. For this reason portraits could be attacked as representatives of the subject; the attack could stand for direct abuse of the body.[23] The portrait of a hated emperor could, for instance, be disfigured - the *damnatio memoriae* - or recut to represent his successor. During certain periods the change of emperor was a frequent occurrence, which necessitated a rapid production of new imperial portraits: in such cases a reworking was a practical solution. There are corresponding examples of the reworking or countermarking of coins.[24]

The second cause of reworking is more prosaic, being both practical and economic. In areas with a lack of marble it would be natural to recycle old, damaged works, and in times of scarcity this was the obvious solution. In Rome, for instance, marble statues must have been produced in their thousands. Estimates go as high as half a million. On display were the large Greco-Roman repertoire, famous masterpieces from the wars against Greece, copies and variations of these as well as completely new creations. There were also marble statues in temples, in colonnades, on open squares, in public and private gardens, in the villas of the upper classes, in imperial palaces, in the extensive baths facilities, on sports grounds and in arenas.

In the course of time, these works went out of fashion, were damaged during periods of unrest, or merely by the wind, weather and the tooth of time. It would be improbable that without more ado, these works were all destroyed by, for instance, consigning them to the lime kiln. Discovery of a form of stone deposit, termed by German scholars 'Steingarten', has also occurred in Rome.[25]

Sculptors’ workshops may have had a central deposit, where it was possible to go in search of stones of the required size and shape, and naturally use was made of the older work which fitted into the new. A hewn block meant a notable saving of labour, and thus a significantly cheaper product. Hans Jucker has even suggested the existence of special reworking workshops or recycling centres.[26] Some portraits may have been in the deposit for hundreds of years, while others were found useful after a short time. There are examples of imperial portraits which, possibly out of veneration for the office, were kept on imperial property; they may have been recut long after the model’s death. The recutting of imperial portraits conceivably happened under imperial orders, since such actions by others could lead to accusations of treason, just as the recutting of divine images could lead to charges of impiety.[27] The private deposits thus contained primarily statues of private citizens together with works of ancient Greeks which had only symbolic or decorative value.

It is conceivable that recutting was accepted by all layers of society, even though the legislation in some periods suggests that, for instance, the recycling of fine building elements had to be regulated.[28]

In some instances the changing of monuments went far out of hand as is evidenced by a speech of Dio Chrysostom from the 1st century AD in which he upbraids the people of Rhodes for their incessant changing of their monuments, without however recutting just rededicating them: ‘The statues of the Rhodians are like actors ...assum-[ing] different roles at different times ... at one time a Greek, at another time a Roman, and later on, if it so happens, a Macedonian or a Persian ... [W]ith some statues the deception is so obvious that the beholder is at once aware of the deceit.’[29]

Recutting is not purely an antique phenomenon - there are examples from the Renaissance, but common sense argues that it must have been the practice of every era. Michelangelo, for instance, used an unfinished work by Simone da Fiesole for his famous David.[30]

Recut portraits often display peculiarities which are inconsistent with the work as a whole. There are, in other words, traces of an emergency solution imposed on the form of the original, which is also the case with our portrait.

Philip II must rejoin all the other unknowns. We still do not know what Philip looked like. Unless the Glyptotek’s ‘Philip II’ constitutes a link in the conclusions about Philip II’s real appearance and the identification of the body in the Vergina tomb, the whole postulation collapses like a house of cards. The tomb may still be that of Philip and the reconstruction of the dead man’s appearance may still be accurate, but the certain answer is still missing. We do not know who ‘Philip II’ represents and we do not know what Philip II looked like.

NOTES

[1] I.N. 2466. Johansen 1992, Cat. 21. Photo: Ole Haupt.
[2] Poulsen 1954, Cat. 18.
[3] Smith 1988, 12.
[4] Andronikos 1984, passim.
[5] Prag /Neave 1997, 53-84.
[6] Bartsiokas 2000, 511-514.
[7] The various views are summarised by Riginos 1994, 103-119.
[8] cf. Andronikos 1984, 123-136.
[9] cf. Smith 1988, Appendix III.
[10] Smith 1988, 34-38.
[11] Smith 1988, 46-53.
[12] cf. NCG, I.N. 2782. Johansen 1992, Cat. 33. Zanker 1995, 80 ff.
[13] Zanker 1995, 168 ff. Richter 1965, 179 ff., Figs. 1037 ff. (Vatican and British Museum).
[14] Andreae 1998, 182-184.
[15] Richter 1978, Antisthenes nos 1, 2, 3, 6.
[16] Weski,/Frosien-Leinz 1987, Kat. 120.
[17] Agnoli 2000, 21-44, fig. 6-7.
[18] NCG I.N. 1472. Johansen 1995, cat. 38.
[19] Poulsen 1951, Cat. 450 a.
[20] Merkelbach 1995.
[21] *Rediscovering Pompeii*, Rome 1990, 226-235, no 63.
[22] Varner 2000 and 2004.
[23] Bergmann/Zanker1981, 317-412 and Kinney 1997, 117-148.
[24] Varner 2000, 108-111, 130.
[25] Bergmann/Zanker 1981, 320.
[26] Jucker 1981, 236-316.
[27] Kinney 1996, 135.
[28] Kinney 1996, 124.
[29] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.11 (trans. J.W. Cohoon and H.L. Crosby, 157-159) 156.
[30] Vasari S. VII 153 on Michelangelo.

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BABesch 82 (2007, 201-206. doi: 10.2143/BAB.82.1.2020770)

L'Iside Pelagia di Budapest: problemi di iconografia e di cronologia

Armando Cristilli

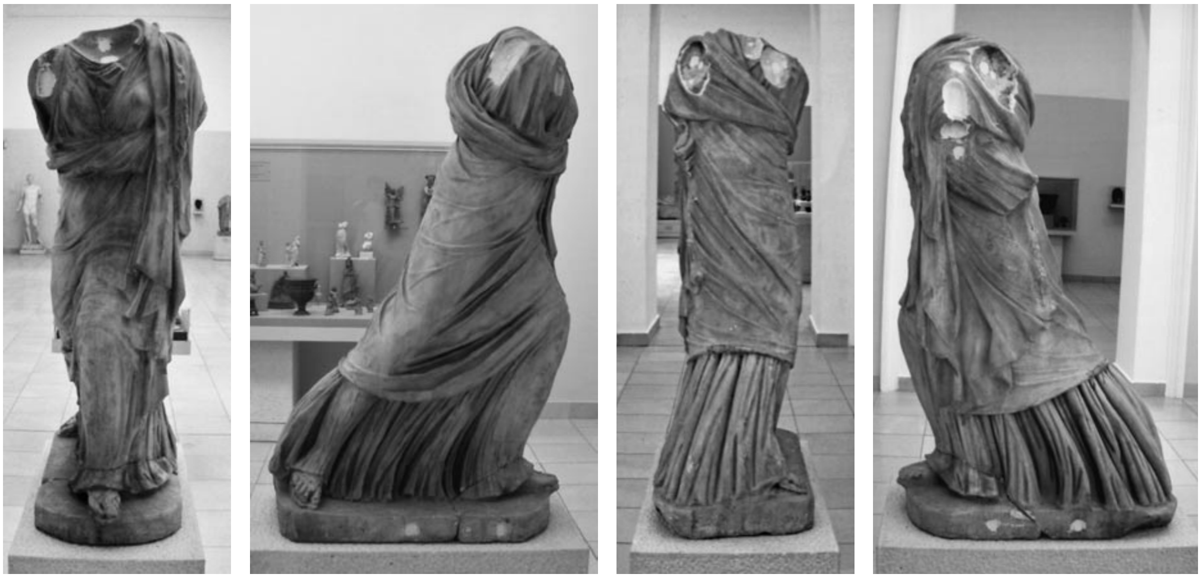
Abstract

A marble statue in Budapest Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, perhaps from Pausilypon *in Naples and probably dated to the middle of the 2nd century AD has been given a problematic interpretation as Isis Pelagia, whereas it is impossible to think that it was holding a sail in the hands. Instead, the statue must have been inserted in another base* navigium*-shaped, with a sail tied to the bow without the help of foot emerging from the plinth. Therefore, the Budapest statue would actually reproduce the Isis Pelagia type. Moreover two holes in the shoulders show its later transformation to a winged female figure, maybe a Nike.*

Ormai da quasi un secolo, vale a dire da quando è entrata a far parte delle raccolte dello Szépmüvészeti Múzeum di Budapest, la cosiddetta 'Iside Pelagia' continua a stimolare l'interesse degli studiosi, soprattutto per il tipo di immagine in essa riprodotta, dando vita ad una *querelle*, che ancora oggi resta appassionante. Finora non disponiamo di dati chiari circa la sua esatta provenienza, anche se questa viene indicata tradizionalmente come rinvenuta a Napoli e, più specificamente, nell'area di Posillipo: questo promontorio, ai limiti occidentali del territorio della città antica, fu sede di splendide e fornite dimore, che qui si concentrarono a partire dall'apertura della *Crypta Neapolitana* e della 'Grotta di Seiano', che migliorarono notevolmente i collegamenti tra Neapolis ed il litorale flegreo e catalizzarono l'interesse dei ricchi gruppi locali e dell'Urbe. E, del resto, data anche la qualità della realizzazione, non si fa fatica ad immaginarla quale ornamento di una di queste sontuose costruzioni, *in primis* il complesso imperiale del *Pausilypon*, all'origine del toponimo locale stesso (*fig. 2*).

Questa possente figura in marmo (*figg. 1a-e*)[1] rappresenta una donna panneggiata che procede dritta davanti a sé, con la gamba sinistra fortemente avanzata ed il piede parzialmente debordante il plinto,[2] mentre la gamba destra è tenuta indietro, con il piede scartato di lato, disassato rispetto all'altro e poggiato a terra solo per la sua parte anteriore; il braccio destro era portato in avanti, laddove quello sinistro era abbassato fino al gomito e con l'avambraccio forse flesso; la testa si presentava eretta e frontale, dalla pettinatura chiusa da una bassa crocchia che scendeva sulla nuca, come indica la lacuna nello scollo della veste.[3] Il tronco, infine, presenta una leggera torsione verso il lato sinistro della composizione.

Il suo complicato abbigliamento consiste in una triplice veste sovrapposta (*figg. 1a-d*): prima è indossato un sottile chitone smanicato lungo fino al plinto, con scollatura circolare, fissato sulle spalle da fibbie tonde e cinto da una sottile fettuccia annodata sotto il seno, la cui pressione crea una grande varietà di pieghe, più movimentate nella parte inferiore a rendere l'azione del vento contrario alla figura; sul chitone è accomodato un pesante *himation*, che, cadendo posteriormente dalla spalla sinistra, aderisce prima alla schiena e poi viene passato sul davanti in corrispondenza delle gambe, mentre il lembo terminale è lasciato libero all'esterno del lato sinistro; per finire, uno scialle bordato con frangia 'a fiammelle', poggiato sulla spalla sinistra, viene tirato diagonalmente sul dorso, stringendosi in prossimità dell'ascella destra e da qui, formato un pesante *balteus*, passa sotto il seno ed il già detto lembo sulla spalla sinistra, per poi uscire all'altezza del dorsale sinistro.[4] Per quanto coerente con la ponderazione generale, la descrizione del drappeggio sulla parte posteriore e sul lato sinistro della statua si avvale di un rilievo più piatto e grossolano rispetto al resto (*figg. 1c-d*): in particolare, si nota minore attenzione nel dettaglio della plissettatura del chitone, maggiormente in prossimità del suo orlo inferiore, che non viene staccato dal plinto, così come accade, invece, sul lato opposto della veste (*fig. 1b*). Ne deriva, a questo punto, la possibilità che la scultura sia stata concepita privilegiando la visione del lato destro. Infine, ai piedi, dalle dita descritte accuratamente, è calzato un paio di sandali a bassa *krepìs* anatomica, con la parte superiore costituita da una duplice striscia di cuoio incrociata sopra l'alluce e fissata con una chiusura a forma



a *b* *c* *d*

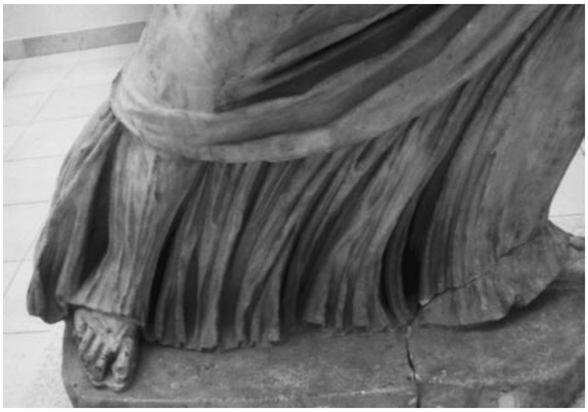


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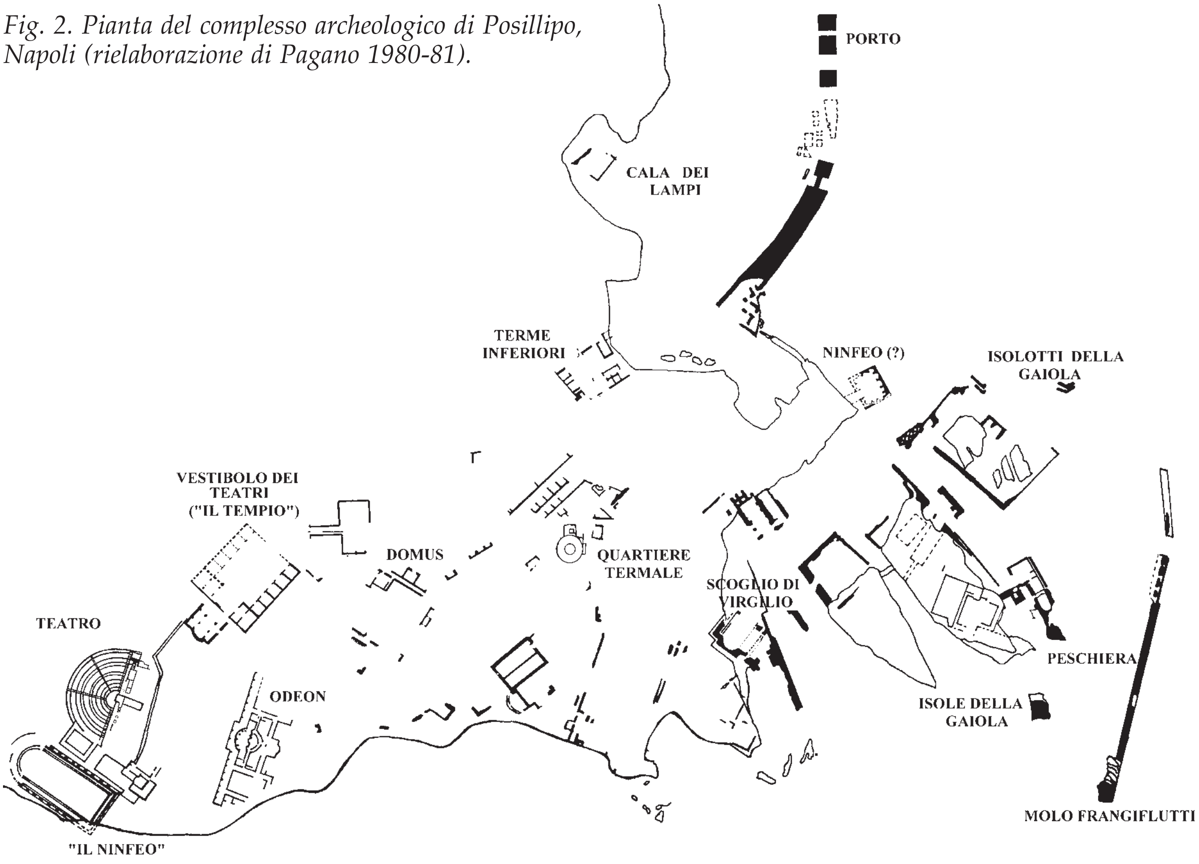
Fig. 1. Iside Pelagia.
a. Veduta frontale.
b. Veduta laterale destra.
c. Veduta posteriore.
d. Veduta laterale sinistra.
e. Veduta laterale destra: particolare.

di cuore, tipologicamente ripresi dalla produzione plastica microasiatica della seconda metà del II-I sec. a.C. (*fig. 1e*).[5]

Un primo riconoscimento della statua napoletana, suggerito dal moto concitato della composizione, è stato tentato con una Niobide, da un presunto originale di III sec. a.C.[6] Tale esegesi, però, è stata messa in discussione dallo Szilágyi, che, in alternativa, ammette la possibilità che si tratti di una copia dell'Iside tipo Pharia o Pelagia, dipendente da una scultura della divinità posta all'imbocco del porto di Alessandria d'Egitto, in cui essa veniva raffigurata in posizione avanzata con una vela rigonfia trattenuta nelle mani.[7] Tuttavia, questa proposta, pur mostrandosi ad una prima analisi come la più verosimile, specialmente per la somiglianza con altri esempi noti della presunta tipologia statuaria,[8] non può essere accettata *sic et simpliciter*, dal momento che pone alcune perplessità, come ha evidenziato Szilágyi stesso. Già i lavori del Bruneau, dubitando dell'esistenza di un *Vorbild* alessandrino a tutto tondo, hanno impedito di basarsi su un riferimento apparso inizialmente solido e, oltre a ciò, lo stesso studioso ha smontato punto per punto le argomentazioni interpretative dello Szilágyi:[9] l'obiezione principale si basa fondamentalmente sull'assenza della vela gonfiata dal vento, che sarebbe confermata, a suo giudizio, dal piede sinistro della scultura, che, fuoriuscendo dal plinto, non poteva tenere ferma la parte inferiore di questa come di consueto in tale iconografia.[10] Ma nella sua disamina, stranamente, Bruneau ammette l'eventualità 'que la plinthe de la statue de Budapest était encastrée dans un bateau en ronde bosse et qu'"Isis", de ses mains malencontreusement disparues, saisissait les extrémités d'une voile placée à la proue de cet hypothétique bateau'.[11] Quest'ultima osservazione, suo malgrado, fa cadere le critiche iniziali dell'autore: infatti, la presenza di questo *hypothétique bateau* permetterebbe di fissare la parte inferiore della vela alla prua, per sua stessa ammissione, senza l'ausilio del piede sinistro, mentre superiormente questa veniva trattenuta dalle mani della figura muliebre. In effetti, analizzando più attentamente il nostro esemplare, si nota come il plinto sia stondato sui lati brevi e presenti una coppia di fori circolari su ciascun lato lungo, elementi che, insieme alla punta sporgente del piede sinistro, renderebbero quasi certa un'inserzione della composizione in una struttura complementare. In questo modo, lo stesso Bruneau non solo offre la chiave per confermare la posizione dello Szilágyi, ma, per forza di cose, non permette più di comprendere chiaramente se la statua di Budapest riproduca l'Iside Pelagia-Pharia, più o meno fedelmente, o se, al contrario, la figura non vada riferita affatto a tale iconografia: infatti, l'eventuale inserzione della statua in un supporto a forma di *navigium* basterebbe di per sé a porre in essere la presenza della vela, come ha già osservato anche la Ridgway.[12] Ed effettivamente i fori di perno del plinto, mai considerati con la dovuta attenzione, supporterebbero l'ipotesi di un basso coronamento della statua (verosimilmente in marmo), profilato come la chiglia di un'imbarcazione, che giustificherebbe pure la sporgenza del piede sinistro, funzionale ad una migliore coesione dei vari componenti (*figg. 1b, d*). Va ugualmente osservato che la nostra scultura, come si è visto più sopra, presenta una leggera torsione del busto verso il lato sinistro ed un rendimento plastico molto più dettagliato sul lato opposto, mentre dal drappeggio del mantello e dal movimento delle pieghe del chitone viene suggerita l'idea di un vento che spira dal medesimo lato destro. A giudicare da questi fattori, e tenendo ben presente la posizione delle braccia, quindi, possiamo ricostruire effettivamente la presenza di una vela trattenuta in alto dalle mani della donna, fissata in basso alla prua della base-*navigium* e leggermente ruotata verso sinistra, senza il rischio per quest'ultima di nascondere eccessivamente la figura muliebre. Una simile soluzione, a conti fatti, conferma anche il lato destro del monumento come la sua veduta principale. Dunque, per concludere, la statua di Budapest riproduce a buon diritto lo schema dell'Iside tipo Pelagia o 'con la vela', secondo la definizione del Blanchaud.[13] Qualche perplessità resta, invece, a proposito dell'abbigliamento della dea, che non veste la *kalasiris*, quantunque questa non ne costituisca l'elemento esclusivo. A riguardo, però, può venire in aiuto il drappo frangiato sistemato sull'*himation*, che andrebbe identificato con il *kredemnon* indossato sul capo dalle figure isiache,[14] ma che nell'esemplare napoletano viene drappeggiato in modo più originale, quasi si trattasse di una sorta di scialle. In effetti, nelle attestazioni di questo tipo iconografico, che non sono mai sculture a tutto tondo, spaziando, invece, dalle monete alle steli ed alle lucerne, non è previsto per la dea il capo velato. Nella statua di Budapest, al contrario, sembra che il *kredemnon* sia un elemento imprescindibile che non può essere soppresso a livello compositivo. E' possibile che tale adattamento sia stato reso necessario per motivi tecnici, oltre che puramente estetici: infatti, qualora il velo fosse stato indossato sulla testa, il vento contrario lo avrebbe fatto sventolare libero dietro la figura, disturbando il generale equilibrio dell'opera, oltre al fatto che sarebbe stato piuttosto difficile rendere il dispiegarsi dell'ampio pezzo di stoffa in una scultura marmorea così grande. Al momento, data la scarsa disponibilità di documenti scultorei, dovuta principalmente alla impossibilità di accertare la loro identità come repliche del tipo, non possiamo stabilire se questo adattamento così particolare del velo sia stato operato per la prima volta nella statua Budapest. Quello che, però, è certo è che esso risolve in modo efficace notevoli problemi di realizzazione. Come già evidenziato altrove, il rimando all'*imagerie* di Iside deve essere stato di certo affidato ad altri dettagli non pervenutici, quali possono essere stati la pettinatura, completata eventualmente con il *basileion* sulla fronte, ed il sistro nella mano, che poteva essere trattenuto ad un tempo con la vela. Dunque, non ci sono apparenti ostacoli all'identificazione della nostra scultura come effige di Iside nel tipo Pelagia, cioè nella veste della divina *gubernatrix* delle acque marine.

L'ultima peculiarità da segnalare sono le due lacune nella parte posteriore delle spalle, che, per i relativi incavi quadrangolari, ha fatto avanzare in tempi recenti la possibilità che la scultura fosse completata con elementi lavorati separatamente in marmo oppure in metallo, forse un paio di ali (*fig. 1c*).[15] Come ha avuto modo di sottolineare lo Szilágyi, va chiarito innanzitutto il momento dell'inserzione di questi attributi: infatti, se si trattasse di un'aggiunta posteriore alla realizzazione della statua, allora saremmo autorizzati a pensare ad una sua trasformazione da Iside Pelagia in una figura alata, stravolgendone completamente il significato originario; se, viceversa, le ali sono state previste fin dall'inizio, allora ci troveremmo in presenza di una creazione del tutto autonoma, che utilizza un collaudato schema iconografico comune a più tipologie figurative (quello della 'dea in azione', per intenderci), così da ricavare un personaggio femminile alato, credibilmente una Vittoria, a meno di non riconoscervi una sincretica Iside-Nike. Tuttavia, il trattamento delle

Fig. 2. Pianta del complesso archeologico di Posillipo, Napoli (rielaborazione di Pagano 1980-81).



superfici della parte posteriore della scultura impedisce di accettare la seconda ipotesi: dovendo prevedere un paio di ali, infatti, lo scultore avrebbe proceduto ad un rendimento diverso della zona interessata, ma, soprattutto, non avrebbe agganciato questi elementi *ex abrupto* sul dorso della figura, cosa che invece mostra di essersi determinata. La resa delle stoffe dell'abbigliamento e la descrizione delle pieghe del mantello, del *kredemnon* e del chitone all'altezza dei deltoidi, di fatto, indicano chiaramente che le lacune visibili non sono altro che il frutto di un intervento successivo alla redazione dell'opera, concepita senza l'integrazione delle ali. Così, accettando l'invito dello Szilágyi, possiamo affermare senza errore che la scultura in esame nasce come effige della dea Iside per essere riutilizzata, non sappiamo quando, né tantomeno perchè, come una diversa effige, forse una Nike alata.

Questa statua, che fa leva sul piede sinistro portato in avanti e protende il torso con una certa inclinazione per resistere al forte vento contrario, è una composizione vibrante e mossa, animata da un moto teso, quantunque sempre dignitosamente bilanciato, che non scade mai in un atteggiamento scomposto o agitato. Attento, inoltre, è l'uso della luce, che viene modulata in modo efficace, sfruttando la grande quantità di pieghe e la varietà della consistenza dei tessuti degli abiti, così da riuscire ad ottenere un valido ritmo chiaroscurale. La ricerca di questi effetti, che movimentano ulteriormente la composizione, sottintende un consapevole utilizzo del trapano, che contribuisce non poco ad una resa più vitale della figura femminile: si noti, per esempio, il panneggio della parte alta del chitone, la cui leggerezza è resa in modo impeccabile; la descrizione della profonda apertura sotto l'ascella destra, che assorbe completamente la luce; il pesante bordo creato dal *kredemnon* sotto il petto, caratterizzato com'è dal contrasto tra lo sviluppo orizzontale del *balteus* e le sue grinze oblique; le ampie pieghe depresse sul lato destro dell'*himation*, che danno maggiore colore al generale nitore della veste. Oltre a ciò, va sottolineata la fine consistenza del tessuto del chitone, alternando solchi più profondi a delicati incavi più superficiali, o anche il rilievo più basso accordato all'indicazione dei lembi svolazzanti sul lato sinistro del mantello, che, aderendo al corpo, non interrompono l'omogenea levigatezza della superficie. Degno di attenzione, infine, è l'orlo inferiore del mantello ripiegato su se stesso nella parte posteriore. Si tratta senza dubbio di un prodotto riuscito, sia da un punto di vista estetico che compositivo, da riferire ad una bottega marmoraria di adeguata perizia tecnica e di discreto gusto artistico, che non solo è capace di realizzare una scultura proporzionata nell'insieme, ma che anche è in grado di far cogliere appieno tutto quel movimento che pervade completamente la figura e che risulta ben sottolineato dallo sviluppo del panneggio.

I caratteri fin qui rilevati rendono attendibile un riferimento dell'Iside di Budapest ad età imperiale, pur venendo tradizionalmente considerata come un lavoro di età greca.[16] Ma, come si desume soprattutto dalla qualità formale del panneggio, che si avvale di un largo impiego del trapano e che appare contraddistinto da serrati ritmi chiaroscurali, insieme a particolari quali le forme solide della figura, la cura attenta nella descrizione delle dita dei piedi, dei sandali e della frangia del *kredemnon* e la stoffa del chitone aderente allo stinco ed al polpaccio destro, la datazione ad età romana appare come la più plausibile. In modo più specifico, siamo in presenza di fattori che concorrono per un'attribuzione della scultura ai decenni a cavallo della metà del II sec. d.C., non oltre il principato di Marco Aurelio. In questo senso, il nostro esemplare può essere anche avvicinato ad una frammentaria statua muliebre panneggiata del Museo Nazionale Romano,[17] in particolare per la qualità stilistica, mentre, per il rendimento dell'orlo inferiore del chitone, un altro confronto immediato è costituito da una statua di Tyche oggi conservata a Bruxelles.[18] Oltre a ciò, osservando la resa e lo sviluppo delle pieghe dell'*himation*, così aderenti alle gambe ed intervallate da profonde depressioni realizzate nella superficie marmorea, in aggiunta alle sottili grinze concluse ad onde del chitone, si possono rinvenire chiare corrispondenze con la Talìa del noto gruppo delle Muse di Madrid, datata tra la tarda età adrianea ed i primi decenni dell'età antonina.[19] Sulla base di tali indicazioni, per la scultura di Budapest può essere accettabile la proposta di una cronologia alla metà del II sec. d.C.

Infine, a proposito della collocazione originaria dell'esemplare, non abbiamo notizie precise, se non un generico riferimento alla zona di Posillipo, come già accennato sopra. Ma, effettivamente, in base alle dimensioni ed al soggetto rappresentato, oltre alla qualità della realizzazione, non possiamo immaginarlo se non come pertinente all'arredo scultoreo della dimora imperiale del *Pausilypon*,[20] diversamente, potrebbe essere stato anche collocato in qualche ambiente di rappresentanza di una delle altre ville vicine, come quella di Villa Rosebery (*fig. 2*).[21] Tuttavia, così come è stata ricostruita, è suggestivo pensare che questa immagine di Iside Pelagia possa essere stata installata sfruttando la posizione panoramica delle terrazze di questi complessi, con il mare come naturale quinta scenica a rendere la composizione sicuramente più realistica e più vitale, senza considerare, poi, il grande effetto visivo che essa avrebbe avuto qualora effettivamente la vela fosse stata di un metallo lucente, come il bronzo, per fare un esempio pratico. E, come se non bastasse, la vicinanza al mare avrebbe fornito anche un'ulteriore chiave di lettura per la dea protettrice dei naviganti.

NOTE

[1] Sala II, inv. 3934; marmo bianco con venature grigiastre; h 145cm; già coll. Hartwig. Stato di conservazione: mancano la testa ed il bordo dello scollo del chitone (lavorati a parte in un unico pezzo); entrambe le braccia dal deltoide (lavorate a parte); un frammento dello svolazzo laterale (lavorato a parte); un parte della spalla destra e la porzione posteriore di quella sinistra; qualche piega sul retro. La parte anteriore del plinto è fratturata in corrispondenza del piede sinistro; i piedi ed il sandalo sinistro sono scheggiati; evidenti macchie di umidità sono sull'orlo posteriore dell'*himation*. In frattura lo svolazzo sinistro presenta un piccolo foro circolare sulla sua faccia esterna e altri tre in frattura; ulteriori quattro fori circolari sono sui lati lunghi del plinto (due per lato); resti di un perno metallico sono sul fondo del vano di alloggiamento della testa e sotto l'ascella sinistra. Bibliografia: Arndt 1908, tav. 640; Reinach 1912, 2, 171-172; Sieveking/Buschor 1912, 136, nota 79; Wollanka 1912, 42, n. 42, tav. 2; Hekler 1929, 63, n. 51, tav. 51; Richter 1962, 64, fig. 93; Szilágyi 1969, 19-30, figg. 22-25; Castiglione 1970, 37-55, fig. 26; Handler 1971, 60, tav. 12, fig. 27; Tran Tam Tinh 1972, 67-68, figg. 9-11; Malaise 1972, 357; Bruneau 1974, 358 e 361-365, figg. 13-15; Pucci 1976, 1179 e 1185-1186; Papadopoulos 1985, 395 e 397, nota 9; Tran Tam Tinh 1990; De Caro 1994, 15; Ridgway 2001, 366, tav. 184; Szilágyi 2003, 87, fig. 56; Poole 2004, 225, nota 30bis.

[2] La sporgenza è di 5cm.

[3] Analoga, per esempio, è la pettinatura di un'Iside oggi a Madrid (Museo del Prado; inv. 63-E; marmo bianco microcristallino; h 65cm; 20 a.C.-20 d.C.; da Roma). Da ultimo Schröder 2004, 401-403, n. 189.

[4] Sfortunatamente non ci è consentito di apprezzarne la parte terminale, anch'essa frangiata e fluttuante nell'aria, ad enfatizzare l'azione del vento.

[5] Morrow 1985, 92, tav. 67, fig. 11c.

[6] Arndt 1908; Reinach 1912; Sieveking/Buschor 1912 (dal Grande Altare di Pergamo); Wollanka, 1912; Hekler 1929, 63, n. 51.

[7] Szilágyi 1969; Castiglione 1970; Handler 1971; Tran Tam Tinh 1972; Malaise 1972; Pucci 1976; Papadopoulos 1985; Tran Tam Tinh 1990.

[8] Sul tipo e sul culto di Iside Pelagia, le cui celebrazioni (*Navigium Isidis*) cadevano il 5 marzo: Bruneau 1961, 435-446; 1963, 301-308; Witt 1971, 168-177; Dunand 1973, 223-230; Bruneau 1974; Griffits 1975; Pucci 1976, 1177-1191; Bruneau 1978, 152-161; Blanchaud 1984, 709-711; Reeder Williams 1985, 109-119, tav. 21; Tran Tam Thin 1990, 784; Rodríguez Morales 1999, 205-224; Ridgway 2001, 366. Per le epiclesi di *Pharia* e di *Pelagia*, Bruneau 1974, 349-352; Rodríguez Morales 1990, 212-213.

[9] Bruneau 1974, 363-365; anche Ridgway 2001, 366.

[10] Bruneau 1974, 344-346.

[11] Bruneau 1974, 365.

[12] A suo giudizio la scultura potrebbe completarsi con una vela di bronzo. Ridgway 2001, 366.

[13] Blanchaud 1984.

[14] Per il Tran Tam Tinh il velo caratterizzerebbe le copie romane non prima dell'età di Adriano, mentre per l'Eingartner si tratterebbe di un tratto peculiare dell'immagine della dea già in età ellenistica: Tran Tam Tinh 1972, 33-34; Eingartner 1991, 25-33.

[15] Szilágyi 2003, 87.

[16] Da ultimo Szilágyi 2003, 87.

[17] Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. s.n.; marmo bianco macrocristallino; h 79,5cm; metà del II sec. d.C.; provenienza ignota. Manodori in Giuliano 1982, 139-140.

[18] Bruxelles, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. A 3674; marmo bianco; h 255 cm. Da ultima Lichocka 1997, 165, fig. 345 a-b (con bibliografia completa).

[19] Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 38-E; marmo bianco microcristallino; h 164cm; 130-150 d.C.; da Villa Adriana; già coll. Cristina di Svezia. Schröder 2005, 200, 206-210, n° 135 (con completa bibliografia).

[20] Da ultimi: De Caro/Vecchio 1994, 83-94; Romizzi 2001, 103, 110, 221 e 229, nn. 63-64. Sulle sculture di questo complesso imperiale, da ultimo Cristilli 2003, 15-26 e 33-34; 2006.

[21] Amalfitano et alii 1990, 26; Cristilli 2003, 19-23; 2006.

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Per la ricostruzione degli arredi scultorei del *Palazzo dei Cesari* sul Palatino: scavi e rinvenimenti dell'abate francese Paul Rancurel (1774-1777)

Stefania Pafumi

Abstract

Departing from a new reading of the documentation concerning the excavations carried out by the French abbot Paul Rancurel on the Palatine in Rome in the second half of the 18th century, the author reconstructs - and reestablishes in its proper context - the provenance of a small nucleus of sculptures characterized by the presence of examples in 'duplicate'. These duplicates are not an isolated phenomenon among the furnishings of the Palace of the Caesars on the Palatine, but exceptional through their place and commision, and for the variety that characterizes them they make an important contribution to our general knowledge of the phenomenon of duplicatio *of sculpture in Antiquity, suggesting new bases for reflexion.*

Nel panorama degli scavi settecenteschi sul Palatino, dominato dalle vaste operazioni condotte negli anni '20 del secolo dal veronese Francesco Bianchini su incarico di Francesco I, duca di Parma e Piacenza, allora proprietario degli Orti Farnesiani, le indagini promosse qualche decennio più tardi dall'abate francese Paul Rancurel nel settore meridionale del colle, di sua proprietà, hanno riscosso finora scarsa attenzione.

Al contrario, si trattò di una tappa veramente fondamentale per la storia delle strutture palatine, perché, nonostante fin dal XVI secolo fossero state fatte esplorazioni o fossero stati condotti scavi fortuiti nell'area, quelle indagini, seppur finalizzate al recupero di materiali di pregio da vendere nel fiorente mercato antiquario a vantaggio dei collezionisti dell'epoca, permisero la conoscenza di una vasta porzione del palazzo imperiale, oggi nota con il nome di *Domus Augustana*, compresa fra l'area di rappresentanza del palazzo stesso, generalmente denominata *Domus Flavia*, il Circo Massimo ed il complesso monumentale noto come *Stadio palatino* (*fig. 1*).[1]

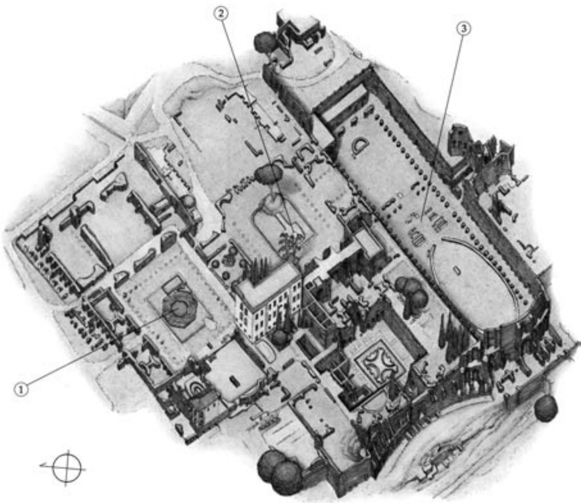

Fig. 1. 1. Domus Flavia; 2. Domus Augustana; 3. cd. Stadio palatino (da Tomei 1998).

Dei materiali rinvenuti nel corso di quegli scavi si conosce molto poco e, come apprendiamo dalle cronache coeve, la gran parte dei marmi, costituita soprattutto da frammenti architettonici, finì nelle botteghe degli antiquari dell'epoca.[2] Fortunatamente, però, notizie sparse e riferimenti incrociati permettono di ricostruire un piccolo nucleo di sculture che, seppur idealmente, può essere restituito, come vedremo, al suo contesto originario, aprendo così la via a nuove interessanti osservazioni di carattere generale sugli arredi scultorei presenti all'interno del palazzo.

La pianta del Palatino nell'incisione di Giovanbattista Nolli (*fig. 2*) del 1748 può servire a dare un'idea dei confini delle proprietà sul colle intorno alla metà del Settecento.[3] L'area del settore meridionale del Palatino che nel 1774 fu acquistata da Paul Rancurel inglobava le proprietà già delle famiglie Colonna e Stati, riunite poi nel 1561 in un'unica tenuta dai Mattei dei Duchi di Giove,[4] dai quali nel 1689 l'acquistarono i conti Spada,[5] quindi i conti Magnani nel 1746,[6] e da questi il Rancurel. Si trattava di una vasta area, grosso modo rettangolare, confinante a Nord con

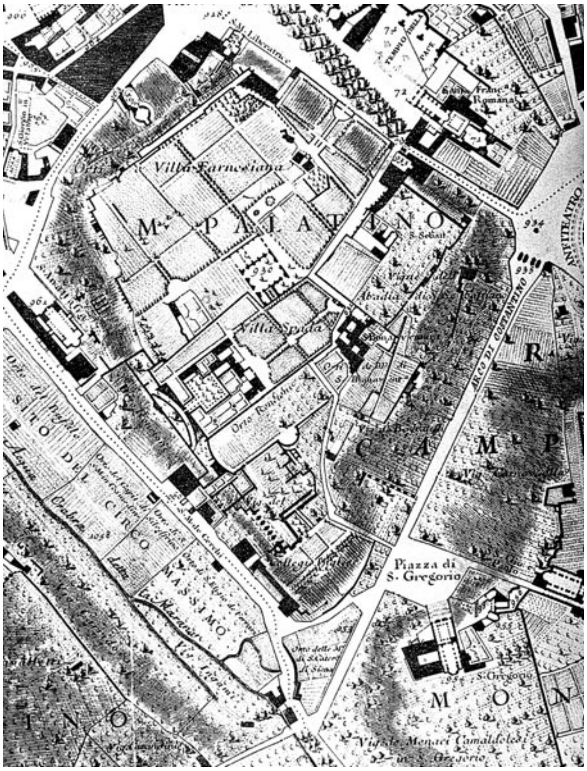

Fig. 2. Monte Palatino: pianta di Giovanbattista Nolli, 1748 (da Iacopi 1997).

la via di S. Bonaventura, ad Ovest con gli Orti Farnesiani, ad Est con le proprietà del Collegio Inglese, già Ronconi, a Sud con il Circo Massimo. Dopo il Rancurel, la villa fu per un breve periodo proprietà di Paolo Montagnani, quindi di Giovanni Francesco Brunati, agente della corte di Vienna a Roma,[7] poi dei Colocci di Jesi,[8] e nel 1818 fu acquistata da William Gell e Charles Mills. Quest'ultimo, rimastone poco dopo unico proprietario, vi costruì una palazzina neogotica abitata a partire dal 1856 dalle Suore della Visitazione, infine demolita nel 1926.[9]

L'area appare ben delineata nei suoi confini a partire dal XVI secolo, quando era in proprietà delle famiglie Colonna e Stati.

Gli scavi più recenti, però, hanno reso evidente che quella suddivisione catastale ripercorre solo in parte le antiche divisioni dei complessi palaziali e che, al contrario, la situazione reale è notevolmente più complessa e stratificata: l'impianto domizianeo, di cui rimane più ampia evidenza, utilizzava, infatti, strutture preesistenti che interessano aree vicine appartenute in età moderna a più famiglie. Per questo motivo nella nostra discussione si renderà necessario il riferimento a scavi ed indagini condotti anche nella contigua area del palazzo - generalmente definita *Domus Flavia* - che sin dal XVI secolo era divenuta proprietà della famiglia Farnese.

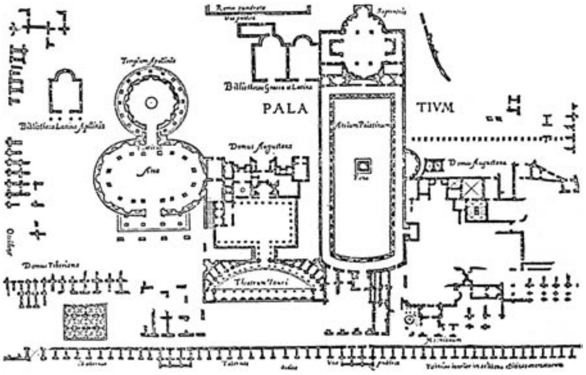

Fig. 3. Palatino, palazzo imperiale: pianta di Onofrio Panvinio, 1580 (da Iacopi 1997).

Già nel XVI secolo erano state condotte esplorazioni o scavi fortuiti in alcuni settori dell'area compresa entro la proprietà dell'abate Rancurel o ad essa contigui. Una pianta tracciata da A. Palladio nel 1554, ad esempio, rappresenta per questa parte del palazzo imperiale, allora creduta un edificio termale, un'importante testimonianza, quasi un rilievo archeologico;[10] la pianta di Onofrio Panvinio, del 1580, mostra invece un maggiore grado di approssimazione e di rielaborazione rispetto alla realtà (*fig. 3*).[11]

Intorno alla metà del XVI secolo si datano anche i rilievi che Pirro Ligorio poté realizzare a seguito di scavi nelle proprietà di Alessandro Colonna e di Cristoforo Stati.[12] Nel corso di quelle indagini l'architetto napoletano osservò l'elevato di una costruzione circolare che credé dapprima di poter identificare con il tempio dedicato ad Apollo Palatino. Questa localizzazione fu poi dallo stesso architetto superata nella carta di Roma del 1561, nella quale preferì collocare il tempio di Apollo al centro del peristilio della *Domus Flavia* e lasciare privo di denominazione l'edificio circolare osservato più a sud.[13]

L'errore ligoriano fu più tardi rimarcato anche dall'abate veronese Francesco Bianchini che nella documentazione degli scavi condotti nella prima metà del '700 in tutta l'area degli Orti Farnesiani, attribuì la struttura circolare vista dal Ligorio presso il triclinio domizianeo a costruzioni palatine non augustee, bensì neroniane.[14]

Delle sculture rinvenute nel corso del XVI secolo rimane qualche memoria in Pirro Ligorio, ma la precisa localizzazione del loro rinvenimento così come anche la loro identificazione risultano per noi molto difficili. Se possiamo credere irrimediabilmente perduta una testa colossale di Giove che, stando all'antiquario napoletano, fu venduta '*per marmo à Leonardo Cieco scultore per farne opere moderne lo qual fragmento fu nella vigna di M. Cristophoro Paulostati nel colle palatino...*',[15] non sono purtroppo riconoscibili neppure le altre sculture che lo stesso autore menziona in riferimento a questa stessa area in un altro punto della sua opera: '*narreremo delle altre cose che erano nel tempio del Sole o vogliamo dire Apolline. Vi erano principalmente le imagini delle Muse, una statua grande di Giove comico, un'altra di Apolline che componeva la lyra che sedeva su uno scoglio come fece nel fiume Amphriso... Vi è un'altra imagine di Apolline anchora con la lyra vestito da Musa. Et un altro del medesimo tutta nuda con la lyra in piedi coronato di sette raggi, perciò che credevano che fosse il sole*.'[16]

Priva di conferme rimane anche l'ipotesi di F. Carinci secondo cui alcune sculture venute alla luce durante gli scavi di Cristophoro Paulo Stati potrebbero essere state vendute ai Mattei insieme al terreno.[17] D'altra parte, la provenienza dal Palatino delle statue attualmente collocate nel cortile di Palazzo Mattei, ritenuta probabile da G. Panofsky-Soergel sulla base di quanto riportato nei documenti contenenti le disposizioni testamentarie di Paolo Mattei in favore della moglie Tutia Colonna,[18] non risulta in alcun modo verificabile.[19] Da questa area[20] provengono, però, con certezza, due rilievi con miti relativi alle origini di Roma: rinvenuti nel 1664, furono trasportati a Palazzo Mattei e passarono, infine, al Museo Pio-Clementino.[21]

E' possibile che da questa stessa parte del colle provenissero anche alcune sculture acquistate dal cardinale Ippolito d'Este o rinvenute nel corso di scavi condotti per suo conto nella seconda metà del '500; fra queste, come si apprende dal libro De Minuti Piaceri del 1566 e da un Conto generale dell'anno 1568,[22] erano, ad esempio, '*una bella figura di villano che si cava un spino d'un piede*' e la statua di un Fauno, comprata tramite l'antiquario Vincenzo Stampa, la cui identificazione rimane, purtroppo, ancora dubbia.[23]

Non ci è dato sapere se interessarono questa area gli scavi condotti da Paolo V Borghese (1605-1621) intorno al 1613 in qualche parte del Palazzo Maggiore,[24] ma è certo invece che negli anni 1692-1693 il conte Paolo Antonio Spada, divenuto proprietario della villa nel 1689, ebbe il permesso di condurre lavori per la realizzazione di un condotto irriguo ed in seguito, nel 1720, ebbe licenza di '*poter cavare antichità, statue e marmi*'.[25] In quella occasione furono rinvenuti molti frammenti di statue in marmo e bronzo probabilmente confluiti nelle collezioni di famiglia, la cui identificazione però, allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, rimane impossibile.[26]

Le ampie operazioni di scavo e le indagini condotte nella prima metà del '700 dal Bianchini interessarono solo marginalmente l'area della villa poi acquistata dal Rancurel;[27] rimane invece ancora incerta la localizzazione degli scavi e dei rinvenimenti effettuati negli anni '30 del secolo, di cui ci rimane documentazione nei disegni di Pier Leone Ghezzi.[28]

La figura e l'attività di Paul Rancurel a Roma rimangono scarsamente note.[29] Non sappiamo molto dei suoi interessi archeologici ma è probabile che egli abbia assistito o preso parte attiva ad alcuni ritrovamenti di antichità sul colle dopo la metà del secolo. Tale frequentazione potrebbe spiegare l'interesse maturato per l'acquisto della villa nel settore meridionale del Palatino, allora in proprietà della marchesa Francesca Giroti, vedova di Pietro Rinaldo Magnani, che di fatto avvenne nel gennaio del 1774,[30] anche se il pagamento si protrasse fino al marzo del 1775.[31] Che l'abate francese avesse acquistato villa Magnani con il solo scopo di condurvi indagini a fini di lucro è testimoniato dal fatto che dopo solo un mese dalla ratifica dell'atto di acquisto egli fece pervenire presso il camerlengo cardinale Rezzonico, la domanda per ottenere la licenza di scavo. Questa fu avallata da Alessandro Bracci e da Giovan Battista Visconti, all'epoca rispettivamente assessore e commissario alle *antichità e cave di Roma e suo distretto*.[32]

Gli scavi a Villa Rancurel cominciarono dunque ufficialmente nel mese di marzo del 1774 e continuarono almeno fino al 1777, anno in cui sono ancora documentati importanti ritrovamenti.[33] Ne fu direttore l'architetto Giuseppe Barberi (1746-1806),[34] personaggio di cui è nota in questi anni la collaborazione con Piranesi, con La Vallée, Poussin e Robert.[35] Agli scavi prese parte anche l'antiquario e collezionista inglese Gavin Hamilton, come apprendiamo dalla corrispondenza di questi con Lord Shelburne, marchese di Lansdowne, che in quegli anni fu uno dei suoi maggiori acquirenti.[36]

Delle operazioni di scavo non rimane purtroppo alcun resoconto diretto, ma piante relativamente accurate furono redatte dall'architetto Giuseppe Barberi, per incarico dello stesso Rancurel. La documentazione più ampia fu raccolta e pubblicata più tardi da Giuseppe Antonio Guattani nei suoi *Monumenti inediti* per l'anno 1785. Vi

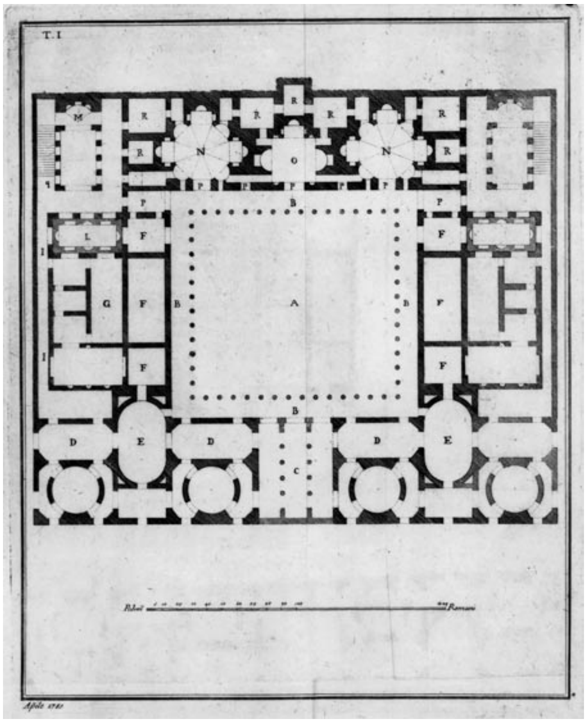
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Fig. 4. Palatino, scavi Rancurel: pianta del piano inferiore (da Guattani 1785, foto: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

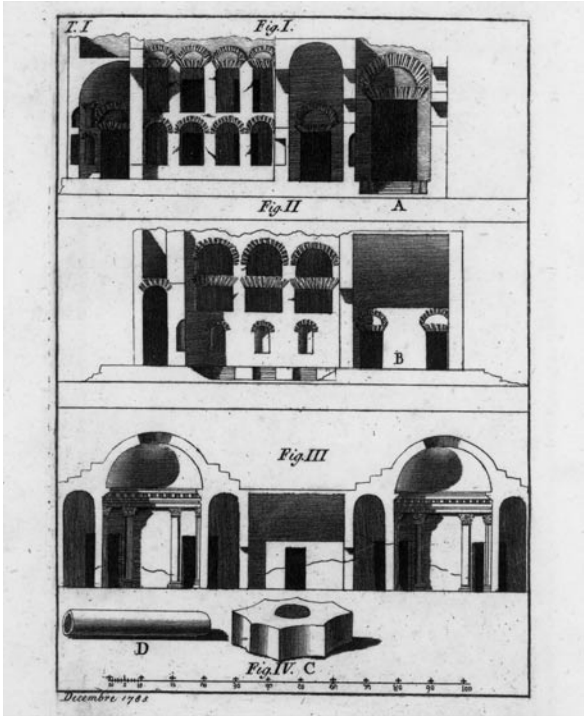
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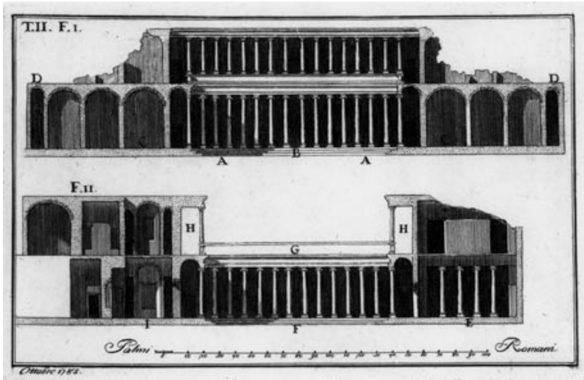
Fig. 6. Palatino, scavi Rancurel: sezioni del piccolo bagno e del cavedio corrispondente allo sterquilinio (da Guattani 1785, foto: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).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Ottobre 1781

Fig. 5. Palatino, scavi Rancurel: sezioni del peristilio e degli ambienti adiacenti (da Guattani 1785, foto: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

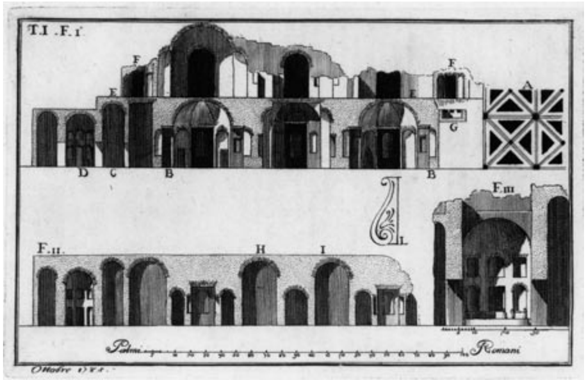
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Fig. 7. Palatino, scavi Rancurel: sezioni dei piani inferiore e superiore (da Guattani 1785, foto: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

si trovano, fra l'altro: le piante relative ad un piano superiore e ad un piano inferiore (*fig. 4*); gli spaccati, ampiamente ricostruttivi, del peristilio con gli ambienti ad esso adiacenti (*fig. 5*); le sezioni degli ambienti posti nell'angolo N-O (*fig. 6*); la sezione dei piani inferiore e superiore lungo il lato settentrionale del peristilio (*figg. 6-7*).

A questa documentazione è possibile affiancare le incisioni di Giovan Battista Piranesi eseguite su disegni del suo assistente Benedetto Mori, che introdottosi furtivamente nottetempo nella proprietà dell'abate, nonostante l'assoluto divieto fattone da questi,[37] riuscì a tracciare la planimetria del piano inferiore e quella del piano superiore (*figg. 8-9*).[38]

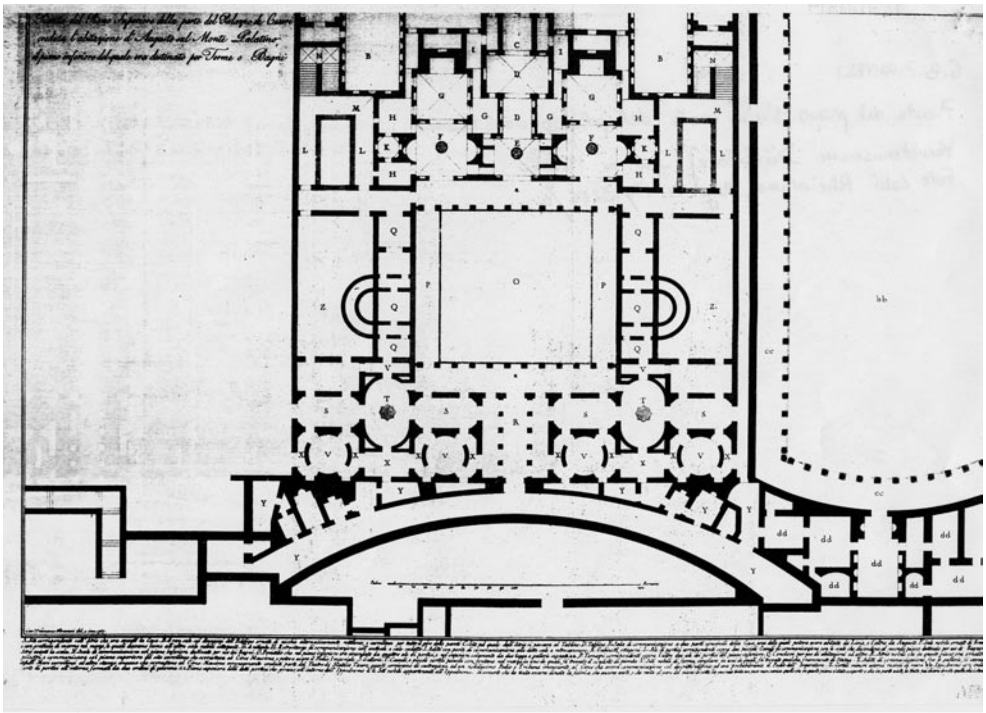

Fig. 8. Palatino, scavi Rancurel, pianta del piano superiore.
Incisione di G.B. Piranesi su disegno di B. Mori (da Piranesi 1784).

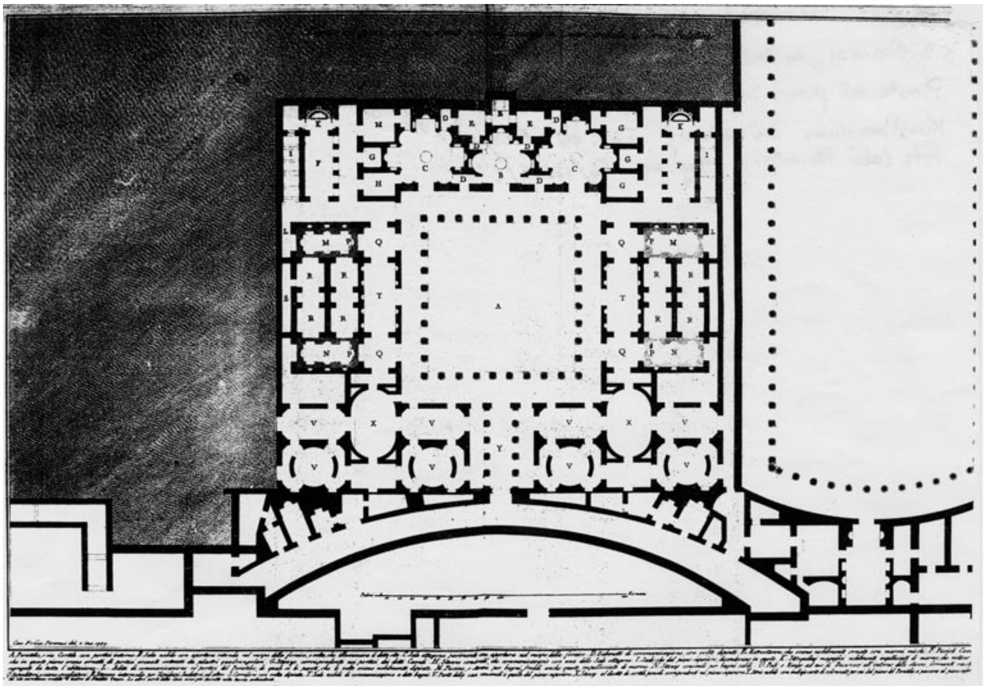

Fig. 9. Palatino, scavi Rancurel, pianta del piano inferiore.
Incisione di G.B. Piranesi su disegno di B. Mori (da Piranesi 1784).

Di particolare interesse, perché ricche di dettagli, sono inoltre le descrizioni erudite dello stesso Guattani[39] e di Angelo Uggeri, parimenti corredate di piante;[40] quelle di Ridolfino Venuti,[41] di Antonio Nibby[42] e più tardi anche di Francesco Gori.[43]

Dalla documentazione coeva raccolta, si ricava che i lavori promossi dal Rancurel interessarono soprattutto, o forse esclusivamente, l'area della villa compresa tra il Casino Farnese (degli Zuccari) e la Loggia Mattei, corrispondente alla parte meridionale di quella che viene tradizionalmente definita la *Domus Flavia* (di cui, però, la proprietà dell'abate inglobava solo una porzione limitata) ed alla parte centrale della cosiddetta *Domus Augustana*. In particolare, furono esplorati gli ambienti di un complesso parzialmente articolato su due piani. Gli ambienti del piano superiore, già ampiamente devastati, furono in quella occasione pressoché completamente distrutti. Del piano inferiore corrispondente a quello del peristilio furono esplorate le tre ampie aule poligonali con volte ad ombrello, indicate nella pianta del Barberi con le lettere N-O, le camere retrostanti riccamente decorate (*figg. 4 e 7*), un '*magnifico sterquilinio*' nell'angolo nord-ovest (N) e piccoli ambienti tra loro interconnessi disposti intorno a vani, probabilmente scoperti, dotati di vasche dal profilo mistilineo (L). Questi ultimi trovano preciso confronto in strutture analoghe ritenute pertinenti alla fase di età neroniana e domizianea, rinvenute nell'area di Vigna Barberini durante le recenti indagini promosse dall'Ecole française di Roma.[44]

Tutto quanto si vide del complesso palaziale durante gli scavi Rancurel, fino al limite verso il Circo Massimo, dove vengono descritte e disegnate stanze curvilinee, oggi non più riconoscibili soprattutto dopo le pesanti ricostruzioni del Bartoli, fu interrato per volontà dello stesso Rancurel, ad eccezione delle tre sale mistilinee e delle salette retrostanti addossate alla roccia, per accedere alle quali l'abate francese fece costruire una scala moderna.

Due planimetrie degli architetti dell'Accademia di Francia a Roma - la prima di J. J. Clerget eseguita nel 1838,[45] l'altra di Arthur-Fleury-Victor Dutert del 1869[46] - possono dare un'idea dello stato di quelle strutture palaziali prima e dopo la grande stagione di scavi della seconda metà del XIX secolo che vide la messa in luce del triclinio e del ninfeo occidentale da parte di Pietro Rosa. La pianta del Dutert, inoltre, rappresenta uno dei primi tentativi di mettere in relazione la *Domus Flavia* e la *Domus Augustana*, con il riconoscimento dei resti del ninfeo occultato dal convento delle Suore della Visitazione, specularmente corrispondente a quello posto sul lato occidentale del triclinio, poi messo in luce negli anni 1912-1914 da G. Boni.[47] Passato il limite della *Domus Flavia*, infatti, il Boni entrò nella zona del contiguo palazzo imperiale esplorato nel 1776, sterrò la scala, il cortiletto, l'andito che collega questo con il grande peristilio ma, arrivato a Villa Mills, non continuò la demolizione già iniziata dal Bartoli nel 1906. Questa venne ripresa dallo stesso Bartoli quando, nel 1926, successe al Boni nella Direzione del Palatino e del Foro Romano. Completando la demolizione di Villa Mills, il Bartoli mise in vista le antiche strutture celate dalla moderna costruzione neo-gotica voluta dallo scozzese Mills. Nel 1927 iniziò anche lo scavo sistematico del terreno a nord della villa,[48] dove mise in luce un grandioso peristilio a colonne con *impluvium* nel mezzo di forma rettangolare (m 32 x 24), con uno dei lati corti ricurvi e col ciglio della vasca adorno di nicchie. Nel mezzo dell'*impluvium* riconobbe gli avanzi di un tempietto quasi quadrato con pronao tetrastilo rivolto a nord-est, collegato per mezzo di un ponte a sette arcate al lato ricurvo del peristilio[49] che più tardi la Wataghin Cantino e la Finsen hanno messo in relazione con quello parallelo della *Domus Flavia*, riconoscendolo come parte di quest'ultima e dunque anch'esso creazione dell'architetto *Rabirius*.[50]

Ciò che appare dalle piante settecentesche del Barberi e ciò che si vede anche oggi, dopo gli sterri e la massiccia ricostruzione del Bartoli, è un complesso omogeneo ed apparentemente senza fasi intermedie che non coincide con la realtà stratigrafica, ben più complessa ed articolata, emersa dalle indagini più recenti.

Negli anni '80, infatti, le indagini avviate in occasione del restauro dell'Antiquarium Palatino hanno evidenziato la complessità stratigrafica di questa area già occupata dal Convento della Visitazione, che include parti relative a diversi impianti costruttivi precedenti la costruzione della *Domus Flavia* e da questa in parte riutilizzati.[51] Sono stati riconosciuti, ad esempio, sotto allo scantinato dell'attuale Museo Palatino,[52] i resti di un criptoportico costituito da due ambulacri paralleli separati da pilastri in blocchi di travertino ed illuminato da finestre a bocca di lupo aperte su entrambi i lati; esso diverge dall'orientamento della *Domus Flavia* e non sembra avere alcun collegamento con gli altri edifici noti in questa area: né con il gruppo augusteo, ed in particolare con il tempio di Apollo; né con i resti del portico esistente sotto la Casina Farnese; né, infine, con il ninfeo della *Domus Transitoria* (i cd. Bagni di

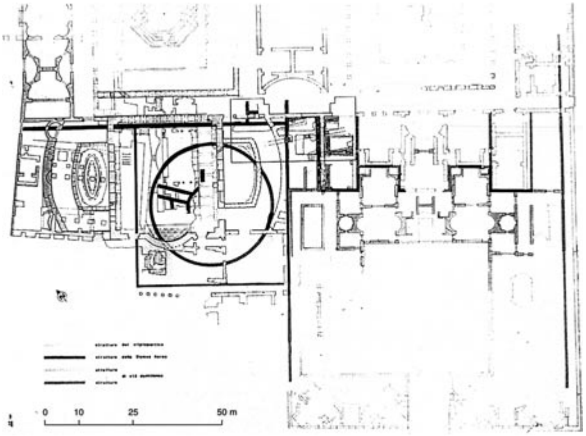

Fig. 10. Palatino, resti attribuiti alla Domus Aurea (da Cassatella 1990a).

Livia). Sulla base della tecnica edilizia è stato datato al periodo che va da Augusto ai Giulio-Claudi. Utilizzato fino ad età neroniana, il criptoportico sarebbe stato messo fuori uso da un nuovo progetto edilizio realizzato dopo il 64 d.C. al quale potrebbero appartenere anche i resti di un edificio circolare emergente al centro di una vasca quadrangolare, livellato poi dal piano di calpestio dell'impianto domizianeo e demolito, infine, in epoca adrianea, soprattutto nell'area del triclinio domizianeo, per garantire la circolazione dell'aria nell'ipocausto del nuovo pavimento della sala (*fig. 10*).[53] L'ipotesi che l'impianto domizianeo possa aver previsto oltre al recupero delle aree in senso strutturale anche quello in senso funzionale, ha fatto, poi, proporre l'identificazione dell'edificio circolare esistente sotto il triclinio domizianeo, con la p*raecipua cenationum rotunda* e con la *Caesareus tholos* della *Domus Aurea*, di cui parlano Svetonio e Marziale. Secondo un'altra ipotesi, si tratterebbe invece del tempio di Vesta già edificato da Augusto e ristrutturato da Vespasiano nel centenario del 72 d.C., o comunque di un monoptero collegato al tempio di Apollo pertinente alla fase di ristrutturazione dell'intero santuario di Apollo messa in opera dal primo degli imperatori flavi.[54]

Più strettamente connesse con l'area presa in esame in questa nota, perché inglobate esattamente nella proprietà che fu del Rancurel, sono alcune strutture riconosciute come pertinenti alla stessa fase dell'edificio circolare di cui si è parlato sopra e che, secondo l'ipotesi sostenuta da Cassatella, allargherebbero la possibilità di conoscere l'impianto della *Domus Aurea* (*fig. 10*): ad est, infatti, sono state identificate le fondazioni di un'ampia sala che si apriva verso l'edificio circolare con un portico con quattro pilastri o colonne, cui corrispondeva probabilmente una identica sala disposta simmetricamente nell'area occupata dalla loggia Mattei e rivolta verso lo stadio.[55]

LE SCULTURE RINVENUTE NEGLI SCAVI RANCUREL

Nonostante l'area fosse stata sin dal XVI secolo oggetto di esplorazioni, spesso legate alle opere di ristrutturazione condotte dai vari proprietari, lo scavo dell'abate Rancurel non fu deludente e per usare le parole del Guattani '*la fortuna avvezza a proteggere le audaci imprese, non rivolse in quell'occasione le spalle. Fra i molti avanzi di colonne, di capitelli, cornicioni, fregi di diverse modinature, superbamente intagliati, in rosso antico, giallo, pavonazzetto, ed altri sceltissimi marmi, vi si trovarono intere due statue di Leda poco meno del vero, una delle quali di ottima maniera passò in Inghilterra; la elegantissima statua dell'Apollo Saurottono ora in Vaticano; una testa di metallo, altri busti e teste, con frammenti di figure di eccellente scalpello*.'[56]

Delle due statue di Leda menzionate dal Guattani, solo una - quella passata in Inghilterra - è da tempo riconosciuta nella replica in marmo pentelico, grande poco meno del vero, con testa antica ma non pertinente al tipo, venduta da Gavin Hamilton a Lord Shelburne, primo marchese di Lansdowne; dalla lettura del carteggio intercorso in quegli anni tra l'artista-mercante d'arte ed il collezionista, apprendiamo che il gruppo fu trovato a villa Magnani nel 1775 e fu a lungo oggetto di trattative, finché nel 1779 Lord Shelburne si decise ad acquistarlo.[57] Messo in vendita nel 1930, come tutte le altre sculture della collezione della Lansdowne House, dal 1970 si trova oggi esposto nel J. Paul Getty Museum di Malibu (*figg. 11-12*).[58]

La statua dell'Apollo Sauroctono (*fig. 13*),[59] come si ricava dallo stesso Guattani, entrò a far parte delle collezioni papali nel 1778. La notizia è confermata dalle *Giustificazioni* delle spese fatte in quell'anno per il Museo Pio-Clementino[60] e da quanto riportato sempre per lo stesso anno nel *Diario di Roma*.[61] Acquistata per 500 scudi attraverso la mediazione di Gavin Hamilton, la statua fu collocata nella Sala delle Muse il cui allestimento si completava proprio in quegli anni.[62]

A completare il quadro dei rinvenimenti si deve aggiungere una testa marmorea di Settimio Severo passata nella collezione di Charles Townley ed attualmente conservata al British Museum;[63] una statua colossale di cui rimane ricordo attraverso un'incisione dell'epoca (*fig. 14*) ma che non è stato finora possibile identificare; infine, un frammento di sarcofago strigilato con raffigurazione di

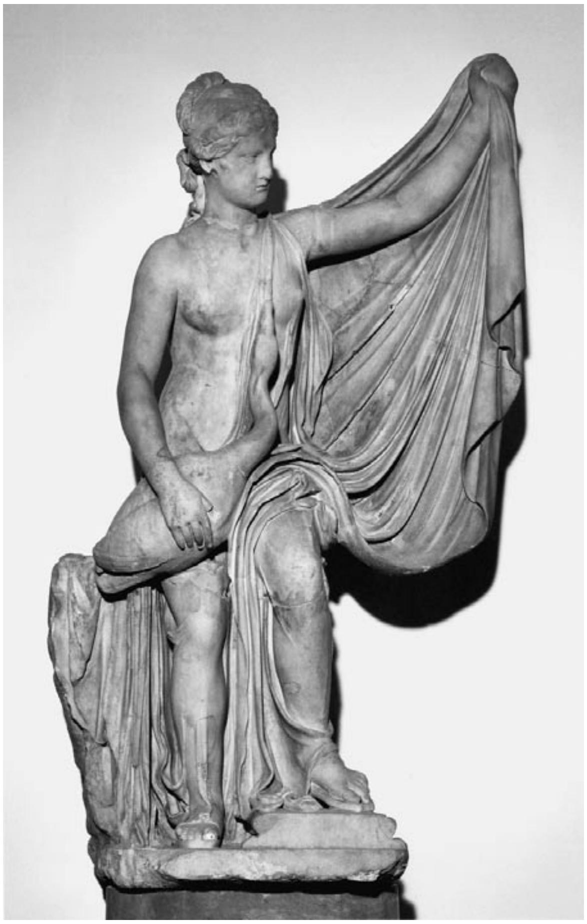

Fig. 11. Statua di Leda, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. n. 70 AA 110: veduta frontale (foto: museo).

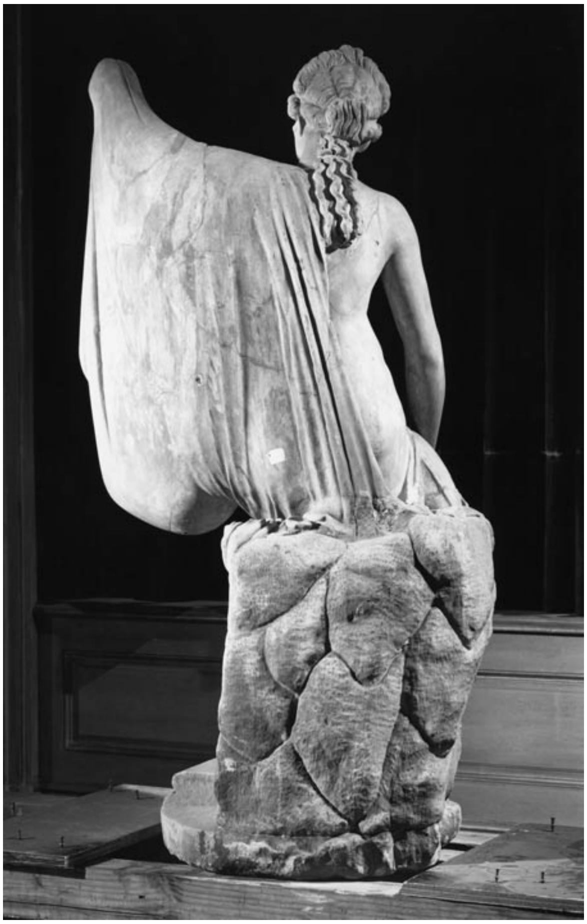

Fig. 12. Statua di Leda, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. n. 70 AA 110: veduta posteriore (foto: museo).

Ganimede entro metopa centrale,[64] per il quale è plausibile la provenienza dagli stessi scavi, dal momento che nel 1778 fu venduto dallo stesso abate Rancurel a papa Pio VI, ma che per la sua natura e destinazione d'uso deve ricondursi alle vicende post-antiche della frequentazione dell'area.

LE SCULTURE RECUPERATE

Le informazioni del Guattani sui rinvenimenti di sculture effettuati nel corso degli scavi Rancurel rappresentano un utile punto di partenza per tentare di stabilire legami tra le sculture note e quelle disperse, e di restituire, per questa via, al contesto palatino di cui ci stiamo occupando, opere altrimenti destinate a rimanere isolate. Fortunatamente, infatti, quelle notizie possono essere ulteriormente integrate, perché Ennio Quirino Visconti, nel pubblicare la statua dell'Apollo Sauroctono acquistata dal Museo Pio-Clementino, precisa che '*fu trovata fra i ruderi del Palatino negli scavi della villa Magnani, insieme con una simile meno intera*'.[65]

Ne deriva, dunque, che il nucleo delle sculture rinvenute nel corso degli scavi del Rancurel comprendeva almeno due coppie di sculture di identico soggetto: due statue di Leda, menzionate dal Guattani, e due statue di Apollo, cui, invece, fa esplicito riferimento il Visconti.

a) Leda

Non possono esserci dubbi sul fatto che anche l'altra statua di Leda menzionata dal Guattani e finora ritenuta dispersa, debba essere ricercata tra le repliche dello stesso tipo statuario derivante dal modello tardo classico attribuito a Timoteo:

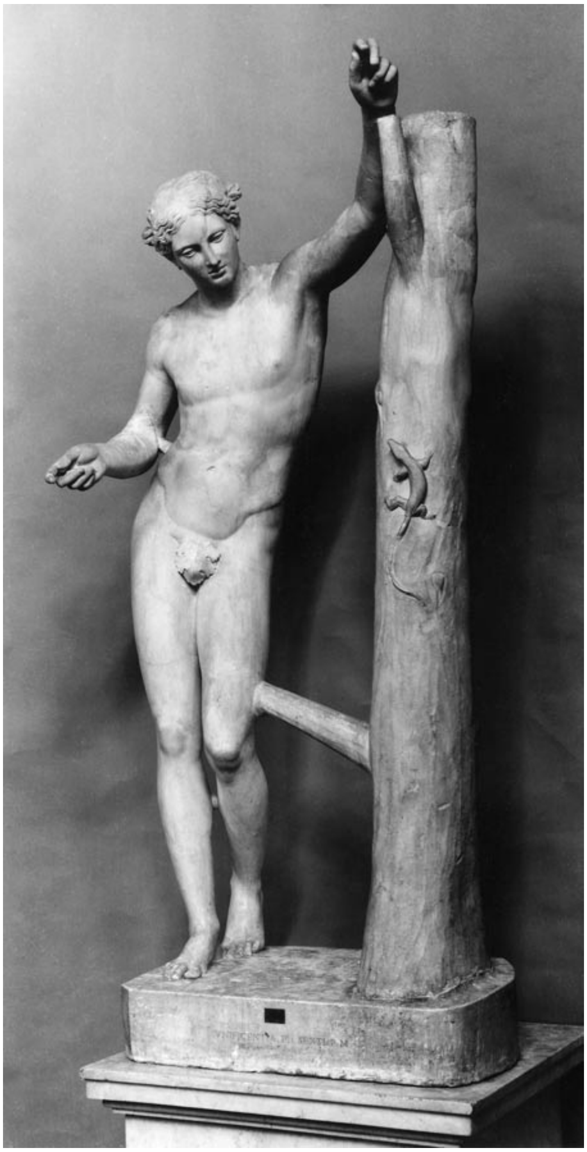

Fig. 13. Statua di Apollo Sauroctono, Città del Vaticano, Museo Pio Clementino, inv. 750 (foto: Istituto Archeologico Germanico, neg. n. 613651).

intorno a questo modello sembrano concentrarsi, infatti, tutte le sculture raffiguranti Leda, note a partire dalla metà del XVIII secolo, proponibili per l'identificazione. Sulla base della lista delle repliche riconducibili a questo archetipo,[66] è stato possibile operare un'ulteriore selezione con l'esclusione degli esemplari noti prima degli scavi Rancurel,[67] o di quelli troppo frammentari ed acefali e per dimensioni non coincidenti con le indicazioni del Guattani che riferisce di due statue intere, grandi poco meno del vero.

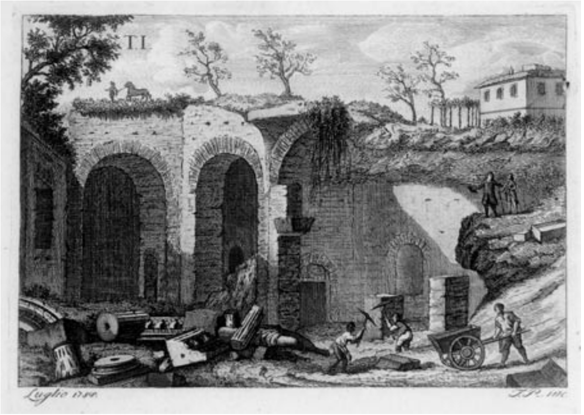

Fig. 14. Veduta degli scavi Rancurel in un'incisione dell'epoca (da Guattani 1785, foto: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

La spiacevole sensazione che fossero numerose le repliche del tipo circolanti nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo, confermata dalle notizie raccolte da Carlo Fea - che nella sua disamina del 1801 sulle statue che raffigurano Leda riferisce di almeno altre tre statue passate in Inghilterra negli ultimi decenni del secolo XVIII[68] - è affievolita dalla constatazione che tutte possono ragionevolmente essere escluse dalla nostra indagine, o perché non coincidenti nelle dimensioni, o perché trovate altrove. La prima replica, infatti, che potrebbe essere quella venduta al duca di Buccleugh, per qualche tempo collocata ad Epsom ed attualmente dispersa,[69] può essere esclusa perché '*grande al naturale*'; la seconda, di cui rimane ignota la collocazione attuale, perché '*alta intorno a tre palmi*' e dunque probabilmente più piccola;[70] la terza, infine, restaurata dall'Albacini e venduta al colonnello Campbell, perché '*alquanto più grande delle altre*' e soprattutto perché di essa si sa che fu rinvenuta nel 1784 da Giovanni Volpato nella tenuta '*dell'Invialata*'.[71] Di un'altra figura di Leda, '*meno del vero con rappezzi*', certamente replica dello stesso tipo, dato che viene paragonata agli esemplari Albani, Aldobrandini e Capitolina, della quale si sa solo che Colin Morrison ottenne licenza per l'esportazione il 27 aprile del 1789,[72] non v'è traccia nei documenti raccolti dal Bertolotti sulle sculture che in quegli anni lasciarono Roma,[73] ma se fosse la replica che cerchiamo, sarebbe veramente molto strano che, a più di dieci anni dalla possibile scoperta, essa non avesse ancora trovato un acquirente.

Per più di un motivo, dunque, sembra plausibile riconoscere l'altra replica rinvenuta sul Palatino nella statua di Leda con cigno che nel 1779,

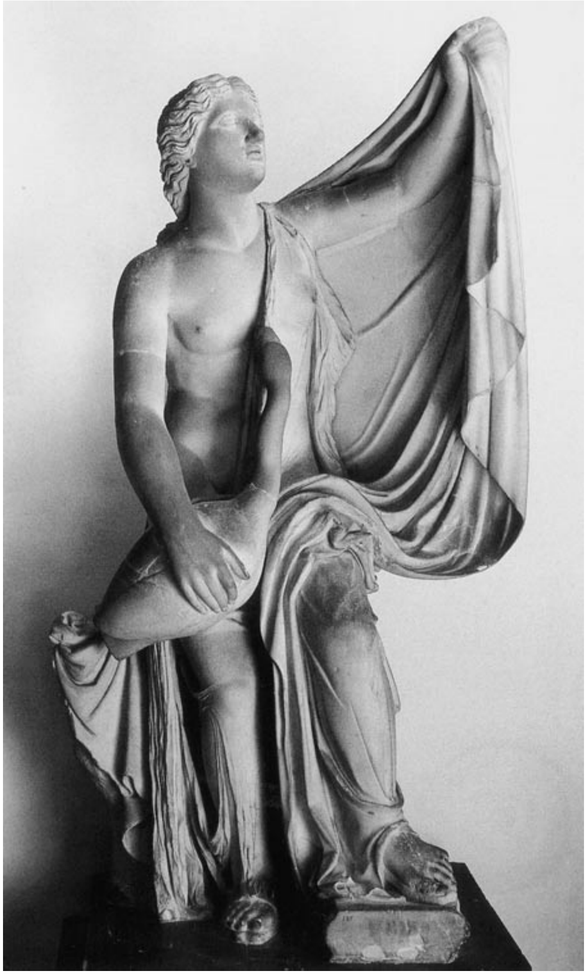

Fig. 15. Statua di Leda, Roma, Villa Albani: veduta frontale (da Bol 1992, tav. 112).

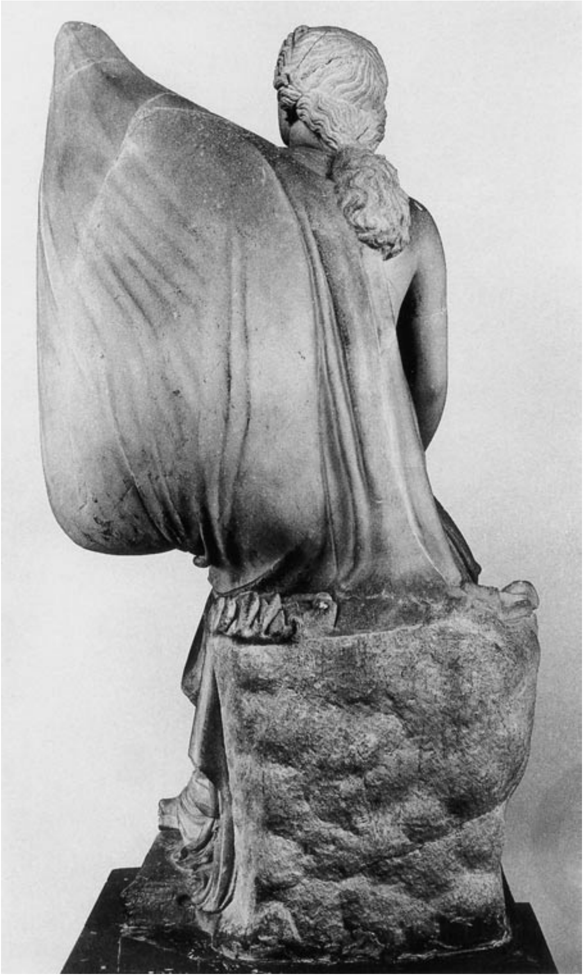

Fig. 16. Statua di Leda, Roma, Villa Albani: veduta posteriore (da Bol 1992, tav. 113).

come si ricava dalla descrizione di Dominique Magnan,[74] era collocata nella terza delle sei sale che compongono l'odierna 'Galleria della Leda' di Villa Albani (*figg. 15-16*).[75] Questa sezione della villa - descritta da Giulio Cesare Cordara nel 1770 come una serie di stanze '*colme di ogni parte di preziosi pezzi di antichità*'[76] e definita nelle piante e vedute che Pierre Adrien Pâris realizzò tra il 1770 ed il 1774 come '*Appartamento dei bagni*' - era costituita da una serie di 'gabinetti' adorni di colonne di marmi variopinti, statue e bassorilievi e si configurava come un piccolo impianto termale, ricco di fontane, vasche e vasi. Era stato concepito dal cardinale Alessandro con intento spiccatamente museale, ma con connotazione più intima rispetto ad altri ambienti della villa. Lo confermano le parole usate dal Winckelmann, presente a Villa Albani dal 1755 in qualità di direttore delle collezioni di antichità, che in una lettera del 1767 definisce questi ambienti come il *Museum* del cardinale.[77] La storia architettonica relativamente tarda di questa sezione della villa - il cui allestimento ancora nel 1767 non doveva essere stato del tutto completato, se una stanza fu costruita in quell'anno per accogliere i nuovi acquisti dopo il restauro;[78] il fatto che nella descrizione degli ambienti e delle antichità in essi contenute fatta dal Pâris non vi sia menzione della statua della Leda, menzionata invece nella descrizione del Magnan, lasciano supporre che la statua vi sia stata collocata in un momento compreso tra il 1774 ed il 1779: gli anni, appunto, in cui si collocano le operazioni di scavo del Rancurel nella *Domus Augustana* con il ritrovamento, nel 1775, delle due statue di Leda.

È d'altra parte ben noto e documentato l'interesse del cardinale Alessandro Albani per le rovine del Palatino;[79] molti rinvenimenti di quegli anni furono utilizzati dal cardinale per abbellire la villa che dal 1748 andava costruendo sulla via Salaria.[80] Che il cardinale non sia rimasto estraneo neppure alle operazioni di scavo condotte sul Palatino dal Rancurel è dunque facilmente immaginabile: come già in passato, anche in quella occasione egli deve aver manifestato il suo vivo, e certo non spassionato, interesse per i rinvenimenti che si facevano nel *Palazzo dei Cesari*, luogo fortemente carico di significati che egli aveva attentamente studiato quando si era trovato ad operare le personalissime scelte di arredo degli ambienti più rappresentativi della sua villa - la Galleria nobile o quella del Canopo - nei quali aveva saputo legare architettura e decorazione scultorea ricreando ambientazioni di grande fascino, volutamente evocative della magnificenza delle residenze imperiali.[81]

È fin troppo nota la politica ideata e promossa fino alla fine dall'Albani per doverne discutere in questa sede, politica che se da un lato favoriva il prolificare di scavi da parte di cittadini britannici e le esportazioni di antichità verso l'Inghilterra,[82] dall'altro contribuiva anche a fare del Museo Pio-Clementino un sempre più grande polo di attrazione proprio per i protagonisti del *Grand Tour*:[83] la sorte toccata alla Leda Lansdowne e all'Apollo Sauroctono del Vaticano ne rappresenterebbero un evidente riflesso. Come in altre occasioni di scavo, anche durante gli scavi promossi dal Rancurel il cardinale deve aver avuto la possibilità di scegliere per primo fra il materiale appena rinvenuto, favorendo poi la vendita e l'esportazione delle sculture, per così dire, scartate.

b) Apollo

Sulla base di quanto osservato finora, sembra dunque verosimile che anche l'altra statua di Apollo rinvenuta nel corso degli stessi scavi Rancurel e ritenuta finora dispersa, di cui ci rimane il ricordo nelle parole del Visconti,[84] si debba ricercare tra le repliche del tipo, o vicine al tipo, finite in Inghilterra.[85]

Anche in questo caso una serie di riscontri incrociati sulle sculture proponibili, permette di restringere notevolmente il campo delle ipotesi.

Per l'identificazione di questa seconda statua di Apollo rinvenuta durante gli scavi del Rancurel, ci si può allora indirizzare verso una statua di Apollo vicina al tipo Sauroctono, con testa antica ma non pertinente, che sempre Gavin Hamilton vendette nel 1775 allo stesso Lord Shelburne, in quegli anni suo principale acquirente.[86] Acquistata da Carl Bergsten nel 1930 in occasione della vendita della collezione Lansdowne, essa si trova attualmente nel Medelhavsmuseet di Stoccolma (*figg. 17-18*).[87]

La valutazione dello stile copistico della replica di Stoccolma, in mancanza di un esame autoptico, risulta particolarmente complicata, per la presenza, ancora una volta, di una testa antica ma non pertinente al tipo.[88] Anche in questo caso si potrebbe pensare ad un restauro avvenuto già in antico, tanto più che un intervento antico potrebbe essere anche quello operato per il ricongiungimento della porzione di braccio sinistro e la parte antica del sostegno in forma di tronco d'albero su cui esso poggia. Nel confronto con la replica del Vaticano (*fig. 13*), dal modellato secco e anatomicamente marcato, la resa della replica di Stoccolma, sicuramente più molle e priva di enfasi muscolare, evidenzia un indubitabile scarto cronologico, difficilmente valutabile in termini assoluti, ma tale da escludere la creazione coeva delle due repliche. Si può proporre per la replica di Stoccolma una datazione ancora entro il I sec. d.C., mentre quella del Vaticano richiama modi stilistici ricorrenti nella produzione di II sec. d.C.

Ancora una volta, dunque, siamo dinnanzi ad un caso di *duplicatio* ottenuto con l'accostamento di repliche di età diversa, di cui una, che potrebbe essere la più vecchia fra le due, probabilmente restaurata in antico.

L'analisi fin qui condotta non solo permette di restituire al contesto del Palatino esaminato due sculture finora ritenute disperse, ma configura anche la presenza, fra gli arredi scultorei del palazzo, di particolari casi di *duplicatio*.[89]

Infatti, in considerazione della differente datazione delle due sculture che compongono le due coppie (Leda con cigno e Apollo) possiamo pensare ad un loro originario indipendente utilizzo e ad un loro successivo riutilizzo in *pendant* in nuovi contesti decorativi all'interno degli ambienti del palazzo.

Possiamo cioè credere che le coppie del Palatino rinvenute negli scavi del Rancurel siano il frutto di una deliberata scelta da parte di un committente/collezionista che, disponendo già di un esemplare, ne commissiona uno analogo, forse attribuendo alla coppia così formata una duplicità di significati intelligibili nell'ambito del nuovo contesto di utilizzo, e manifestando, oltre che un apprezzamento estetico per i modelli, anche una consapevolezza stilistica.

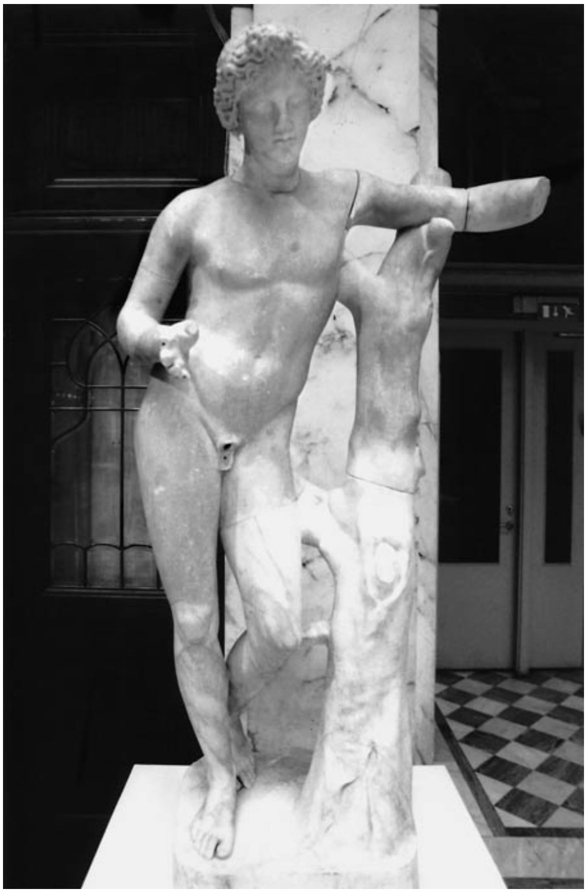

Fig. 17. Statua di Apollo Sauroctono, Stoccolma, Medelhavsmuseet: veduta frontale (foto: museo).

La conferma che il gusto per la *duplicatio* di sculture sia legato anche alla pratica collezionistica antica è data dal fatto che anche nelle coppie di sculture del Palatino, come in altri casi di sculture antiche disposte a formare un *pendant*, per così dire, secondario, è possibile riscontrare la presenza di restauri operati già in antico.[90]

Tale pratica trova conferma non solo dal punto di vista archeologico (si pensi anche alla presenza di sculture ellenistiche nelle residenze imperiali),[91] ma anche dal punto di vista giuridico.[92] Le statue restaurate o altri oggetti d'arredo antichi (ad es. tavole, candelabri marmorei) possedevano un valore tanto alto da poter scatenare anche una causa giuridica in merito alla loro proprietà. I primi decreti che riguardano la manutenzione di vecchi arredi nel settore privato risalgono all'imperatore Claudio. Secondo Tacito, poi, era un fatto naturale che in caso di vendita di una *domus* o di un *hortus* le statue passassero in mano al futuro proprietario.[93] Dalla lettura delle fonti pare possibile ricavare, insomma, che l'età di tutto un arredamento rappresentava un valore in sé e che non era possibile togliere o vendere separatamente le sculture che avessero da lungo tempo fatto parte dell'arredo di un luogo - soprattutto nel caso di edifici privati. Gli arredi scultorei erano dunque impiegati anche per il valore aggiuntivo che derivava loro dalla maggiore antichità.

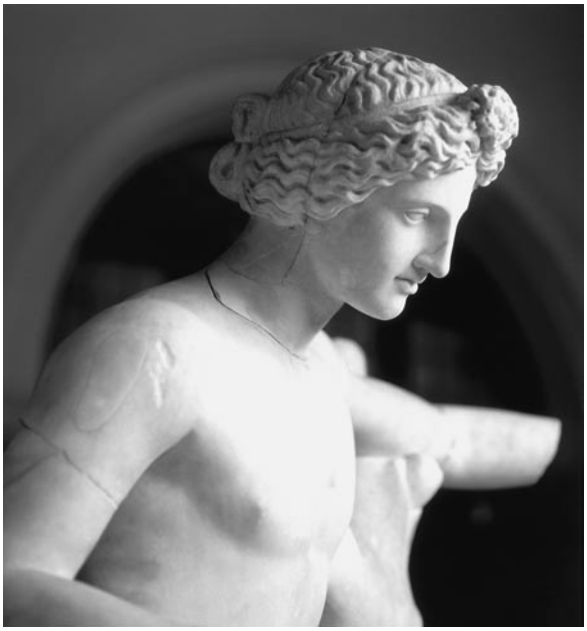

Fig. 18. Statua di Apollo Sauroctono, Stoccolma, Medelhavsmuseet: particolare (foto: museo).

Sul Palatino, ai casi di *duplicatio* finora analizzati se ne aggiungono altri provenienti dalla stessa area indagata dall'abate Rancurel o da aree assai prossime.[94]

Infatti, tra i rinvenimenti di sculture effettuati dal Bartoli agli inizi del '900, sono anche due teste di giovane con berretto frigio (*figg. 19-20*),[95] attributo tipico di Mitra e di almeno tre figure mitologiche di giovani orientali: Ganymedes, Paris, Attis. Nel caso delle teste palatine rimane dubbio se entrambe rappresentino lo stesso personaggio. La più antica delle due (*fig. 19*), databile per stile copistico ancora entro la fine del I o nella prima metà del II sec. d.C., è riconducibile secondo alcuni ad un *Vorbild* tardo classico raffigurante Paris ed attribuibile ad Euphranor,[96] secondo altri ad una rielaborazione classicistica di quel modello.[97] Il secondo esemplare (*fig. 20*), sicuramente più tardo, caratterizzato da uno stile copistico assai ben definito che indirizza verso una datazione nella tarda età antonina o forse già in quella

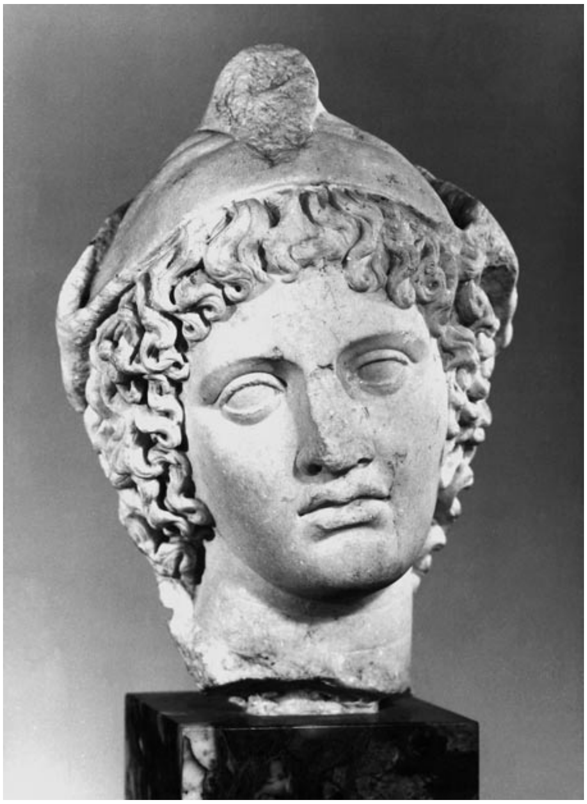

Fig. 19. Testa di giovane con berretto frigio, Roma, Museo Palatino, inv. n. 12486 (foto: Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Roma, neg. n. 651082).

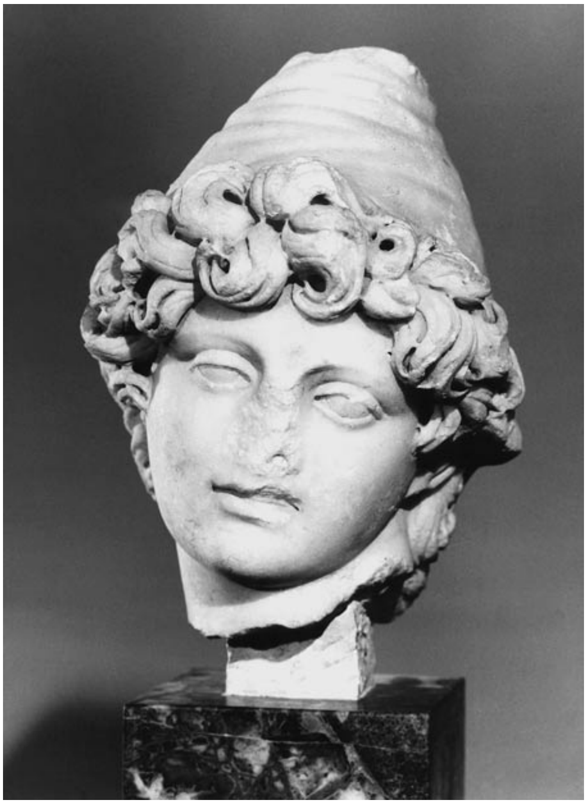

Fig. 20. Testa di giovane con berretto frigio, Roma, Museo Palatino, inv. n. 12488 (foto: Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Roma, neg. n. 651084).

severiana, può essere avvicinato ad un gruppo di repliche simili[98] che, pur ripetendo alcune caratteristiche generali, non possono tuttavia ricondursi ad alcun preciso *Vorbild*, essendo state adoperate con la diversificazione degli attributi e di qualche particolare sia per raffigurazioni di Ganymedes - come appare chiaro nel caso della replica del Vaticano[99] - sia per raffigurazioni di Paris - come è invece più probabile per la replica del Museo dei Conservatori[100] o per quella di Sarsina.[101]

Il fatto che le due teste del Palatino siano in rapporto speculare fra loro, rafforza l'ipotesi di un volontario effetto di *duplicatio* ottenuto con l'utilizzo di tipi leggermente diversi (forse distinti anche sulla base degli attributi perduti), tipi di cui è comunque ipotizzabile una sostanziale interscambiabilità.

Un altro caso di *duplicatio* sul Palatino è documentato da due repliche raffiguranti Eros: una di esse, attualmente al Louvre (*fig. 21*), fu trovata nel corso degli scavi ottocenteschi di Pietro Rosa presso il ninfeo occidentale della *Domus Flavia*;[102] l'altra (*fig. 22*), più frammentaria, potrebbe provenire dalla stessa area. Attualmente al Museo di Parma,[103] infatti, potrebbe esservi arrivata con gli invii che seguirono agli scavi effettuati da Francesco Bianchini nella prima metà del '700, occasione nella quale giunsero a Parma anche i noti colossi in basalto di Eracle e Dioniso.[104] Questo lascia ipotizzare, tenendo conto delle aree interessate in quegli anni dagli scavi del Bianchini, una provenienza da un contesto molto prossimo, se non identico, a quello in cui più tardi il Rosa rinvenne l'altra replica finita a Parigi. Il tipo iconografico cui appartengono i due Eros, che proprio dall'esemplare del Louvre è definito Farnese-Steinhäuser (*fig. 21*), è noto attraverso un numero veramente molto ridotto di repliche, di cui nessuna purtroppo conserva la testa, e per di più anche assai diverse fra loro per qualità. Oltre alle due del Palatino, una replica è nota a Copenhagen[105] ed una a Vienna.[106] Delle due repliche del Palatino, quella di Parma è certamente qualitativamente più alta e databile per il trattamento del nudo ancora nel I sec. d.C.; quella del Louvre è

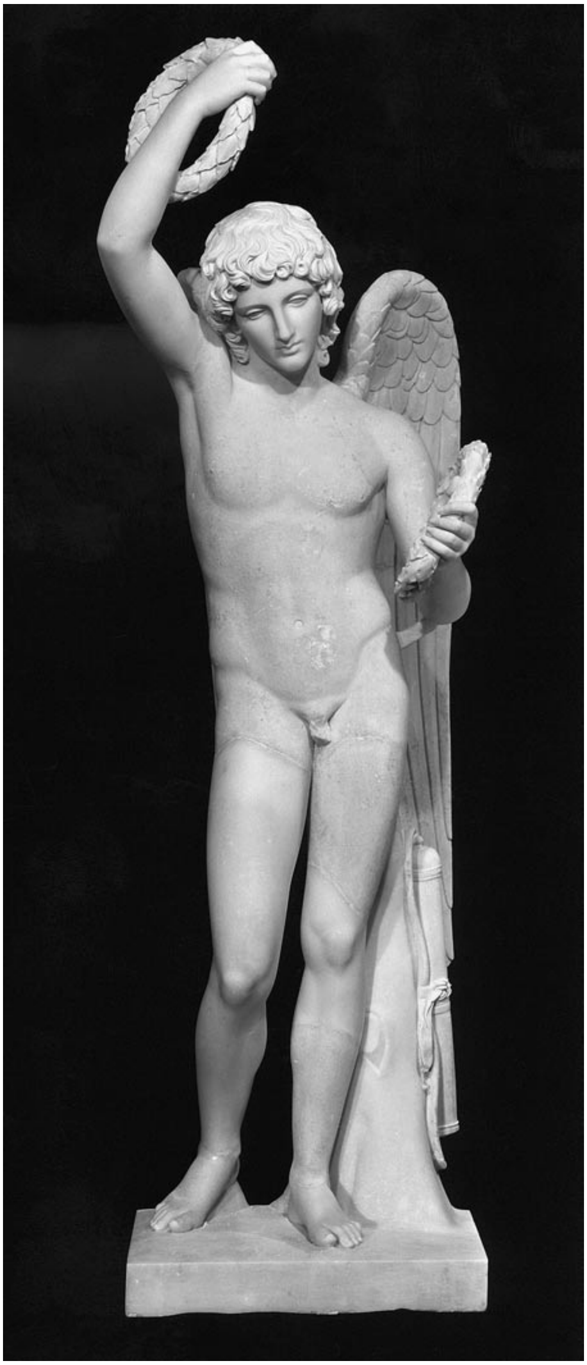

Fig. 21. Statua di Eros, Parigi, Museo del Louvre, inv. n. MA 2266 (foto: museo).

invece, prescindendo dall'intervento del restauratore, una replica più accademica, databile nel II sec. d.C. Ancora una volta dunque, un caso di sculture di identico soggetto create in tempi diversi.

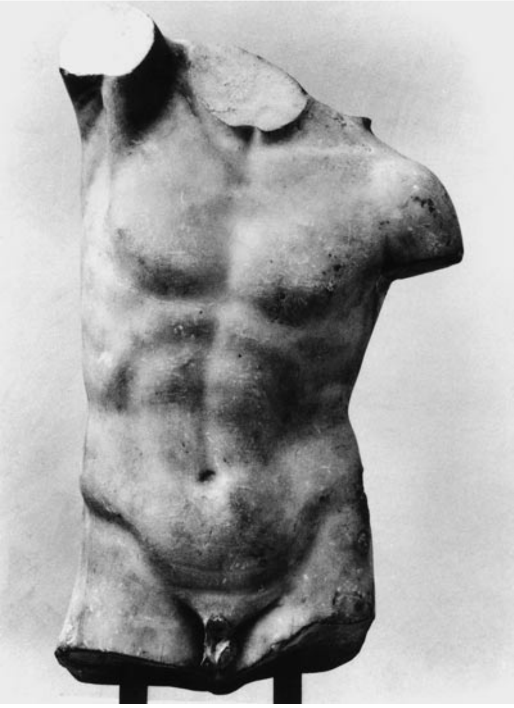

Fig. 22. Torso di Eros, Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità, inv. n. A 74.D 876 (foto: Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Roma, neg. n. 67.616).

Se è vero che non abbiamo assoluta certezza che le coppie palatine fin qui analizzate siano state impiegate nel medesimo contesto decorativo in senso stretto, è altresì vero che l'area del loro rinvenimento è sufficientemente prossima per ipotizzarlo; pertanto sembra possibile tentare, pur con molta cautela, anche una valutazione generale dei soggetti rappresentati.

Poiché ogni raccolta, se tale, riflette nella scelta dei soggetti e dei tipi iconografici ritenuti più significativi, la temperie culturale di cui è frutto, si può ipotizzare che dietro queste coppie secondarie, composte cioè da sculture volutamente disposte in relazione fra loro, ci fosse un gioco di allegorie duplici, una *duplicatio* di significati per cui, ad esempio, a Leda poteva corrispondere Elena, ad Apollo/Giacinto, a Ganymede/Paris, e forse ad Eros/Himeros, in una probabile galleria di personaggi allusiva agli *Amores* degli dei e degli uomini, nell'evocare i quali potrebbe essersi compiaciuto il proprietario-collezionista.

La nozione dell'arte classica come arte di piacere, il favore accordato alla figure mitologiche, agli Eroti, l'importanza riconosciuta alla bellezza ed agli istinti sensori, primo fra tutti l'amore, appaiono radicati nella cultura neosofistica soprattutto a partire dalla seconda metà del II sec. d.C.[107] Anche il favore accordato a tipi statuari tardo classici e prassitelici ben si inserisce in questa temperie culturale.

Non sembra del tutto improbabile, dunque, che alcune di queste coppie del Palatino siano state accolte e ricollocate all'interno di un programma decorativo, concepito nella seconda metà o già verso la fine del II sec. d.C., che prevedeva l'utilizzo di sculture già presenti a palazzo.

NOTE

[*] Questo contributo è parte di una più ampia ricerca finalizzata alla ricostruzione degli arredi scultorei delle residenze imperiali del Palatino, avviata nel 2002 nell'ambito di un progetto PRIN (Progetti di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale) promosso dalla cattedra di Archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana dell'Università 'Federico II' di Napoli. I risultati di tale ricerca sono confluiti nel volume: "*Palazzo maggiore*"*: gli arredi scultorei delle residenze imperiali sul Palatino*, in corso di stampa, al quale si rimanda per una più ampia trattazione delle tematiche affrontate. Desidero esprimere anche in questa sede la mia più sincera gratitudine al prof. Carlo Gasparri, per il costante incoraggiamento e per aver seguito gli sviluppi della ricerca con infinite disponibilità e generosità.

[1] Per i problemi relativi alla terminologia delle differenti aree delle residenze imperiale sul Palatino: Sassi d'Elia 1997, 40-45.

[2] Guattani 1785, LXXXIV: '*È incredibile intanto in quanta copia corniciami, fregi, capitelli (fra' quali due intatti di giallo), ne andarono sopra carrette come vil tavolozza al negozio del marmista Vinelli a Campo Vaccino*.'

[3] *Nuova pianta di Roma data in luce da Giambattista Nolli nell'anno MDCCXLVIII*, in Frutaz 1962, vol. I, 234-235; vol. III, tavv. 396-418; Bevilacqua 1998, 126-127.

[4] La villa, già proprietà delle famiglie Stati e Colonna passò in eredità ad Asdrubale Mattei da parte degli zii Paolo Mattei e Tutia Colonna, proprietari dal 1552. Lanciani 1989-2002, I, 269: 'La villa Mattei sarebbe stata fondata tra gli avanzi della casa Augustana e del portico delle Danaidi nell'anno 1515; ma la data non è sicura. I Mattei la ingrandirono nel 1561, acquistando una vigna di quattro pezze da Alessandro Colonna, e alcuni anni più tardi, quella di Cristoforo Stati.' Guerrini 1982, 11-14; 54-56.

[5] Bianchini 1738, 36; Venuti 1824, I, 35-40; Nibby 1838-1841, II, 466; Lanciani 1989-2002, V, 303.

[6] Venuti 1824, I, 39-40; Guattani 1785, IV.

[7] Guattani 1785, LX. Giovanni Franceco Brunati (1723-1803) fu dal 1746 al seguito dell'ambasciatore imperiale cardinale Alessandro Albani. Nel 1751 assunse le funzioni di agente imperiale e archivista d'ambasciata a Roma e nel 1758 fu segretario dell'ambasciata straordinaria imperiale per il conclave. Compito del Brunati era quello di condurre gli affari della corte di Vienna presso le autorità pontificie. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XIV, s.v., 526-528 (G. Klingenstein).

[8] Bartoli 1929, 8. I Colocci di Iesi avevano ottenuto nel 1752 il marchesato del Sacro Romano Impero. Notizie sulla Famiglia Colocci in *Storia d'illustri famiglie italiane*, Firenze s. d., II, s.v. (F. Galvani).

[9] Su Villa Mills: Bartoli 1929, 3-29; Piranomonte 1994, 179-197, figg. 189-208.

[10] Londra, Royal Institute of British Architects, f. XV/11 recto: *terme di palacio majore*; Forssman 1977, 20; La Follette 1994, fig. A.

[11] In: Bianchini 1738, tav. I.

[12] Pirro Ligorio, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. Paris. 1129, f. 349, in Hülsen 1895, 35-36; Cassatella 1990a, fig. 21; Cassatella 1990b.

[13] Cassatella 1990a, fig. 22.

[14] Bianchini 1738, 34; 42: seguiva il riferimento ai cd. Bagni di Livia scoperti sotto il Triclinio della *Domus Flavia* e scavati proprio dal Bianchini (*Domus Transitoria*).

[15] La citazione, tratta da uno dei codici torinesi di Pirro Ligorio, si trova in Lanciani 1989-2002, II, 54 (purtroppo, senza più preciso riferimento).

[16] Pirro Ligorio, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. Paris. 1129, f. 356, riportato in Hülsen 1895, 36.

[17] Carinci 1972, 21.

[18] Panofsky-Soergel 1968.

[19] Nell'inv. del 1592 le statue trasportate da Asdrubale Mattei nel palazzo di via de' Funari, nonostante le contrarie disposizioni testamentarie, e precedentemente poste ad adornare la vigna del Palazzo Maggiore, sono indicate come *repertae* ed *existentes*, dunque probabilmente rinvenute sul Palatino e lì restaurate e conservate; ma la provenienza dal Palatino per una delle statue menzionate - quella identificata con il Claudio dell'inv. 1592 - ritenuta improbabile dal Carinci, mette in dubbio il valore dell'inventario come fonte sulla provenienza delle statue. Carinci 1972, 21.

[20] Venuti 1824, I, 35-36.

[21] *Monumenta Mattheiorum*, Roma 1778, vol. III, tavv. 37 e 45 (incisioni di R. Venuti); Bartoli 1929,11; Lanciani 1989-2002, V, fig. 146; Reinach 1897-1930, III, 399, 1-2 (al Museo Pio-Clementino).

[22] Lanciani 1989-2002, II, 56; Venturi 1890, 200-201.

[23] Venturi 1890, 200-201. Secondo una proposta dello Stuart Jones, la statua del fauno potrebbe essere riconosciuta nel Satiro in riposo dei Musei Capitolini (Inv. n. 739. Marmo bianco, alt. m 1,70. Già Coll. D'Este. Stuart Jones 1912, 350-351, 109, tav. 87; Todisco 1993, 76, fig. 135). Per la notizia di statue rinvenute nel corso di scavi condotti nel 1570 per conto del cardinale Ippolito d'Este: Venturi 1890, 201.

[24] Lanciani 1989-2002, V, 15.

[25] Notari della Camera dei Conservatori, Rogiti originali anni 1689-1700, vol. 8, ch. 263-264, 261 riportato in Ms. Lanc. 91/1, ff. 168-170: Lanciani 1989-202, V, 303. La licenza fu concessa il 20 agosto del 1692. Si veda anche Lanciani 1989-2002, VI, 27-28.

[26] La notizia degli scavi e dei rinvenimenti effettuati dai conti Spada si ricava da più fonti. Ad esempio: P. S. Bartoli, *Memorie di varie escavazioni fatte in Roma e nei luoghi suburbani vivente P. S. Bartoli* (in Fea 1790-1836, *Memoria* 7); Bianchini 1738, 150, nota 28: '*... a dì nostri scavandosi ritrovò il conte Paolo Spada molti frammenti di statue di bronzo e di marmo*'; Guattani 1785, IV: '*... il Signor Abate Rancoureil, ... v'intraprese uno scavo, punto scoraggito dal sapere, che quel terreno era già stato voltato dalla famiglia Spada sua antica padrona, che ne mostra ancora nel suo palagio i non dispregevoli frutti*'; ed ancora, Lanciani 1897, 142.

[27] Per gli scavi di Francesco Bianchini sul Palatino, si veda adesso: Miranda 2000 (con appendice di documenti e bibliografia precedente).

[28] Pier Leone Ghezzi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.

Ottob. Lat. 3109, *passim*. Guerrini 1971, *passim*.

[29] Scarne notizie sull’abate Rancurel, figlio di Simone, probabilmente originario della regione d’Ars, si possono ricavare dagli atti notarili menzionati alle note seguenti.

[30] Archivio Capitolino, AU sez. VIII, vol. 75, ff. 351r-355v: atto notarile della *venditio* firmato dal notaio Giuseppe Simonetti.

[31] Archivio Capitolino, AU sez. VIII, vol. 75, f. 647: atto notarile di *quietantia* firmato dal notaio Giuseppe Simonetti.

[32] Archivio di Stato di Roma, Presidenza delle Strade: *Liber Patentium Litterarum*: busta 67 (1768-1777)] c. 268v. Riportato anche in Lanciani 1989-2002, VI, 181.

[33] In quell’anno furono trovati, ad esempio, la statua di Apollo Sauroctono poi venduta al Vaticano ed il busto di Settimio Severo, passato in Inghilterra. Vedi *infra*, 213, note nn. 59 e 63.

[34] Per un ritratto dell’architetto: Massar 1992. Si veda anche: Busiri Vici 1961, 3-17; Debenedetti 1997, 183-228; Pace 1997, 229-264. Nel diario di Roma l’architetto Giuseppe Barberi è menzionato per l’anno 1778 come autore del disegno del pavimento in marmo della Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme (Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma*, vol. II, anno 1778, 15/8 n. 378, p. 13).

[35] Di tale collaborazione è frutto, ad esempio, la casa dell’ambasciatore di Malta a Roma: Debenedetti 1996, 243.

[36] Su Gavin Hamilton: Irwin 1962, 87-102. Per la sua corrispondenza epistolare con Lord Shelburne: *Ancient Marbles, Catalogue of the celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles the property of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Lansdowne, Christie, Manson and Woods 5.3.1930*, 77-107.

[37] Sulla gelosia dell’abate e sulla sua ritrosia ad introdurre curiosi nell’area di scavo, riferisce il Guattani (Guattani 1785, Gennaio, V: ...*il fu cavalier Gio. Battista Piranesi, che ad onta d’una eccessiva gelosia del proprietario, mandò di notte alla sfuggita abili persone a disegnare quei luoghi non senza evidente pericolo della vita*...) e la notizia è riportata più tardi anche da altri (ad esempio: Boissier 1880, 92-93).

[38] Piranesi 1784, tomo I: ‘*Pianta del piano inferiore d’una parte del palazzo de’ Cesari creduta le Terme Palatine*’; ‘*Pianta del piano superiore della parte del Palazzo de’ Cesari creduta l’abitazione d’Augusto sul Monte Palatino, il piano inferiore del quale era destinato per Terme o Bagni*.’

[39] Guattani 1785, 4, con piante del Barberi; Guattani 1795, I, 45 ss.

[40] Uggeri 1790, I, 69-73, tavv. XV-XVI.

[41] Venuti 1824, I, 40-41.

[42] Nibby 1838-1841, II, 414-420.

[43] Gori 1867, in particolare 25-30.

[44] Per le quali si rimanda a: Villedieu 2001, con bibliografia precedente; Morel/Villedieu 2002.

[45] Cassanelli *et al*. 1998, 122, tav. 71.

[46] Cassanelli *et al*. 1998, 126, tav. 75.

[47] Boni 1913, 242-252; Marella Vianello 1947, 3-34.

[48] Bartoli 1929, 7-29; Bartoli 1938.

[49] Lugli 1946, 509-514.

[50] Wataghin Cantino 1966; Finsen 1969.

[51] Sulle più recenti indagini condotte nell’area in esame: Cassatella 1986, 535-539; 1990a, 91-103; 1997, 63-64.

[52] Che corrisponde all’angolo sud occidentale del peristilio centrale della cosiddetta *Domus Augustana*.

[53] Nell’area del triclinio domizianeo restano solo le fondazioni curvilinee concentriche che tagliano i Bagni di Livia; nella parte orientale invece resta un tratto di muro dell’elevato, già visto da Pirro Ligorio durante gli scavi cinquecenteschi nella vigna Stati-Mattei.

[54] Cecamore 1994-1995; 2002, 155-159.

[55] Cfr. nota n. 51.

[56] Guattani 1785, IV-V.

[57] *Ancient Marbles, Catalogue of the celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles the property of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Lansdowne, Christie, Manson and Woods 5.3.1930*, 96; 99-100. Le notizie riferite dallo stesso Hamilton circa la provenienza della statua non lasciano dubbi sulla sua identificazione; risulta pertanto assolutamente improponibile l’ipotesi formulata da G. Spinola secondo cui quella finita nella collezione Lansdowne e poi a Malibù potrebbe essere la statua di Leda con cigno della collezione Paluzzi, pervenuta nella collezione Altieri nel 1672 (*un’altra* [statua] *che con la mano manca tiene un panno steso, e con la dritta una grue*), dove sarebbe attestata ancora nel decennio 1720-1730 sulla base dell’elenco Topham, mentre non vi farebbe più parte già alla fine dell’800 (Spinola 1995, 74, nota 166).

[58] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. n. 70 AA 110 (già Lansdowne House, 78). Marmo pentelico; alt. m. 1,26. Rieche 1978, 26-27, tavv. 16; 30c; 31f (prima età imperiale; la Rieche ritiene che la testa sia moderna) con bibliografia precedente.

[59] Città del Vaticano, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue inv. 750. Marmo giallognolo a grana fine (von Steuben); alt. m. 1,67. Pietrangeli 1989, 100-101 con bibliografia precedente; Spinola 1999, 49-50, n. 62, fig. 9.

[60] Giustificazioni 1778, 82: ‘*sc 500 per prezzo d’una statua trovata fralle ruine del Palazzo Imperiale sul Palatino rappresentante il Saurottono, che viene da Prassitele, secondo le recenti scoperte di Winckelmann*’.

[61] Sull’acquisto anche Chracas, *Diario ordinario di Roma* II, 1778, 19/12.

[62] Spinola 1996.

[63] Londra, British Museum, inv. 1916. Marmo bianco. Ritratto di Settimio Severo tipo Serapide. Datazione: tra la fine del II sec. d.C. e gli inizi del III sec. d.C. Smith 1904, III, 166, n. 1916; Pietrangeli 1958, 74; McCann 1968, 168, n. 74, tav. 70; Soechting 1972, 187, n. 79, tav. 8 c/d; Daltrop 1988, 68-69.

[64] Città del Vaticano, Museo Pio-Clementino, Portico est del Cortile Ottagono, inv. n. 999. Marmo bianco, lungh. m 2,09; alt. m 0,59; largh. m 0, 55. *Giustificazioni* 1779, 83: ‘A*l signor Abate Rancurel sc. 20 per un sarcofago con bassorilievo di Ganimede ed Ebe dea della Gioventù. 7 dicembre 1779*’. Fu ripulito da Giovanni Meres nel 1780 (*Giustificazioni* 1780, 28). Datazione: 200 d.C. circa. Pietrangeli 1988, 154 con bibliografia precedente. Vedi anche: Spinola 1996, I, 45, PE 32; Andreae et al. 1998, 35, tav. 355-356, 97 a - PE 32.

[65] Visconti 1818, 75-80, tav. XIII (si osservi che l’edizione originale del catalogo è del 1782).

[66] Rieche 1978, 23-30.

[67] Ad esempio, la replica medicea già incisa in rame dal Montfaucon ed esistente a Roma nella villa di Giulio III, fuori Porta del Popolo o la replica oxoniense già pubblicata nel 1763, o ancora, quella del Prado proveniente dalle collezioni di Cristina di Svezia, già Odescalchi.

[68] Fea 1821. La prima edizione è del 1801.

[69] Per essa si veda Rieche 1978, 24, n. 4, fig. 18.

[70] Si ricordi che Guattani parla di due repliche intere di dimensioni poco meno del vero.

[71] La tenuta *dell’Invialata* è probabilmente da riconoscersi nell’”Inviolata”, tratto di campagna romana, divenuto ora parco archeologico, nel territorio di Guidonia Montecelio.

[72] Per questa notizia: Lanciani 1989-2002,VI, 224.

[73] Bertolotti 1877.

[74] Magnan 1779, 59.

[75] Roma, Villa Albani, inv. n. 185. Marmo bianco a grana fine, cristallina; alt. m. 1,22. Bol 1992, 170-173, n. 315, tavv. 110-115 (P. C. Bol).

[76] Giulio Cesare Cordara, *Il Forestiere istruito per vedere ordinatamente e con metodo le rarità più insigni antiche e moderne di Roma con una succinta spiegazione delle medesime onde possa appagare la sua giusta curiosità senza il soccorso di un antiquario o di una guida* (Ms. Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9676), in Röttgen 1982, 167-184.

[77] Rehm 1956, 310, n. 900.

[78] Röttgen 1982, 102-103; 159.

[79] Debenedetti 1985; Gasparri 1999.

[80] J.J. Winckelmann ci informa della provenienza dal Palatino di una pittura antica conservata a Villa Albani (Winckelmann 1767-1772, 232, cap. XII, n. 177).

[81] All'interesse di questi anni deve farsi risalire anche la volontà di far rivivere nella stessa architettura di Villa Albani quanto visto nelle architetture dei palazzi imperiali palatini: Gasparri 1999, 42-50.

[82] È stato perfino ipotizzato, sulla base del comportamento spregiudicato mostrato nei confronti delle sue stesse collezioni che più di una volta fu costretto a vendere, che il cardinale Albani abbia rivestito un ruolo nella vendita di antichità a collezionisti stranieri, soprattutto inglesi, in un periodo in cui anche per ragioni politiche si faceva delle antichità merce di scambio.

[83] Su questi aspetti della politica del cardinale Alessandro Albani tra il 1764 ed il 1796, volta al riconoscimento e sostegno della casa di Hannover e tesa a favorire la richiesta di opere d'arte da parte di cittadini britannici: Wilton/Bignamini 1997.

[84] Vd. *supra*.

[85] Trattandosi di un soggetto già presente nella collezione Albani, infatti, la scultura avrà trovato subito la via per l'esportazione.

[86] *Ancient Marbles, Catalogue of the celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles the property of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Lansdowne, Christie, Manson and Woods 5.3.1930*, 61, n. 91; p. 93-94 (lettere del 9 agosto 1775 e del 6 gennaio 1776); 97 (*memorandum* di Lord Shelburne sulla sua collezione di sculture con data: febbraio 1777);

[87] Marmo italico (Michaelis), alt. m 1,53. Di restauro: la base e la gamba destra dal ginocchio in giù, la gamba sinistra da metà della coscia con il sostegno in forma di albero e la base, il braccio destro dal bicipite. La testa, antica ma non pertinente è ricomposta da due grossi frammenti; il naso è di restauro. Clarac 1826-1853, III, tav. 476B, 905D; Michaelis 1882, 447-448, n. 41; Picard 1948, 543, fig. 228; Asplund 1943, n. 27; Vermeule/Bothmer 1956, 335.

[88] Sull'antichità della testa: Clarac 1826-1853, III, 197, tav. 476 B, 905 D: *Il n'y a guère d'antique dans cette statue que le torse, qui est rempli de morbidesse et d'élégance. Les chairs annoncent la jeunesse. Le sculpteur modern en a fait un Sauroctone; les restes d'un tronc d'arbre, le mouvement de la cuisse droite, qui est antique, semblent en effet annoncer que telle était son attitude originaire. La tête n'est pas le sienne, mais elle est antique. Le bras droit est restauré audesus de l'épaule [Haut. 4 pi.6 p.].*

[89] Il fenomeno della *duplicatio* di sculture è noto soprattutto dopo la pubblicazione del complesso scultoreo della *domus* romana di via Cavour (Bartman 1988, 211-215). Per un rapido esame del fenomeno a Villa Adriana: Slavazzi 2001, 52-61. Per l'esame di un particolare aspetto, adesso: Gasparri 2005. Per un riesame globale del fenomeno della *duplicatio* di sculture si rimanda a Pafumi, in c.d.s.

[90] Tra le sculture sicuramente esposte in coppia nelle quali siano riconoscibili indubbi interventi di restauro antico sono, ad esempio: le due repliche del Pan policleteo firmate dal liberto M. Cossutius Cerdo, dagli scavi Hamilton a 'Monte Cagnolo' (Londra, British Museum, inv. nn. 1666-1667. Marmo bianco; alt. m 1,09) o ancora le due repliche del Meleagro dalla villa di Ulpiano a Santa Marinella (1. Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Art Museum 1926.48. Marmo bianco, alt. conservata m. 1,23. Replica tardo-ellenistica; 2. Berlino, Staatliche Museen K 235. Marmo bianco a grana grossa, alt. m. 2,09. Prima metà del I sec. d.C.; Blümel 1931, 22-23, K235, tav. 48). Non mancano altri esempi, come le due repliche del satiro in riposo dell'Ermitage (San Pietroburgo, Ermitage, nn. 117 e 120. Marmo pario, alt. m 1,30 e m 1,15; Waldhauer 1928-1936, II, 22-23, nn. 117, 120 tav. XXII-XXIII) e le due repliche di Sileni sempre all'Ermitage (San Pietroburgo, Ermitage, nn. 155-156. Marmo italico a grana fine, alt. m 1,28; Waldhauer 1928-1936, II, 44-46, n. 155-156, tav. XXXIX) provenienti dallo stesso scavo condotto da Vescovali nel 1823 sulle pendici del Cispio, in Via dei Quattro Cantoni. In particolare, le condizioni di ritrovamento di questo ultimo complesso, interpretato come officina di uno scultore, se da un lato possono lasciare il dubbio che le sculture si trovassero solo momentaneamente insieme in attesa d'essere riparate, dall'altro confermano la cura cui già in antico erano sottoposte le statue danneggiate.

[91] Vorster 1988; Vorster 1999, 169-173.

[92] Si veda a questo proposito quanto raccolto e commentato da Calabi Limentani 1958, in part. 111- 115. Vorster 1999, 167-169.

[93] Tac. *Ann*. 1.73.

[94] Per un'analisi completa dei casi di *duplicatio* riscontrati tra gli arredi delle residenze imperiali del Palatino si rimanda a Pafumi, in c.d.s.

[95] Roma, Museo Palatino, inv. nn. 12486 e 12488. Marmo bianco a grana medio-grossa, probabilmente tasio, alt. m 0, 29. Tomei 1997, nn. 123 e 121 (ivi bibliografia).

[96] Jantzen 1964.

[97] Zanker 1974, 110-112; Landwehr 2000, 67-68.

[98] Per la discussione sul tipo e la lista delle repliche più vicine: Landwehr 2000, 67-68.

[99] Città del Vaticano, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. n. 1376, marmo bianco. Landwehr 2000, 67-68, tav. 30 a; 31 a-b.

[100] Roma, Museo dei Conservatori. Marmo bianco, alt. m. 1, 34. Landwehr 2000, 67-68, tav. 30 b; 31 c.

[101] Sarsina, Museo. Marmo bianco, alt. m. 1, 50. Landwehr 2000, 67-68, tav. 30 c.

[102] Parigi, Museo del Louvre, inv. n. MA 2266. Marmo greco; alt. m 1,78, con plinto. Trovata nel corso degli scavi di Pietro Rosa (1862) presso il Ninfeo occidentale della *Domus Flavia*, sul pavimento, insieme a due colonne scanalate di giallo brecciato. Todisco 1993, 68, fig. 103 (ivi bibliografia precedente); Corso 1998, tav. 7, 23.

[103] Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità, inv. n. A 74.D 876. Marmo bianco, alt. max 0,60. Reinach 1897-1930, 2, 458,4; Frova/Scarani 1965, tav. 13.

[104] Parma, Galleria Nazionale, inv. nn. 969-970. Basalto, alt. m 3,55 (gruppo di Dioniso e Satiro); m 3,65 (Ercole). Belli Pasqua 1995, 89-90; 98-99, nn. 37, 55, tavv. XLII-XLIV; LVII-LX.

[105] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. n. 488. Marmo bianco, alt. m 0,66. Nielsen-Stubbe Østergaard 1997, 30-31, 7.

[106] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, da Villa Adriana;

già nella collezione del pittore M. Wutky, fu acquistato nel 1803. Marmo bianco, alt. m 0, 46. Schneider 1895, 7, tav. XVII, 1.

[107] Sulla Seconda Sofistica si segnalano qui alcuni fra gli studi più recenti, rimandando ad essi per approfondimenti ed ulteriore bibliografia: Gleason 1995; Swain 1995; Schmitz 1997; Goldhill 2001, da ultimo, Whitmarsh 2005.

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The urban context of the Serapeum at Ostia

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Abstract

This article discusses the cults of Isis and Serapis in Ostia and Portus, especially the location and urban context of the Serapeum *in Ostia, and provides arguments against a supposed Oriental quarter in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary.**

The last decades have seen a fair amount of research into the Eastern cults in the harbours of Rome, and discussion on several aspects of the cults that were adopted from Egypt. A number of these cases will be critically analysed here, in the context of recent research in other fields. It is explicitly not the purpose to aim for completeness here. The known material is, by now, so substantial that it warrants extensive research, leading to a large monograph. Here, instead, I would like to pay specific attention to the location and urban contexts of the sanctuaries to Egyptian gods in Ostia and Portus.

In her work *I culti orientali ad Ostia* from 1962 Maria Floriani Squarciapino clearly outlines the state of affairs in the area of Egyptian cults in Ostia.[1] She thinks that the impulse for the founding of sanctuaries for Oriental deities in this particular place came from Rome, and not from the steady stream of mariners who came into town. The Serapeum of Ostia postdates the Iseum and Serapaeum at Rome itself, which might be used to support this claim.[2] Furthermore, Squarciapino argues that the cult fitted well into the urban environment of Italic towns from Hadrianic times onwards.

She further emphasises the specificity of Ostia, by arguing that the inscriptions from Ostia are mostly in Latin, whereas those from Portus are mainly Greek. Thus, the link to Egypt, c.q. Alexandria will have been stronger at the sanctuary of Portus than the one of Ostia.[3] Here, she follows Russell Meiggs who, when comparing Ostia to Portus, noted that at the former: ‘probably the association with Egypt was less strong’.[4] The idea of a strong relation between the sanctuaries to Isis and Serapis at Ostia and Rome would fit the pattern which recent comparative research between Ostia and Rome has established, of a harbour town strongly connected to the imperial capital.[5] Even though this is an attractive view, one should be cautious before overstating the case. Research taking into account all relevant types of sources is a prerequisite before making any further claims.

In his recent study *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten* (2004) Dirk Steuernagel has done worthful suggestions regarding the cults of Egyptian deities in Ostia.[6]

Inscriptions and sculptures seem to indicate that both Ostia and Portus had an Iseum, although, to this day, no temple of Isis has been found.[7] One inscription from Portus explicitly mentions a restoration of an *aedem ac porticus deae Isidis*, in the 70s of the 4th century.[8] Serapis too seems to have had sanctuaries dedicated to him in both towns. Inscriptions (especially Vidman 1969, 257-258 no 556, dated to 222-226 A.D.) suggest a Serapeum at Portus. Both for that sanctuary and for the Portus Iseum a location on the Isola Sacra has been suggested, directly south of the estuary of the Trajanic canal.[9]

At Ostia, the cult of Isis is usually considered to be older than the cult of Serapis.[10] Through the Augustan tomb no 18 along the Via Laurentina the existence of a local Isis cult is even dated to Augustan times.[11] It is, however, questionable whether one can base the argument for a cult building on only one tomb depicting Isis or an Isis-priestess.[12] In fact, one has to come to the conclusion that currently known sources give too little information about pre-2nd century AD buildings, relating to the cult of Isis and Serapis at Ostia. From the 2nd century onwards, the image changes completely. The vast majority of inscriptions that relate to the cult of both Egyptian deities can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd century. This may well be linked to the expansive growth of both towns following the construction of Trajan’s harbour, and the ensuing influx of people from all corners of the empire, including Egypt.[13]

Considerable popularity of Egyptian deities among the inhabitants of the seaports is furthermore supported by many findings of statues and statuettes in private contexts.[14]

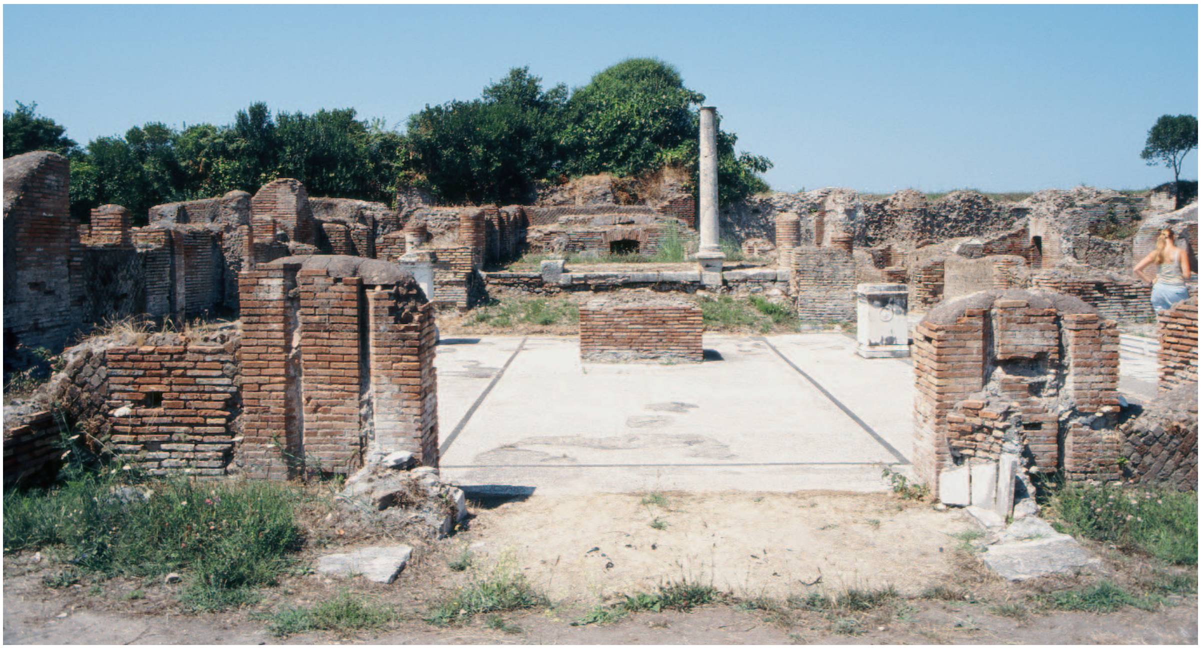

Fig. 1. Ostia Antica, remains of the Serapeum (photo: author).

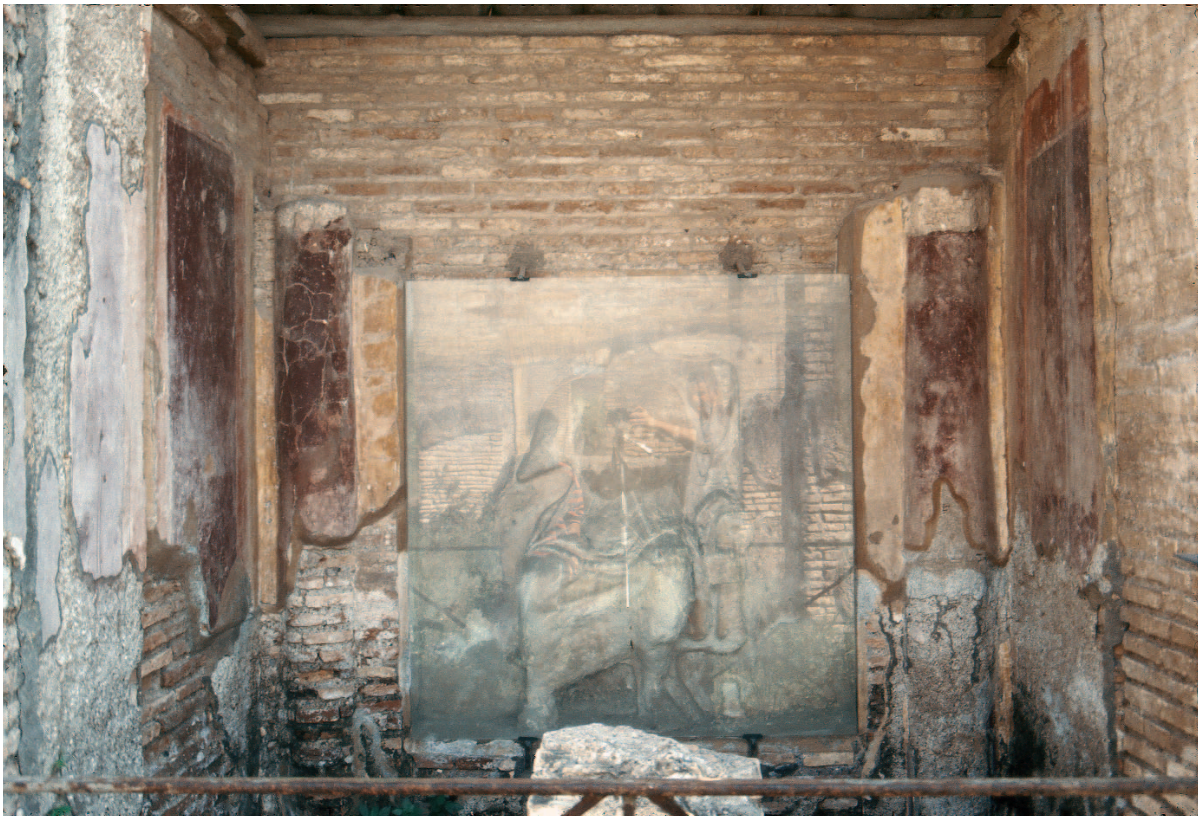

Fig. 2. Ostia Antica, Caseggiato del Serapide, Sacellum *of Serapis (photo: author).*

This is not surprising, since the gods were assimilated into the Roman pantheon from the 2nd century AD onwards.

In modern literature on the cults of Isis and Serapis in the seaports of Rome, emphasis inevitably lies on the Serapeum of Ostia (III XVII 4), the only monumental sanctuary for one of the Egyptian gods that has been found in either this city or Portus to this day (*fig. 1*).[15] The excavator, Guido Calza, found, among other evidence, the inscription IOVI SERAPI, placing the identification of the building as a Serapeum beyond reasonable doubt.[16] Katharina Rieger has, nonetheless, chosen not to incorporate the building in her recent study on sanctuaries in Ostia, since she considers it to have been semi-public, unfortunately without explaining this qualification.[17] To my mind, there is not enough evidence to answer the question on the status of the Serapeum of Ostia as a public, semi-public, or private building.

According to Calza, the whole quarter of the Serapeum was strongly influenced by Egyptian mariners.[18] Various scholars have pursued the point, even seeing the building and its direct surrounding area, on the north side of the city, as the seat of a religious *collegium* of worshippers. Some of these scholars go so far as to call the wider surrounding area, because of the *aegyptiaca* that have been found there, an Oriental quarter,[19] and therefore inhabited by orientals.[20] It seems fairly self evident that supporters of the Serapis cult lived in the vicinity of the Serapeum. Arguing, on that basis, in favour of an Oriental quarter is pushing the evidence too far.[21] One of the points that needs to be looked at first is chronology: it ought to be analysed to what extent finds can be dated to similar or different periods, taking location in consideration as well. In the way in which the material is often presented nowadays, it seems as if buildings and finds all originate at the same moment, and have continuously existed alongside one another. For instance, the sacellum with a stucco depiction of Serapis, which gave name to the Caseggiato del Serapide, is often used as support for an 'Oriental quarter' (*fig. 2*). This Caseggiato is a residence that forms one block with the Caseggiato degli Aurighi and the Terme dei Sette Sapienti, two *insulae* away from the Serapeum.[22] The *sacellum* in question, however, was a private initiative by a limited number of inhabitants of both residences, together with some surrounding users and employees of the bathcomplex, of which the *sacellum* forms part of the monumental entrance.[23] My own research has shown that the sacellum should be dated to between AD 205 and 209, which gives its origin a completely different context than that of the Serapeum.[24] The latter is certainly Hadrianic, as it was initiated by Caltilius P..., a probable freedman, on the 24th of January 127, the emperor's birthday, as the *Fasti Ostienses* indicate.[25] The just discussed *sacellum* depicting Serapis was a private dedication, made during the reign of an emperor whose affinity to this deity is well known and need not show any eastern roots, especially since under the Severi the Serapiscult had become a general Roman cult.[26] We have to conclude that there are no indications for a relation between the Serapeum and this *insula* for the period between 127 and 205, and that though in 205 or shortly after a *sacellum* was created for the Egyptian god in *Insula* III X, the impulse for this need not have come from the *Serapeum*, taking into account the widespread popularity of Serapis in this period. Of the other finds relating to the cult of Serapis in the neighbourhood, Steuernagel (2004, 214) has rightly suggested that they originally were part of the Serapeum itself.

Now that it appears that the presumed Oriental quarter in the wider area surrounding the Serapeum cannot be supported with sufficient evidence, it may be worth while to look in greater detail at the direct vicinity of the Serapeum. There is certainly a relationship between the Serapeum and at least one of the two adjacent residential areas.[27] At any rate, for a limited period of time, in which they had an open connection to one another. Ricardo Mar, furthermore, presumes a link with the Terme della Trinacria.[28] He argues that the unity is obvious from the fact that both buildings were constructed as one whole in seven years (123-131). Against this argument one should point out that more complexes in the wide area were built in the same years, as is clear, for instance, from the first building phase of the just discussed *Insula* III X, for which there is no evidence for a link to Serapis at the time of construction.

Whether, furthermore, the religious *collegium*, linked to Serapis, was also in charge of the thermal complex and the *horrea* that were located in the same block where the Serapeum is located, as Mar argues, is questionable.[29] Apart from proximity of these buildings to one another, and, to a certain extent, the way they were oriented towards each other, Mar provides few convincing arguments. This has recently also been recognised by Egelhaaf-Gaiser and Rieger.[30] In terms of bath complexes, the Terme della Trinacria are fully comparable to other *balnea* in Ostia, which were consistently placed near, or in between, living residences, and were often closely connected to them. These baths had primarily a function for their direct living environment, and are not to be connected to adjacent temples or cults - as Mar has argued in various places.

Here, and also elsewhere, Mar makes a wrongful comparison to the *insulae* I XIV en XV, of which the first contains some living residences, constructed around and above the so-called Baths of Buticosus, and the second four originally Republican sanctuaries, dedicated among others to Hercules. Even though, as Mar rightly points out, both water supply and drainage of the bath complex are concentrated in the temple complex, there is still no reason to assume a relationship between baths and temples - apart from being located in the same block. In fact, it appears that the temple complex lost space to the bathhouses, especially for service quarters and water management, thus losing importance when the *balneum* was constructed in Trajanic times. Since new storeys were rapidly constructed over this *balneum*, in the early Antonine period, it would appear that the erection of bath and living spaces should be linked to the extreme population growth of the town in the 2nd century AD, rather than being related to the cult of Hercules. On the contrary, there are indications for a lessening of importance of the Hercules temple: during the mentioned changes in the *insula*, part of the temple podium disappeared underground, and the terrain surrounding the temple was filled with facilities to accommodate the water management of the bath complex.

Likewise, the *insula* incorporating the Serapeum should not be seen as exceptional: the bath complex had the same local function within the block as comparable complexes in many other *insulae* within the town. The Serapeum, thus, occupied a position which was little different from that of sanctuaries to the traditional Roman gods in the living areas of the ever more densely built town of Ostia.

The final point that I want to raise in this contribution is the position of the Serapeum in Ostia as a whole. Carlo Pavolini contends that, with the exception of the cult of Mithras, Oriental cults were practised only in the peripheral areas of the town.[31] For the Serapeum, however, the opposite is true: since Ostia and its centre bordered on the Tiber, the Serapeum which was located near the riverbank must not be regarded as a peripheral building, but one in the vicinity of the centre, only about 375 m removed from the town's forum. Recent prospection research of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, led by Michael Heinzelmann, furthermore, shows that 2nd-century-AD Ostia had a *trastevere* which occupied several hundreds of meters north of the Tiber.[32] That suggests that, at that time, the northern periphery of the town should be located there, and not in the area directly south of the Tiber. From that point of view, the Serapeum of Ostia can certainly be considered as a building at the border of the town centre. It was not a peripheral building, underlining the deity's importance in the town.

NOTES

[*] I am grateful to Olivier Hekster, Eric Moormann, Daniëlle Root and Christel Veen for their advise and assistance.

[1] Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 19-36 (Ch. II).

[2] Floriani Squarciapino 1962, VII.

[3] Cfr. Bakker 1994, 216.

[4] She follows the first edition of Meiggs from 1959, repeated in the second edition, Meiggs 1973, 368. L. Ross Taylor 1912, 67 has expressed the following opinion: 'A Sarapeum was established at Portus by Alexandrians, and modelled after the great sanctuary of the god at Alexandria.' It is however not clear on which arguments he has based this opinion.

[5] See on this the introduction and several contributions in Bruun/Gallina Zevi 2002.

[6] Especially Steuernagel 2004, 92-94 and 212-227.

[7] See for the inscription on Egyptian gods: Vidman 1969, 244-254, nos 532-549 (Ostia) and id. 254-260, nos 550-562 (Portus); slightly more recent is Malaise 1972A, passim; Malaise 2004. See for the dating of no 556 also Vidman 1970, 59. See for an overview of monuments for Serapis in Ostia and Portus: Kater-Sibbes 1973, 101-105. This overview is however very brief and incomplete. Much more complete on Isis and Serapis and with references is Bricault 2001, 154-157.

[8] Vidman 1969, 260 no 562. Cfr. also Vidman 1970, 161; 1971, 207; Chastagnol 1969, 135-144: 'architrave de l'Iséum de Porto'. As for the inscriptions I refer to Vidman 1969 and not to Thylander 1952 because the last collection is far from complete.

[9] See for Isis and Serapis in Ostia also Ross Taylor 1912, 73-75 and Meiggs 1973, 366-370. Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 28 mentions two possible locations for the Ostian Iseum: near the Capitolium or near the Palazzo Imperiale. The author prefers the second possibility because *CIL* XIV 4291 was found near the Navalia which is not far from the Palazzo Imperiale. Zevi 1997, 322-323 (with references to earlier literature) proposes to identify architectonical remains on the Isola Sacra, unearthed near the place where Trajan's canal discharged into the sea, as remnants of an Iseum, in this case belonging to Portus. Cfr. also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 216-217; Rieger 2004, 25 note 67. The Serapeum of Portus can also have been located on the Isola Sacra, judging by two inscriptions, one in Greek and one in Latin, both dedications by Titus Aelius Felicissimus to Serapis, cfr. Moretti 1975-1976, 315-319 and Malaise 2004, 25, 16a and 16b. See also Lazzarini 1996, 243-247 who supports this proposition of a Serapeum on the basis of a recently found inscription.

[10] Morovich 1991 suggests that the Serapeum in Ostia has had an Iseum as predecessor. This has been rightly

enfeebled by Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 200 because of the lack of any indication.

[11] See recently Steuernagel 2004, 220-221.

[12] One has pointed to a representation of amongst others two Apis bulls in combination with *CIL* XIV 1044 dating from the 1st century AD. Cfr. Vidman 1969, 244-245, no 532 and Vidman 1970, 108. On a Neronian-Flavian altar in the Lateran collection of the Vatican Museums (inv. 10762) with inscription (*CIL* XIV 429 = Vidman 1969, 252, no 543) one *L. Valerius Fyrmus ... sacerdos Isidis Ostens(is)* is mentioned, but again an explicit reference to a specific building is lacking. For a description with bibliography see Sinn 1991, 70-71 no 37. See also Meiggs 1973, 366.

[13] Cfr. Malaise 1972a, 104, 133, 165, 327 and 470; Shepherd 1997, 324. See for Ostian *Aegyptiaca* excavated in public contexts in Ostia and Portus Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 25-27.

[14] Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 34-35; Malaise 1972, 83-89, nos 96-123; Bakker 1994, passim.

[15] The temple, excavated in the Thirties of the 20th century, was first published by Calza 1953, 138. After that, many others have described the building. In her recent overview of sanctuaries in Ostia it is mentioned only briefly by Rieger 2001, 247. For recent descriptions of the temple see Malaise 1972, 78-79; Bakker 1994, 367-368; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 201-204.

[16] Cfr. Vidman 1969, 245 no 533.

[17] Rieger 2004, 32 note 138 and 215, note 1021.

[18] Calza 1953, 138. See also Hermansen 1982, 83 who writes about 'strong oriental influence'.

[19] For instance Mar 1992, 36-46; Mar 1996, 150. The *Aegyptiaca* found in the neighborhood of the Serapeum are described by Malaise 1972, 79-81, nos 67-77.

[20] Pavolini 1989, 132; Shepherd 1997; contra: Bakker 1994, 192 and Versluys 2002, 47.

[21] Cfr. Steuernagel 2004, 214, especially note 1084.

[22] In her catalogue of monuments for Serapis Kater-Sibbes 1973, 101, no 544 and 545 includes both the Caseggiato del Serapide and the stucco representation of the god. This, of course, is not correct: the modern name of the first derives from the second monument and cannot therefore be taken as an independent Serapis monument. Bakker 1994, 89, 93, 226 (Cat. A 53) has found the outlines of representations of Isis Fortuna (left) and Isis (right) in the side panels of the sacellum. See also Mols 1999, 263-265 (stucco image of Serapis) and 364 (on date) and Steuernagel 2004, 94; 226 and Tafel 2.2.

[23] Cfr. Ook Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 213.

[24] Mols 1999, esp. 363-364.

[25] See for this inscription Vidman 1957, 21; Malaise 1972, 71-72 no 18; id. 1972a, 123 (wrongly 123 A.D. is given as the year of dedication), 421 (with correct year); Morovich 1991. The dedication on this date is rightly to be seen as an intentional declaration of loyalty to the emperor as has been proposed by Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 206. It is however slightly overdone to consider it an 'Einbindung des Kaiserkultes'. Attractive but difficult to demonstrate is the idea regarding the cult of Isis suggested by Gallo 1997, 290: 'Sembra che l'introduzione di questo culto "esotico" sia stata favorita e promossa proprio da ricche famiglie di mercanti, legate da più generazioni all'Oriente e alle coste del Mediterraneo dai traffici marittimi.'

[26] Contra Shepherd 1997, 324.

[27] Pavolini 1989, 128-129 considers this certainly the case for the Domus presso il Serapeo (III XVII 3) and maybe for the Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna. Floriani Squarciapino (1962, 21) sees a relationship with III XVII 2, 3 and 5 ('erano probabilmente destinati a cerimonie del culto e ad abitazione dei ministri di esso.'). Cfr. also Steuernagel 2004, 220.

[28] Mar 1996, 136. Suggestions in the same direction have been done by Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 21.

[29] Mar 1992, 37-46, 48. See about this *collegium* also Hermansen 1982, 66-67.

[30] Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 208-212; Rieger 2004, 125.

[31] Pavolini 1989, 127-12; see also recently Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 200.

[32] Cfr. Heinzelmann 2002, especially 106-107. In Abb. 1 in grey, the city area in the Second century A.D. has been marked. In the South and East buildings go beyond the city walls even more than is the case with the Tiber in the north.

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The Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I iii 5)

A Case-study of Wall Painting in Ostia

Neeltje Oome

Abstract

Following large-scale excavations at Ostia in the first half of the 20th century (more specifically between 1938 and 1942), archaeologists studying the discovered paintings primarily focused on the analysis of stylistic features, but generally failed to consider their architectural context. However, in the latter half of the century, with stylistic considerations still predominating, an increasing concern with the architectural context of painted decorations was nonetheless underway.

Following in the footsteps of Mols' work at the Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1), the current article seeks to embrace these changing views and explore the wall paintings in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I iii 5) at Ostia, paying particular attention to their architectural context. This not only carries with it the ability to more accurately date the paintings, but also the potential to attribute certain social functions to them.[1]

INTRODUCTION

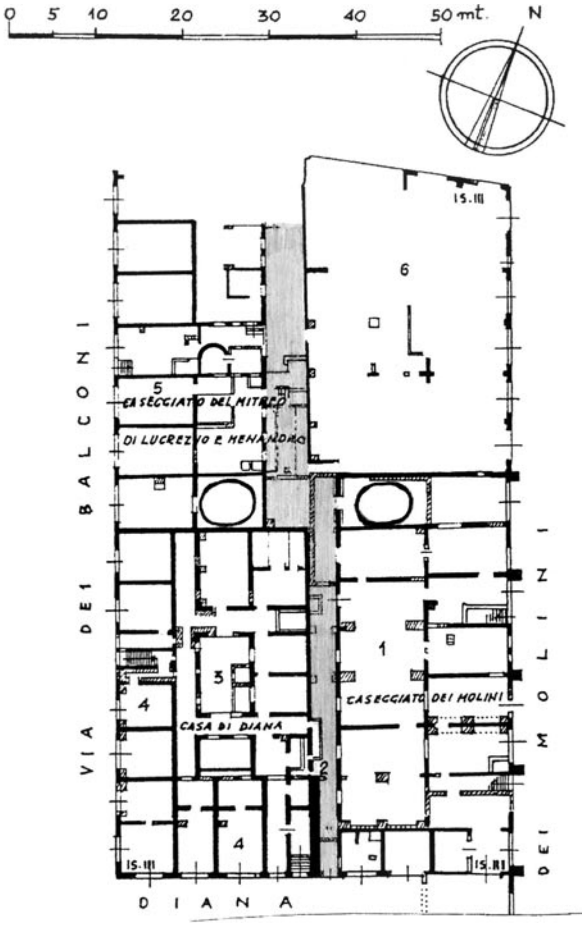
After the excavations that took place at Ostia in the first half of the 20th century (1938-1942), study of the wall paintings focused mainly on their stylistic features. Therefore, dating was carried out based on the similarity of stylistic features only, without taking into account their architectural context.

Since the 1970s, Meiggs has been addressing the context in which the paintings in Ostia were found.[2] He was the first to distinguish the social functions of the rooms and places wherein the paintings were located, proposing there were rooms with a primary and rooms with a secondary function. He suggested certain criteria to differentiate paintings found in primary and secondary rooms and places. For instance, wall paintings found in primary rooms comprise mostly three horizontal zones, of which the zone in the middle is the largest, and is subdivided into large panels with one or more scenes. Furthermore, striking contrasting colours of red and yellow are used. In secondary rooms and corridors however, the wall paintings have only two horizontal zones, with the border located approximately two-thirds up the wall face. These wall paintings have no horizontal socle-zone. Instead, the emphasis falls on the vertical zones, which in turn are subdivided by fine architectural elements with slender garlands.

Joyce and Liedtke have further expanded this functional distinction between paintings. They also ascribe social functions in their classifications of all Ostian wall paintings. Joyce classifies the paintings in three systems: a modular, an architectural and a figurative system.[3] These systems have then been subdivided into variants, which have different social functions. Liedtke, on the other hand, differentiates between walls with a polychrome and walls with a monochrome background, which are then subdivided into different types.[4] She ascribes an important function to those rooms in which walls have a polychrome background, with rooms containing monochrome backgrounds playing a secondary role.

Mols has adapted a new approach in his research by introducing architectural analysis, just as Falzone has done in researching the paintings of the Casa di Diana (I iii 3-4) at Ostia.[5] This method considers, among other things, the study of brick stamps and graffiti of a building in order to date its decorations. In this way, paintings will no longer be examined as a detached entity, and an understanding of architectural contexts can greatly contribute to the investigation of other individual buildings and the dating of their paintings.[6]

The current author shares the view that the location of wall paintings is a key element in understanding their social function and that by studying these paintings in their respective architectural contexts, a more accurate dating may be achieved. With this in mind, the following article will examine the architectural contexts of wall paintings from the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I iii 5) in Ostia.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DI LUCREZIO E MENANDRO
1
3
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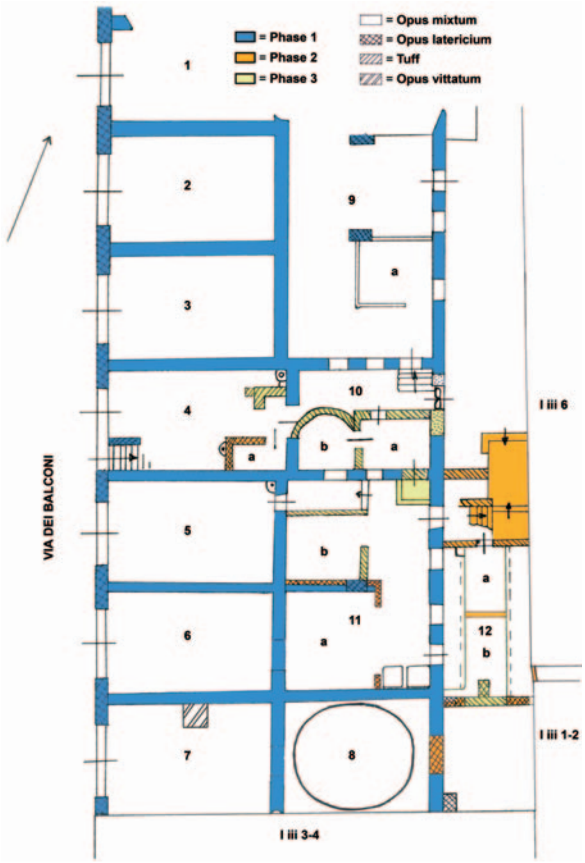
CASA DI DIANA
CASEGGIATO DEI MOLINI
2
4
15.III
15.III
VIA DEI BALCONI
VIA DEI MOLINI
DIANA

Fig. 1. Insula I iii (after Blake 1973, plan XII).


= Phase 1
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= Opus mixtum
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= Tuff
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I iii 3-4
VIA DEI BALCONI

Fig. 2. The three building phases of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (after Becatti 1961, 13, fig. 3).

This building was selected primarily because it underwent different phases of construction and decoration, which appear to have escaped careful examination to date.[7] Only the wall paintings of this building have been studied and the various authors have often proposed quite different dates for them.[8] In fact, the building itself receives relatively little attention in Becatti's collective works on mithraea and mosaics in the series *Scavi di Ostia*.[9]

Following a description of the architecture and wall paintings of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (part A), there will be a consideration of architectural context, function and dating (part B). After comparing the social functions of the Ostian wall paintings attributed by previous authors (as discussed above), it is the ultimate aim of this article to argue that the architectural context, and not merely the stylistic features of a painting, is crucial for both the accurate dating and the thorough investigation of social function. In the example case of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro a t*erminus post quem* (AD 155) for the architecture is offered, while the wall paintings can be dated in the period of AD 155-165.

PART A: THE ARCHITECTURE

The Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro is situated in the northeast of region I and forms part of *insula* iii (*fig. 1*). The building is located on the Via dei Balconi, whose northern end probably once reached the original bank of the river Tiber.

Until recently, the entire building has been referred to as the 'Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro' (*fig. 2*). However, if an imaginary line were to be drawn through rooms 4 and 10 from west to east, the northern and southern sections of the building would mirror each other along this axis. Visualised in this way, rooms 4 and 10 formerly served as a central passageway dividing the entire plan of the building into two separate units, a northern and a southern half. The Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, therefore, is located in the southern half of the building. It is the aim of the current article to consider the entire building.

The plan of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (see *fig. 2*) is divided into twelve rooms and corridors, of which a few are split into smaller rooms (4a, 9a, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b). The rooms which are created by *opus mixtum* - coloured black in figure 2 - shall be referred to as 'room'. The spaces within these rooms, comprising of thin walls of *opus latericium*, realised with bricks or tuff - shaded or hatched in figure 2 -, shall be referred to as 'chamber'. These rooms and chambers were not all built at the same time, but three separate building phases can be distinguished.

In the first phase the building had been constructed with walls of *opus mixtum*. The northern, as well as the southern half of the building contains three rooms along the Via dei Balconi. At the backside of these rooms each half comprises of two rooms, one larger than the other. Between these northern and southern units runs the passageway through the rooms 4 and 10. During this phase, probably three of the four high windows in the east wall of room 11 - according to the extant masonry of the northern and two most southern examples - had been lowered to ground level.[10] It is unclear precisely when and for what reason this small alteration took place.[11] Most likely it was required for the function of this room during its first phase. Prior to the beginning of the second building phase, the two openings - from south to north - must have been bricked up and changed into windows.

During the second phase of building - to the east of room 11 - a north and a south wall were erected from coarse tuff and some bricks, creating a new room under a segment vault (i.e. a vault with a light arch). This segment vault rested on the north and south walls and most likely consisted of temporary material, since nothing of it has remained apart from remnants of the attachment to the north wall. It was supported on its western side against the east wall of room 11 and to building I iii 6 and the later-built north-western corner of the Caseggiato dei Molini (I iii 1-2) (see *fig. 1*).

In order to increase the room-space beneath the segment vault, the floor level was lowered by approximately 0.4 m. The room was then split into two chambers, one northern (12a) and one southern (12b), separated from each other by a thin wall with a doorway in the middle. In this doorway, a marble threshold with one pivot hole was inserted. Only the doorway in the northern wall offered access to the chambers 12a and 12b. In the southern wall another large opening was created, through which one could look onto the patio (*xystus*) beyond - a small open area that lay between the Caseggiato dei Molini, the Casa di Diana (I iii 3-4) and the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (see *fig. 2*). After the construction of these chambers every wall was decorated with a painting (see *infra*). The floor of chambers 12a and 12b was paved with two different black and white mosaics.[12]

Room 11 had also been changed during the second building phase. Between the pillar in the middle of room 11 and the west wall, a thin wall made of bricks had been erected. To the east of the pillar, an L-shaped wall was built with an eastern and southern orientation. Another short wall was constructed against the southern-most wall, creating chamber 11a in the southwest corner of room 11. The walls of this room were also decorated with paintings (see *infra*) and the floor of chamber 11a and of the remaining space of room 11 had again been paved with different black and white mosaics.[13]

Furthermore, the small chamber (4a) in the southwest corner of room 4 was almost certainly constructed during this second phase of building, since its western wall lies now directly against the southern wall of room 4. A flight of stairs with a small upward-lying landing to the north of room 12 probably also dates from this building phase, even though a date in the third building phase has been suggested by Becatti.[14]

In the third building phase the wall between chambers 12a and 12b was removed. These chambers then formed one open space covered by the segment vault. A further alteration in this phase has been the closing of the large opening in the south wall, which left room 12 with only one doorway in the north wall.[15] Reclining couches were accommodated along the east and west wall of room 12, and an altar was erected against the centre of the south wall. On a marble slab on the front of the altar (*fig. 3*) the following inscription can be read, telling us the room now served as a mithraeum:

Deo Invicto Mithrae	Diocles has given and
Diocles ob Honorem	devoted (this altar) to the
C Lucreti Menandri	invincible god Mithras in
Patris	honour of *pater* Gaius
D D D	Lucretius Menander

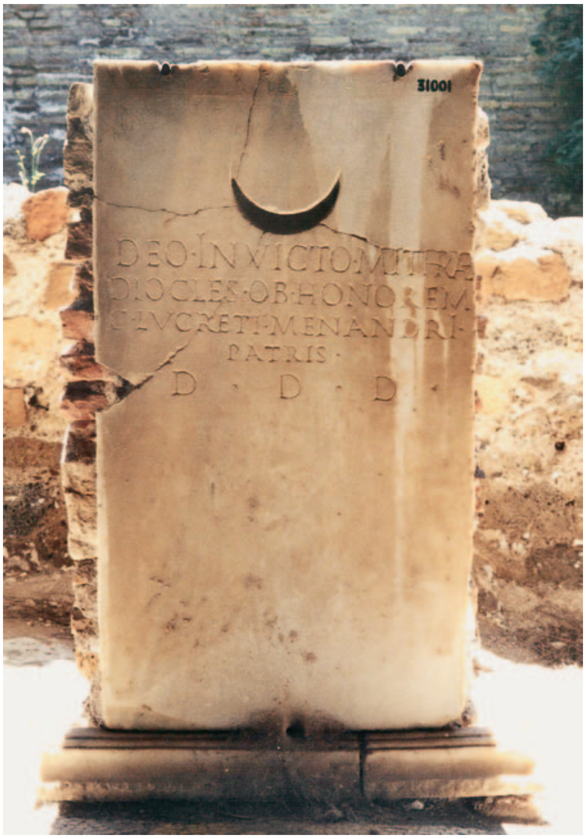

Fig. 3. Frontal view of altar: marble slab with inscription (photo: author).

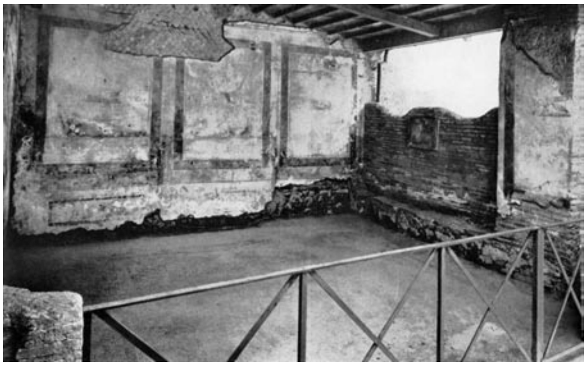

Fig. 4. West wall, north wall and pillar of chamber 11a (Joyce 1981, pl. XV, fig. 25).

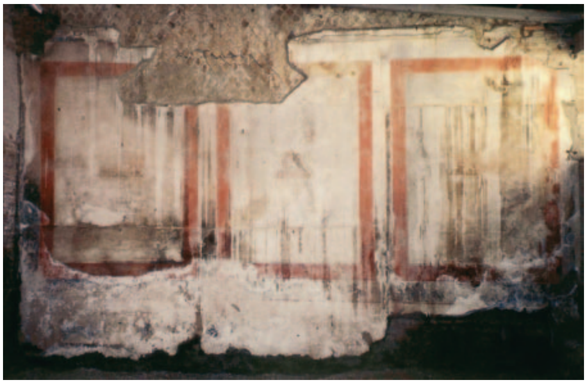

Fig. 5. West wall of chamber 11a (photo: author).

The architectural alterations in coarse tuff in the rooms 10 and 11 have also been attributed to the third building phase. The chambers 10a and 10b were constructed against the south wall of room 10 in such a way that chamber 10b could only be accessed via chamber 10a. The floor of these chambers was paved with black and white mosaics.[16] As we will see below, these places were used as a bathroom.

Additionally, chamber 11b was created in the corner of the north wall of chamber 11a and the west wall of room 11. After these alterations, a resulting aisle ran between the north wall of chamber 11b and the north wall of room 11 towards room 5, where a doorway was inserted.[17] The original doorway between the rooms 10 and 11 (on the eastern side of the northern wall of room 11) was closed during this building phase, and a rectangular water basin was placed in the northeast corner of room 11.

Finally, it appears that a piece of wall situated in the northeast corner of room 4 also dates from the third building phase. It consists of coarse tuff, just like the walls in room 10 and probably went through chamber 4a, blocking the passageway between rooms 4 and 10.

The Wall Paintings

Today, rooms 11 and 12 still have wall paintings.[18] In room 11 there are paintings on the west, north and east wall and also on the west and south side of the pillar in the centre of this room.[19] In room 12 paintings have remained on every wall as well as on the fronts of the reclining couches, although no longer *in situ*.[20]

In chamber 11a the painting on the west wall is divided into a socle-zone and a main-zone, with the border located approximately one-fourth up the wall face (*figs. 4, 5*). A horizontal red line separates these zones from each other. The socle-zone consists of three small panels. At the upper side of the main-zone, the wall decoration has a frieze, consisting of a blue band with a delicate stucco ovoid cornice on top of it. This main-zone has three large panels, painted originally on a white

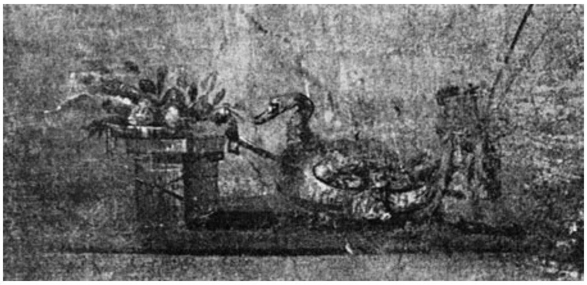

Fig. 6. Still life in north panel on west wall of chamber 11a (Wirth 1934, 147, Abb. 75).

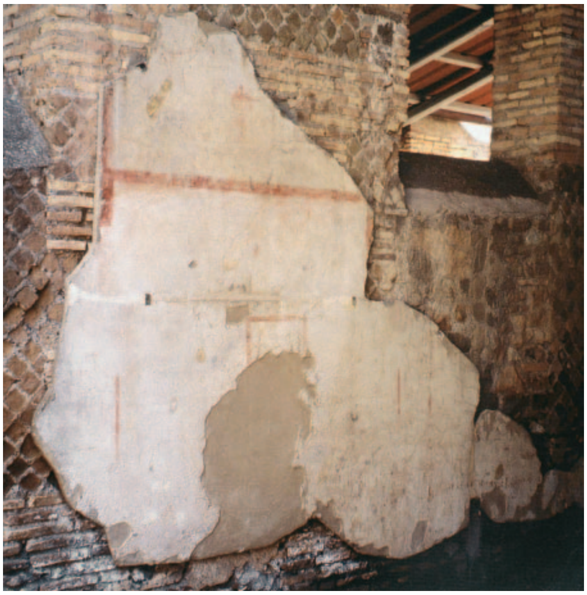

Fig. 7. Painting on east wall of room 11 (photo: author).

background.[21] Wide red bands frame these large panels, separating each panel by means of a narrow white strip between the vertical bands of the panels. Here, very thin flower tendrils are depicted. Along the inside of the red bands, a blue and two or three red inner lines have been drawn.

In the centre of the main-zone panels still lifes are depicted, underlined with borders. The still life in the left panel contains a duck, a *kantharos* filled with flowers and possibly a *stilus*. In the centre of the north panel a vase with flowers, a duck and a cup, again with a possible *stilus* were painted (*fig. 6*). The still life in the central panel is now barely visible and in all still lifes, the colours red, green and probably also yellow have been used.

On the east wall of room 11a, a painting with architectural elements or perhaps even an *aedicula* can be seen (*fig. 7*). The northern section has a large field surrounded by red lines and architectural elements (*fig. 8*). In the centre of this field, a narrow frame painted in red surrounds a landscape. However, the scene is no longer discernible. This decoration appears to repeat itself in the southern section (*fig. 9*). Here, an architectural element composed by the colours green, red and yellow can be seen. Furthermore, the field is surrounded by a red frame that seems broader than the red lines on the northern section.

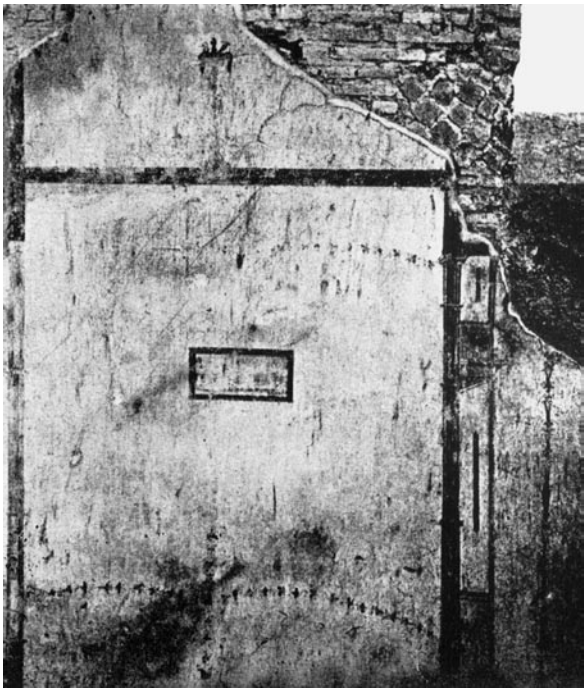

Fig. 8. Original northern section of painting on east wall of room 11 (Wirth 1934, 117, Abb. 55).

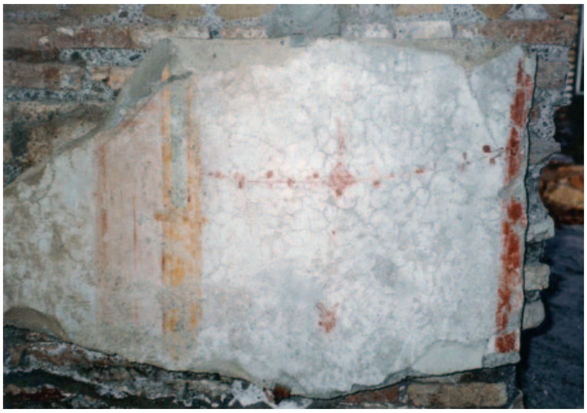

Fig. 9. Southern section of painting on east wall of room 11 (photo: author).

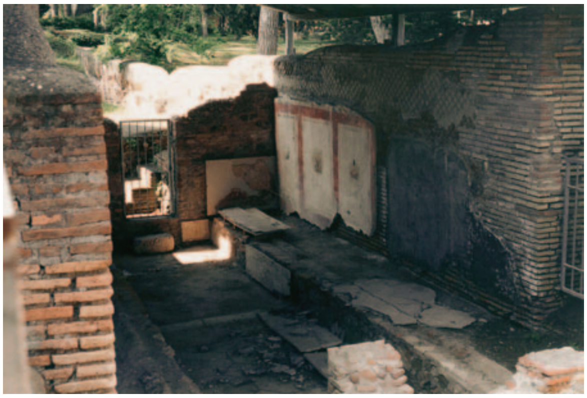

Fig. 10. View onto mithraeum from south-west side (photo: author).

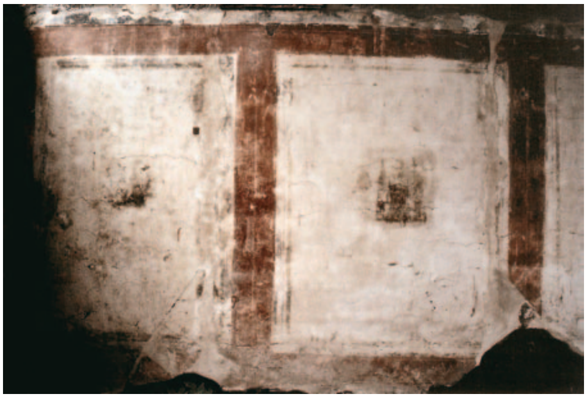

Fig. 12. Most northern panels on east wall of room 12 (photo: author).

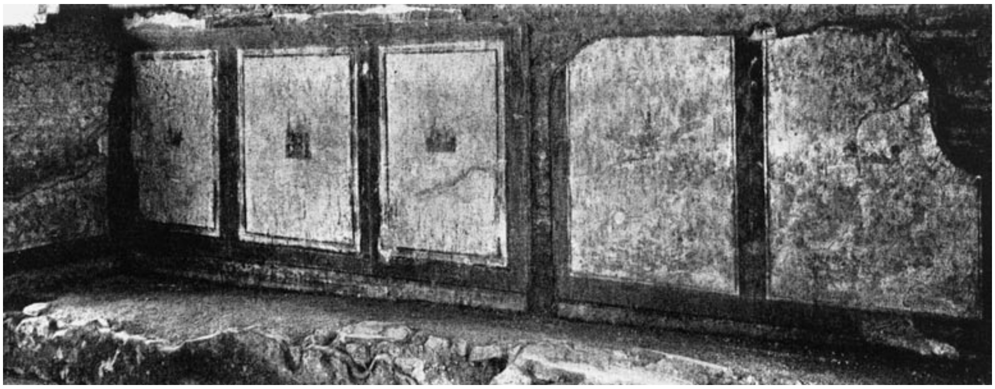

Fig. 11. Original panel decoration on east wall of room 12 (Wirth 1934, 134, Abb. 65; the photograph in Wirth is depicted upside down).

In the fields (as described above) and also in the central section of the painting, red garlands crossing each other are depicted. These flowers show a similar leaf and flower motif as the paintings on the north and west walls of room 11. The painting on the north wall of room 11 shows a red flower, while the wall decoration on the west wall of chamber 11b comprises a red and green crossed flower garland.

In room 12 (*fig. 10*), paintings are preserved on all walls, with paintings also surviving of the fronts of the reclining couches appearing to reflect imitations of the original socle-zone of the wall paintings. The wall paintings are divided, just as the paintings of chamber 11a, into a socle-zone and a main-zone, with the border located approximately one-third up the wall face. Again, a dark red line forms the border between these zones.

The socle-zone of the north wall and the painting on the front of the eastern reclining couch, comprise small panels on a light blue background. Red lines surround the rectangular yellow frames and between each panel runs a pair of two vertical red lines. On top of these panels a horizontal yellow band with red outlines is painted, above which another light blue band is visible.

The main-zone contains a decoration of panels with red connected frames on a white background (*figs. 11, 12*). Four main-zone panels have been preserved on the west wall, two on the north wall, and two more on the east wall. The south wall has only one corner of a main-zone panel. Inner lines are drawn along the inside of these red frames, coloured red and yellow in chamber 12a, and red and blue in chamber 12b. In the red frames between the fields, lines are painted which consist of yellow triangles piled up on top of each other with their points facing downwards. The frieze of the wall decoration, also consisting of a narrow blue band with a delicate stucco ovoid cornice above it, still remains intact in some places directly above the main-zone panels.

In the centre of the panels in the main-zone, landscapes or still lifes have been painted in red, yellow and green. They are not framed by thin lines (as was the case with the landscape on the east wall of room 11), but are defined by borders underneath and sometimes by architectural elements on the sides. The images are no longer clearly visible everywhere.

On the west wall in the second panel from south, a bird and possibly a palm tree can be seen. In the second panel from north on the east wall, a shrine amidst high trees is visible (see *fig. 12*), and on the north wall, in its west panel, appears a still life consisting of two birds, a water basin with a palm branch, a *krater* and architectural elements in the background (*fig. 13*).

Of particular note is this image's unique combination of a still life and a prize-table scene. The water basin, the *krater* and the palm branch are characteristic elements of a prize-table scene. Such scenes allude clearly to the Roman bathing culture.[22] Furthermore, prize-table scenes could be a reference to the *gymnasium* (sports school), and thereby to the Greek civilization, symbolizing the Greek lifestyle.[23] Nevertheless, such scenes may also be interpreted as symbols of triumph.

PART B: ROOM FUNCTION

In the first phase, the rooms 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 were used as shops or workrooms (tabernae) with doorways to the street. This is evidenced by the broad doorways opening onto the Via dei Balconi, with thresholds in which large wooden sliding doors were most likely mounted. Room 8 contains the remains of an oven, which lies directly opposite the elder oven in the Caseggiato dei Molini (I iii 1-2) (see *fig. 1*).[24] During this phase, the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro and the Caseggiato dei Molini were still connected to each other by means of the alley or oblong inner court between the western and the eastern section of *insula* I iii, which was named *Angiporto del Silvano* (coloured grey in *fig. 1*). Therefore, it is likely that the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro was part of the Caseggiato dei Molini in its first phase and that, together, they functioned as a bakery.[25] If so, room 11 most probably served as a workroom next to the oven, with room 9 possibly sharing such a function during this phase.[26] The rooms 4 and 10, as discussed above, formed a central passageway for the building.

In its second phase the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro acquired a new function. The Angiporto del Silvano was blocked just before the start of this phase by means of a wall in the northwest corner of the Caseggiato dei Molini. As a result, the connection between the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro and the Caseggiato dei Molini ceased to exist and the oven in room 8 was abandoned.

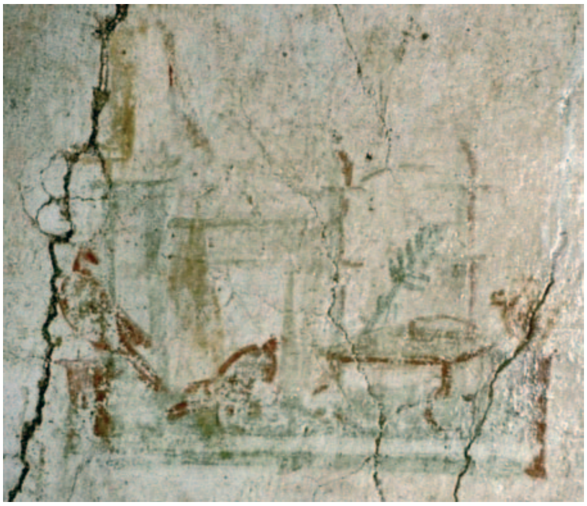

Fig. 13. Still life in west panel on north wall of room 12 (photo: author).

During the second phase, room 11 was converted into a living space. To this end, chamber 11a was built in the southwest corner of room 11. Based on its architectural appearance and dimensions, this chamber may have served as a *triclinium*, in which the owner could receive his guests. The remaining part of room 11 was probably used as a service space and kitchen, with high windows in the east wall providing good ventilation. The space between the east wall of room 11 and chamber 11a functioned as an aisle through which the triclinium was accessible. In the southeast corner of room 11 two bases have been found, whose functions are as yet unclear. It may be concluded that chamber 11a had a relatively important function, while the remaining space in room 11 had secondary functions.

The chambers 12a and 12b, which were covered by the segment vault, formed an extension of the living space in room 11. Despite the wall with its doorway, these chambers probably served together as one reception room. According to Gering, this arrangement of reception rooms is also to be seen in the large *medianum* apartments in Ostia, where similar spaces were connected by means of a large (window) opening.[27] Because of the initial large opening in the south wall, room 12 could even have served as a *specus aestivus* (summer room), permitting people a view onto the patio to the south of room 12.[28] Although located on the south, this patio must have been a cool place in the summer, with the high surrounding walls providing shade. Moreover, since both chambers (12a and 12b) had similar panel decorations during this phase, it may be concluded that the chambers 12a and 12b had an important function as a reception room.

Room 9 was also likely to have served as living space during this second phase, in which the room was constructed at a level different from the other rooms. This living space however, did not belong to the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. Rooms 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 would have retained their functions as shops or workrooms, just as rooms 4 and 10 still served as a central passageway.

During the second phase, the rooms of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro are apparently divided into important reception spaces (11a, 12a and 12b) and secondary service and workspaces (the remainder of room 11). This distinction is even evident in the two different types of wall painting used in these rooms. The fact that the walls of the more important rooms are furnished with panel decorations, while the walls of the secondary spaces are decorated with paintings of architectural elements and garlands, can hardly be a coincidence.

As has been outlined above, the wall between chambers 12a and 12b was removed during the third phase. Along the east and west wall of the room reclining couches were installed and against the south wall an altar was erected (see *fig. 3*). Thanks to the inscription on the marble slab on the front of the altar and the presence of the benches, we know that the room was devoted to the god Mithras and thus served as a mithraeum during this phase.

At the same time, room 11 would also have had a change in function. It would no longer have served as a living space, but belonged entirely to the mithraeum. This theory is supported by the presence of the water basin, which had been placed in the northeast corner of the room. According to Ricciardi, this basin could have been connected with the mithraeum, since water always formed an important part of the initiation into the Mithras cult.[29]

In this context, chamber 11b served as a sacristy. This interpretation finds a parallel in the Santa Prisca mithraeum in Rome, where there also exists a sacristy used for cleansing the worshippers through the elements of water and fire.[30] The walkway to the mithraeum would have been via room 5, and the narrow corridor in room 11 purposely constructed to enhance the atmosphere of the *specus* (cave). Then, in chamber 11b, one would cleanse oneself with water from the water basin, before entering the mithraeum itself.

After having implemented these alterations, room 10 presumably made part of the living space of room 9, as it was now only accessible via room 9 or the Angiporto del Silvano. The chambers 10a and 10b appear to have functioned as *apodyterium* (dressing room) and bathroom respectively, as the mosaic floor in chamber 10b shows two dolphins and a *kantharos* or *krater*.[31] Furthermore, the central passageway through the rooms 4 and 10 was removed during this phase.

It appears that also during this phase, all wall decorations in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro had been maintained. Even though traces of *latte di calce* - a thin layer of whitewash covering an earlier painting - are recognized on a lot of paintings in Ostia, there is none present on the paintings at the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro.[32] The wall paintings would probably have fitted in with their new function and did not need to be altered, as with the paintings at the San Clemente and the S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome following their respective transformations into mithraea.[33]

According to E. Lissi Caronna, (imitations of) marble incrustations on the walls and floor mosaics gave even a certain degree of price to the modest rooms.[34] The gardens, craters, flowers and birds depicted on the still lifes belong to the natural surroundings of Mithras and illustrate the gifts of the god, such as a rich nature and vegetation.[35] By this, the decorations in the mithraea are, in almost all cases, designed to underline the function of the rooms and the presence of the venerated god and his assistants.[36]

Furthermore, the surface at the west and east wall of room 12 - where during the second phase the wall between chamber 12a and 12b was attached to - was not covered with plaster. From this evidence, it can also be derived that no new wall paintings were completed during this third phase.[37] Finally, the socle-zone of the painting was of the same height as the reclining couches, so that the panels of the main-zone were still perfectly visible.

Dating

The dates proposed for the wall paintings in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro vary enormously. Becatti, Felletti Maj, Meiggs, Liedtke

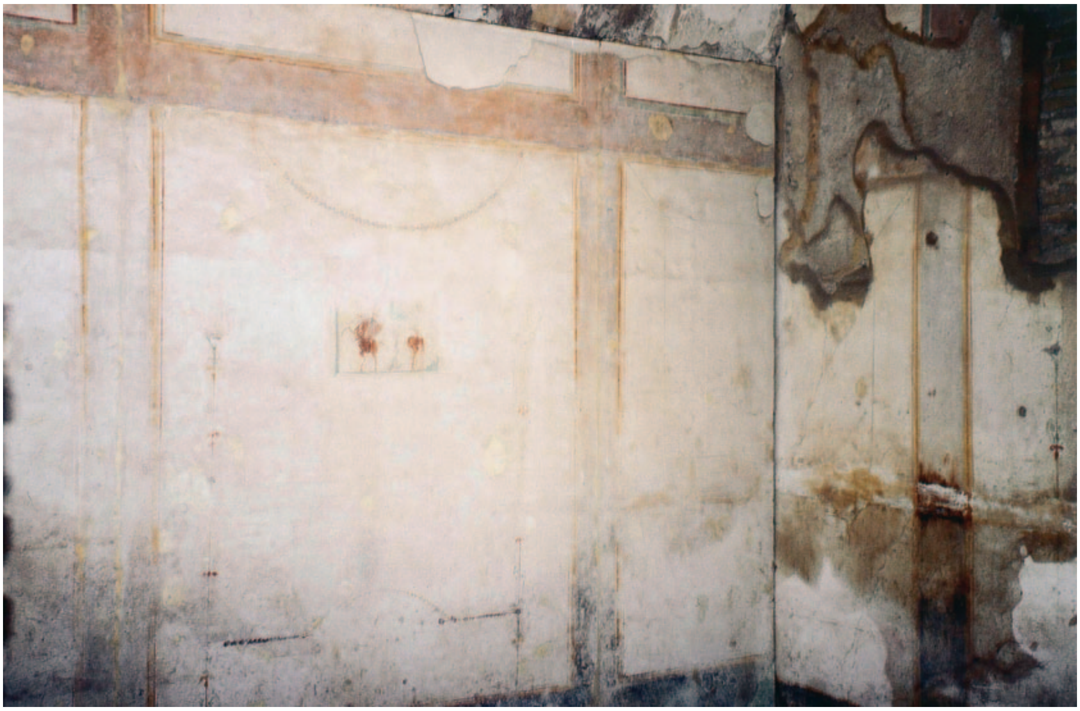

Fig. 14. Painting on south wall of room 28 of Caseggiato degli Aurighi (photo: author).

and Mols, all attribute them to the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) with Wirth, Van Essen, Joyce and Falzone suggesting the time of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180).[38] On the other hand, the paintings with architectural elements and garlands are dated by Joyce to the time of Commodus (AD 180-192), and by Van Essen to the time of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander (AD 218-235).[39] Meanwhile, Borda proposes a date in the beginning of the 3rd century AD for all wall paintings.[40] However, all of these dates were arrived at based solely on the stylistic features of the wall paintings, and it is the author's opinion that taking into account the architectural contexts of the various paintings in question may achieve a more accurate chronology.

The various building phases of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro can be dated by means of the brick stamps found during the excavations.[41] On the basis of these brick stamps, which Bloch dated to AD 122 and AD 126, the first building phase should be placed in the time of Hadrian (AD 117-138), with Pavolini proposing a date of circa AD 127 for this phase.[42]

Other brick stamps found inside and around the shops and workrooms of the building can be dated to AD 145-155.[43] These stamps belonged to fragments of balconies. Amongst these balcony fragments brick stamps from AD 122 were also found. This would prove that the balconies date back to the first building phase, but were repaired later on, shortly after AD 155. This would generally coincide with the transformation of room 11 into a living space and the construction of the segment vault in the second phase. In addition to these stamps, no other traces - *fistulae* or graffiti - were found in the rooms 11 and 12, which could indicate another dating of the construction of the segment vault and the transformation of room 11. Consequently, the second building phase has a *terminus post quem* of AD 155.

The transformation of the rooms 11 and 12 due to the construction of the mithraeum in the third building phase probably took place in the beginning of the 3rd century AD. This dating is not based on brick stamps however, but is derived from the letter type of the inscription on the marble slab on the front of the altar in room 12.[44] Ricciardi dates the water basin found in the northeast corner of room 11 and connected to the Mithras cult, also to the 3rd century AD.[45]

Finally, the wall paintings of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, as already stated, had most probably been completed during the second building phase. Therefore, in accordance with their architectural context, the *terminus post* *quem* of AD 155 for this building phase may also be applied to the paintings. To further elaborate, the wall paintings can thus be dated in the decade AD 155-165, the transitional period from Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius.

In addition, the panel decorations of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro show a clear stylistic resemblance to the wall painting with panel division in room 28 of the Caseggiato degli Aurighi (III x 1) (*fig. 14*). This would imply that these decorations were most likely created by the same workshop, and that the paintings in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro consequently should have a similar dating.[46]

Mols dated the panel decorations of the Caseggiato degli Aurighi on the basis of graffiti around AD 150, having taken into account the relative and absolute dating of the architectural context of the paintings.[47] The similarity of these comparable decorations substantiates the dating of the wall paintings in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro to the same period. As a consequence of this, the dating of paintings from the Caseggiato degli Aurighi could even be attributed a *terminus post quem* of AD 155 based on that proposed for the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, and thus be placed in or shortly after AD 155.

Status

Mention was made in the introduction to the classifications of wall paintings in Ostia proposed by Joyce and Liedtke. These classifications were solely based on the stylistic features of the paintings to which social functions are attributed.

According to Joyce, the paintings could be classified into three systems: a modular, an architectural and a figurative system.[48] The modular system is again subdivided into a tectonic, an aedicular, a panel and a linear variant, all of which would have had different social functions. The wall paintings with architectural elements - they are likely to have been expensive - were meant for the important spaces of the house.[49] Wall paintings with panel divisions have been considered more suitable for the decoration of long walls or corridors and for spaces with a secondary function. Thus, according to Joyce the wall paintings with panel divisions of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro were placed in spaces with secondary functions. However, from an architectural point of view, it was concluded that the rooms 11a, 12a and 12b, decorated with panels, would have had a primary function, possibly serving as reception rooms in the second phase.

Liedtke on the other hand, distinguishes walls with a polychrome and walls with a monochrome background.[50] Within this distinction, the paintings with a monochrome background are subdivided into four different types: aedicular, field, panel and linear decorations. According to Liedtke, the rooms wherein paintings had a polychrome background had a primary function, while rooms whose paintings are characterised by a monochrome background had a secondary function.

Nevertheless, there exists an exception to the rule. In large complexes, such as *insulae*, paintings with a monochrome background were applied in rooms with secondary as well as in rooms with primary functions.[51] In this case, mostly panel decorations with a white background were used as a single decoration type, like in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro.[52] These paintings still would have had secondary functions.[53]

Mols is critical of Liedtke's classification however. While the latter considers wall paintings with panel divisions the most important within the different types of the paintings on a monochrome background, Mols prefers to ascribe these panel decorations to the group of paintings with a polychrome background because of the wide (red) bands which frame the panels, and thus, attributes them to a primary function.[54] This would fit in with the presence of the panel decorations in the primary rooms of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. Furthermore, Liedtke does not refer to the wall paintings with architectural elements and garlands in room 11 of this living space. She even seems to ignore the presence of this second type of wall painting, claiming that in this case only one type of wall decoration was used.[55]

It is the author's opinion that in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro distinction between the rooms with primary functions (11a, 12a and 12b) and the rooms with secondary functions (remaining part of room 11) was intentionally created using these two different types of wall painting. The wall paintings with panel divisions were applied to underline the primary function of these rooms, and hence did not have a secondary function.

Meiggs also attributed an important function to the spaces of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, containing panel decorations.[56] In this particular case however, the wall paintings do not fulfill the requirements for paintings in spaces ascribed an important function. According to his criteria, as has been discussed, the wall paintings in primary rooms usually consist of three horizontal zones, of which the zone in the middle is the largest and is subdivided into panels with one or more scenes.[57] The wall paintings with panel divisions in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro however, comprise only two instead of the necessary three horizontal zones. Meiggs reasons that these wall paintings once must have had upper zones, which are no longer preserved, and by which the stucco ovoid cornice had differentiated the main and the upper zone.[58]

There are certain flaws in this reasoning however, since the paintings on these walls could not have been located any higher. In room 11 for instance, the cornice was placed at ceiling-height - the original ceiling height being discernable due to beam holes surviving in the walls.[59] In room 12 the cornice was placed just below the attachment of the segment vault at the north wall. Furthermore, such friezes with cornices were generally attached at the upper side of wall paintings, where wall and ceiling meet. Despite the fact that the stylistic features of these wall paintings do not fulfill his criteria, Meiggs must have understood these panel decorations as having an important function.

The division by large panels would have made a considerable impression on the viewer, and would at the same time have been suitable for the function of these spaces. It is very possible that this type of wall painting was meant as reflections of the large marble slabs in imperial palaces and similar rich dwellings, like those in the Domus Augustana on the Palatine.[60] Furthermore, in the same period - around AD 150 - the Schola del Traiano (IV v 15) was constructed in Ostia. For the construction of this particular building, marble Corinthian pillars and pavement were used, which were indeed very rare for the time.[61]

According to Mols, the imitation of marble incrustation had not lost much appeal in the 2nd century AD after the second and fourth Style of Pompeian wall painting.[62] In Ostia this is evidenced in the Domus dell'Aquila (IV v 8) with marble-imitation in the socle-zone, and in the Caupona del Pavone (IV ii 6) with a depiction of an unique type of marble in a low socle.[63] When the *Domus* in the course of the third and the beginning of the 4th century AD became more embellished, the imitation of marble incrustation in the lower part of the wall again gained in popularity, just as with the marble-imitation in the (main zone) decorations.[64] Also the panel decorations of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro were obviously part of this revival.

CONCLUSION

After the descriptions of the architecture and the wall paintings (part A), we have seen what the architectural context can tell us about the functions of the rooms and the dating of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (part B).

Firstly, three building phases can be distinguished, all of which had different functions. During the first phase the Casegiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro was a workplace belonging to the Caseggiato dei Molini, as evidenced by the oven in room 8 and the connection between these buildings through the *Angiporto del Silvano*. It is of note also that during all phases the rooms along the Via dei Balconi functioned as *tabernae*.

Throughout the second phase, rooms 11 and 12 acted as a living space. This is supported by the creation of small (reception) rooms and the presence of wall paintings. On account of the differing types of wall painting - panel decorations and paintings with architectural elements and garlands - distinction was made between the primary (11a, 12a and 12b) and the secondary (remaining part of room 11) places of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro.

The function of the building once again changed, viz. in its third phase, becoming a mithraeum. The inscription on the altar coupled with certain architectural features such as the creation of a *specus* and the reclining couches in room 12, as well the sacristy with water basin in room 11, are all evidence to support this. With this change in function, the paintings almost certainly would have fitted in with the building's new role as a mithraeum and thus maintained their decorative value.

On the basis of brick stamps, the first building phase was dated to AD 127. Brick stamps found among balcony fragments dated the second building phase shortly after AD 155. The third building phase is dated in the beginning of the 3rd century AD by means of the letter type of the inscription on front of the altar. By investigating the architectural context of the paintings, it is very plausible to afford them a date somewhere in the decade of AD 155-165 - within the second phase of the building. Furthermore, based on stylistic similarities, the paintings with panel divisions in the Caseggiato degli Aurighi may also be attributed a date within the same period.

The social functions attributed to panel decorations solely on the basis of stylistic features, turned out to be misleading or sometimes even manipulated as in the case of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. These wall paintings with panel divisions were especially used to underline the primary function of the (reception) rooms and must have been an impressive sight for its viewers, providing a constant reminder of marble incrustation, which was still in use in the 2nd century AD.

This study has sought to discuss the topics of dating and the social function of wall paintings from the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, and to a lesser extent the Caseggiato degli Aurighi. From the above discussions and allusions to previous research, the article hopes to demonstrate that the study of wall painting must move beyond an examination of stylistic features alone and look to the wider picture - to its architectural context. This will bring with it a greater ability for dating these paintings and exploring the functions they served for the societies that created them.

NOTES

[1] This article is based on N. Oome, *Il Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro (I iii 5) te Ostia*, MA thesis 2003, University of Leiden. I would hereby like to thank Paul Meyboom and Stephan Mols for their assistance in writing my MA thesis and this article. I would also like to thank the Dutch Institute in Rome for their stipend to affort my stay in the months May and June 2002, and the Soprintendente Archeologico di Ostia, Anna Gallina Zevi, who gave me permission to investigate the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. Finally, I am grateful to Jan Theo Bakker, Janet DeLaine, Nathalie de Haan, Bouke van der Meer and Eric Moormann for their help and advice.

[2] Meiggs 1973, 440-445.

[3] Joyce 1981, 20-22.

[4] Liedtke 1995, 41-63; 2001, 340-345 and 2003, 1-12.

[5] Mols 2002, 157; S. Falzone, Alcune riflessioni sulla decorazione pittorica della Casa di Diana, *MededRom* 58 (1999) 149-163.

[6] Mols 2002, 157, 171.

[7] See also Falzone 2004, 51, note 2. According to her, the general phases of the building and of the paintings still need to be examined more accurately.

[8] Wirth 1934, 116-117, 133-134, 146-147, fig. 65, 75; Becatti 1954, 20, tav. II.3; Van Essen 1954, 39, 46 and 1956-1958, 161, fig. 3, 171; Felletti Maj, 1961, 51; Meiggs 1973, 372, 442; Joyce 1981, 32, 35, 37, fig. 25, 66 (note 248); Liedtke 1995, 58 and 2003, 26-30; Mols 2002, 162.

[9] Becatti 1954, 17-20 and 1961, 13-14. Falzone (2004, 51-60) describes also the building, but used Becatti's works as main source.

[10] Becatti 1954, 17. The masonry of the east wall of room 11 is difficult to interpret, because the scheme of the *opus mixtum* is irregular. Nowadays, the most southern opening is functioning as a door. In my opinion, however, this must have been accomplished in later times, because during the second building phase, wall paintings were attached at both sides of the east wall of room 11 and a segment vault was supported against this wall. For this, it is for certain that the most southern openings must have been bricked up again before the second building phase, while the most northern one remained door. Probably during this small alteration, also a door opening between room 6 and 11 was made, but closed before the second phase.

[11] For this reason I did not distinguish this alteration as a single building phase, as Becatti has done, but I consider it as part of the first phase.

[12] See Becatti 1961, 13-14. Only the floor mosaics of the rooms 10a, (partly) 10b, 11a, 12a, and 12b are described and depicted. For this reason, the mosaics will not be taken into consideration in the investigation of the social functions of all the rooms.

[13] See previous note.

[14] Becatti 1954, 18.

[15] It is possible that a small door opening remained on the west side of the south wall leading to the patio, but there are no certain indications for this. Although, it is noteworthy that the bench along the west wall does not reach the south wall, like the bench along the east wall.

[16] See Becatti 1961, 13-14.

[17] It is noteworthy that the floor level of this narrow corridor is higher than the remaining part of room 11 but as high as the floor level of room 5. During the second phase probably the floor level of room 11 thus has been lowered, which is visible because of the triangular openings for water pipes in the walls of room 11 above the present floor level. The narrow corridor constructed on this higher level needed to enhance the atmosphere of a specus (cave) in room 11, which will be described later in this article.

[18] Also the rooms 8, 9 and 10 have some remainders of wall painting, although very unclear. Especially the presence of painting in room 8 is noteworthy, because originally this place functioned as an oven. According to Falzone (2004, 54) this painting must have been placed in later times; further archaeological research in this place is desirable to understand better its history. Therefore, I will leave this painting out of consideration until further research might have been done. The fragments of plaster in the rooms 9 and 10 are no longer legible.
Furthermore, the wall paintings of the rooms 11 and 12 are in a very bad condition. The wall paintings on the east wall of room 12 are even partly being supported by wooden beams and partly placed on a wooden board in chamber 11a. See also Falzone (2004, 54-58) for her perceptions of the wall paintings in the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. (The figures 14 and 18 however, are depicted in reflection.)

[19] The wall painting of the south wall is nowadays disappeared, but according to Falzone (2004, 55) this painting is placed in the magazine of the Soprintendenza in Ostia. A photograph in the Archivio Fotografico at Ostia (B1166) shows that this wall painting is similar as the painting on the west wall of chamber 11a, consisting of three large panels in the main-zone and three small panels in the socle-zone. The painting on the pillar is nowadays completely covered by fabric and not visible anymore, but figure 4 shows that it contains a large panel with a still life in the centre. At the same photograph an unclear wall painting is visible on the north wall of chamber 11a, which also nowadays is disappeared.

[20] Also these paintings are placed on wooden boards in room 12.

[21] The colour has changed slightly into blue/black on some places, probably because of a fire in ancient times (Wirth 1934, 133-134).

[22] Mols 1999, 367.

[23] De Haan 1997, 218-219.

[24] Bakker 1999, 58-60.

[25] In room 6 of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro a millstone is still present.

[26] Also in this room further archaeological research is desirable in order to understand better its history.

[27] Gering 2001, 204-206.

[28] Becatti 1954, 17-18.

[29] Ricciardi 1996, 26.

[30] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 139.

[31] Becatti 1961, tav. CXCII, 9.

[32] Mols (2002, 152) refers to the *latte di calce* present in Ostia; Becatti did not notice any traces of *latte di calce* (1954, 18) directly after the excavations of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro. Also in my opinion, they have not been repainted. Falzone (2004, 172) however, assumes that during the transformation (second phase) of the Caseggiato del mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro the present paintings have been placed on the newly constructed walls, as well as on paintings from the preceding phase, although she has not any certainty for this. Because of the stylistic resemblances of the paintings with panel divisions, they must all date from the same period, according to her.

[33] Becatti 1954, 18; Meyboom 1982, 43; Pavolini 1983, 82.

[34] Lissi Caronna 1986, 29-38. Information from E.M. Moormann, who is currently preparing a monograph on paintings in antique sacred buildings.

[35] See previous note.

[36] See previous note.

[37] Becatti 1954, 18.

[38] Becatti 1954, 20; Felletti Maj 1961, 51; Meiggs 1973, 442; Liedtke 2003, 28-30; Mols 2002, 162, and Wirth 1934, 117, 133-134, 147; Van Essen 1954, 39 and 1956-1958, 161; Joyce 1981, 35; Falzone 2004, 60.

[39] Joyce 1981, 66 note 248; Van Essen 1954, 46 and 1956-1958, 171.

[40] Borda 1958, 112.

[41] Giornale degli Scavi 16 (1921) 18-23 April; Bloch 1953, 216.

[42] Pavolini 1983, 82.

[43] Giornale degli Scavi 16 (1921) 18-23 April.

[44] Becatti 1954, 20.

[45] Ricciardi 1996, 26; she dates it without argumentation.

[46] Mols 2002, 162, 160 Fig. 8.

[47] Mols 1999, 362-363 and 2002, 157, 162.

[48] Joyce 1981, 20-22.

[49] Joyce 1981, 112.

[50] Liedtke 1995, 41-63; 2001, 340-345 and 2003, 1-12.

[51] Liedtke 2003, 237.

[52] Liedtke 2003, 255 and 272.

[53] Liedtke 1995, 40-41; 2001, 340-341; 2003, 272.

[54] Liedtke 2003, 255; Mols 2005a, 240-241.

[55] Liedtke 2003, 272.

[56] Meiggs 1973, 442.

[57] Meiggs 1973, 440-445.

[58] Meiggs 1973, 442.

[59] The ceiling usually existed of wooden beams, on which a boarded floor was placed. See DeLaine 1996, 173, fig. 6.

[60] Cf. Peters/Meyboom 1993, 59-63.

[61] Pavolini 1983, 182.

[62] Mols 2005b, 253-255.

[63] Mols 2002, 167.

[64] Mols 2002, 170 and 2005b, 254.

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BABesch 82 (2007, 247-256. doi: 10.2143/BAB.82.1.2020774)

Trade and Trade Routes in Southern Latium in Late Antiquity

Cristina Corsi

Abstract

Thanks to the research activities to prepare the Archaeological Map of an area included in the modern province of Frosinone (Southern Lazio), it is now possible to delineate the distributions of commercial goods and technical know-how, as well as the routes and itineraries of their circulation, during the poorly documented period between the end of Antiquity and the beginning of Carolingian power in Italy.

*The transformations in this region during Late Antiquity can be studied via a number of approaches. It is necessary to evaluate the character of acculturation in the areas conquered by the Lombards, and trace the forms of continuity of occupation in urban centres that remained under the political influence of the Byzantines.**

INTRODUCTION - THE GEOGRAPHICAL DELIMITATION

Southern *Latium*, and particularly that part which in Antiquity was called '*Latium adiectum*', did not attract much attention from scholars studying Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. This is certainly the case for topics such as settlement dynamics and acculturation processes, defining trade routes and characterizing the production economy.[1]

An archaeological research project of the University of Cassino aims to remedy this lack of knowledge, and a team of Classical and Medieval archaeologists recently initiated a project concerning the archaeological landscape of inner Southern *Latium* in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.[2]

The study area of this project is mainly confined to the modern province of Frosinone. As this region has always been disputed by different parties, from the late 6th century until the unification of Italy in 1860, it is widely known as a borderland area (*fig. 1*). In fact, after the Graeco-Gothic war and the arrival of the Lombards, who from the reign of Autari onwards initiated a process of infiltration and settlement, this region was thorn between the civil and the religious powers. During the early Middle Ages the former were represented by the Lombard kingdoms and later by local chieftains, while the ecclesiastic powers were centred around the abbey of Cassino. During the Carolingian age the duchy of Gaeta, the county of Aquino-Pontecorvo and the chiefdom of Montecassino clashed to get a grip on this territory spread around the borders of the present day regions of Lazio, Abruzzo and Campania.

Geographically, this area, called Valle Latina, comprises a series of valleys closed in by two old volcanic systems to the North and the South, and two mountainous massifs oriented parallel with the Tyrrhenian sea, the monti Simbruini to the East and the monti Lepini/Aurunci to the West. Within this region, the area of Cassino has always held a special topographic position, as a preferred communication junction between *Latium* and Campania. This NW-SE oriented valley, where the rivers Liri and Gari join to form the river Garigliano, gives also way to inland communications with Abruzzo, via the Val di Comino, up to the Adriatic coast, and to passages towards the Campanian coast. A small chain of mountainous ridges divides the Cassino area from the area around Venafro, interconnected in Antiquity only thanks to a couple of natural corridors. Only one of the latter - between Monte Rotondo and Colle Altare - can be more easily crossed (maximum height above sea level: 150 m), while the pass of Annunziata Lunga is much more difficult (450 m). The narrowing of the valley is strategically controlled by the hilltop surmounted by the Abbey of Montecassino.[3]

The region's main road network at the time of the fall of the Western Roman Empire was probably not much different from the one that is well documented for the Principate (*fig. 2*). The via Latina and its alternative routes run along the valley, while a foothill road, known as Via Pedemontana, borders the slopes of Monte Cairo. The latter, already traced in protohistoric times, has been preferred since Late Antiquity to the Roman road in the lower plain.

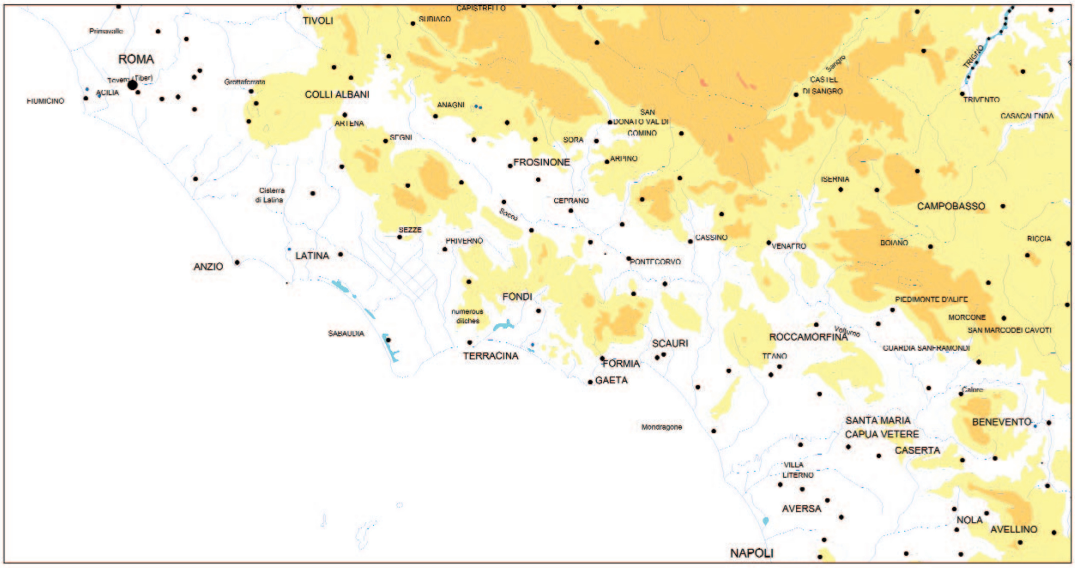
TIVOLI
SUBIACO
CAPISTRELLO
Primavalle
ROMA
Tevere (Tiber)
ACILIA
FIUMICINO
Grottaferrata
COLLI ALBANI
ANAGNI
ARTENA
SEGNI
SAN DONATO VAL DI COMINO
SORA
ARPINO
FROSINONE
Cisterna di Latina
CEPRANO
Sacco
SEZZE
PRIVERNO
CASSINO
PONTECORVO
LATINA
ANZIO
FONDI
numerous ditches
SABAUDIA
TERRACINA
SCAURI
FORMIA
GAETA
Mondragone
CASTEL DI SANGRO
Sangro
TRIGNO
TRIVENTO
CASACALENDA
ISERNIA
CAMPOBASSO
VENAFRO
BOIANO
RICCIA
PIEDIMONTE D'ALIFE
MORCONE
SAN MARCO DEI CAVOTI
ROCCAMORFINA
Volturno
TEANO
GUARDIA SANFRAMONDI
Calore
BENEVENTO
SANTA MARIA CAPUA VETERE
CASERTA
VILLA LITERNO
AVERSA
NOLA
AVELLINO
NAPOLI

Fig. 1. Southern Latium: the area of the project and places of main interest (map by the author).

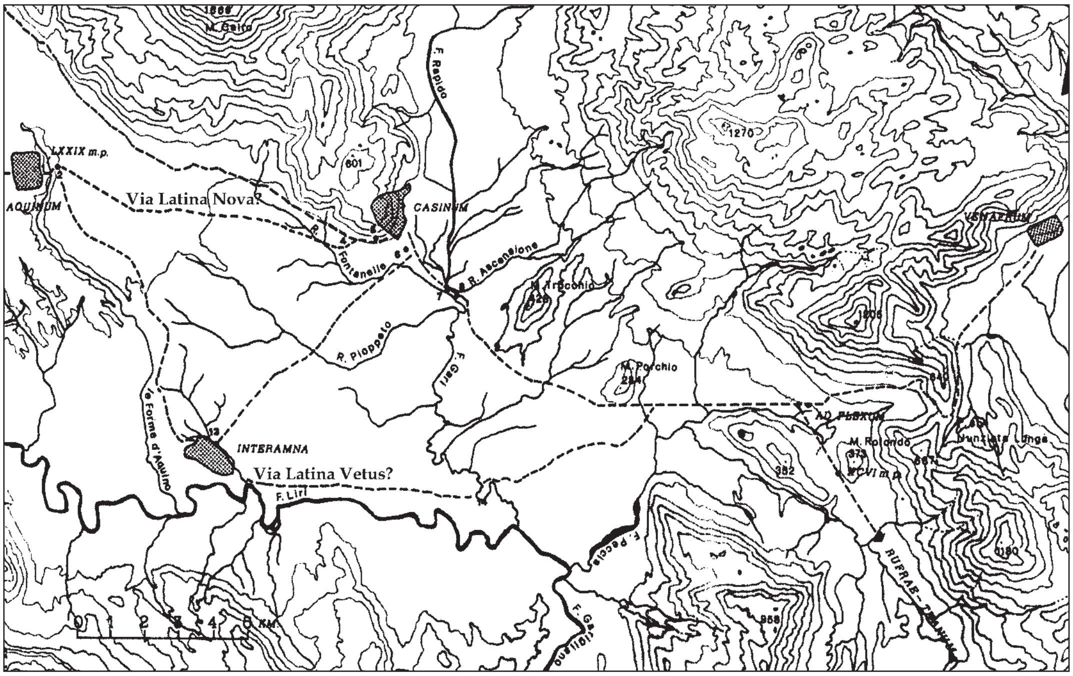
1669
M. Cairo
F. Rapido
1270
LXXIX m.p.
AQUINUM
601
Via Latina Nova?
CASINUM
R. Fontanelle
R. Ascensione
M. Trocchio
426
VENAFRUM
606
R. Pioppeto
F. Gari
M. Porchio
284
645
AD FLEXUM
le Forme d'Aquino
INTERAMNA
Via Latina Vetus?
F. Liri
M. Rotondo
373
382
XCVI m.p.
Nunziata Lunga
1180
F. Peccia
RUFRAE
958
F. Garigliano
0 1 2 3 4 5 Km.

Fig. 2. Roman viability in the so called 'Valle Latina' area (after Valenti 1999).

STATE OF THE ART

In this paper, I intend to shortly present some results of our work concerning the distribution of commercial goods and technical know-how, as well as the routes and itineraries of their circulation. I must however stress that this short presentation is very preliminary, and that my principal aim is just to present a series of archaeological data, which can only be collected in small regional institutions, local museums and poor 'private collections', quite unknown to most colleagues not working in this part of Italy. This lack of readily available information is also apparent from the rel-

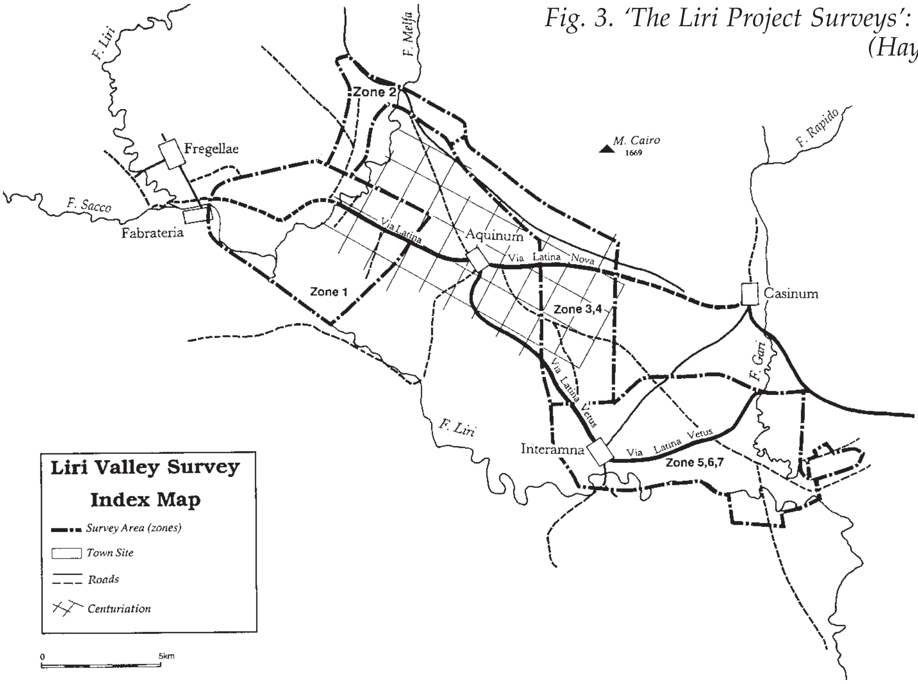

Fig. 3. 'The Liri Project Surveys': extension of field research (Hayes/Martini 1994, fig. 20).

atively recent book by Christie, updated by Zanini, where no archaeological data identified as 'Byzantine' are mentioned in this area.[4] According to the scientific literature, even a common find category, such as Byzantine amphorae, seems totally absent between Rome and Naples.[5] The information presented here is partly unpublished, partly published in small guidebooks (Castro dei Volsci), some of which are being re-written (Montecassino, Aquino), or to be found in the reports of small excavations (Castro dei Volsci), where the exchange systems of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Age are not investigated.

It is also hard to distinguish the production areas of materials circulating in the early Middle Ages, while the definition of 'Byzantine' products within the Late Antique Era remains quite ambiguous. In fact, given the vicinity of Rome, we use to classify Late Antique materials as Byzantine while they are just produced in Rome. With Ken Dark, I could define Byzantine products 'as those ones that were either certainly or probably manufactured within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire as they were at the date of their manufacture'.[6]

Furthermore, this very local information often derives from poorly documented find circumstances and without any precise location of the site. It is a paradox that few of the well-located data are those from the Liri Valley Project, the survey led by the Mc Master University of Hamilton (*fig. 3*).[7] Unfortunately, this work - edited in 1994 - is based on a study of materials finalised in the early 1980s: at that time, the determination of some classes of Late Antique local pottery was still under-developed. This can be demonstrated by the observation that in the town site of *Interamma Lirenas*, where no pottery sherds later than the 5th century had been recognized, a series of 6th century coins have now been collected (*infra*), so that occupation beyond the latest positively attested date for the pottery is hereby clearly proven.[8]

LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE GOTHIC WAR: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Shortly reviewing some regional evidence per period, starting from Late Antiquity, we can point out that, already around the mid-5th century a decrease of imports of African Red Slip ware from the Tunisian production centres was observed among the middle Liri Valley surface pottery.[9] This is much earlier than can be seen in other central-Italian areas, especially along the coast, where this quantitatively important product occurs at least until the end of that century, when a crisis hits the production area. For certain classes of materials, such as lamps, like the ones conserved in the Biblioteca Giovardiana di Veroli (*fig. 4*),[10] we suspect that this early regression of the imports can be explained by a move towards local imitation of the African products in the inland parts of our region.

Compared to this, the data from Sperlonga testify of a remarkably different situation, as they appear exceptionally similar to the numbers revealed in Rome: only a small percentage of Eastern fine wares (Phocaean pottery or Late Roman C, Cypriot ware, etc.) appears among the dominant majority of African imports during the last quarter of the 5th century.[11] The group of sherds collected in a sector NW of the famous cave of Tiberius demonstrates how the African imports, and especially the red slip variety 'Sigillata Africana D' of Tunisian production, continued throughout the 4th and even during the crisis of the 5th century, while its decline only occurred from the mid 6th century onwards.[12]

On the contrary, in Naples, the most important central-Tyrrhenian market and harbour after Rome, the presence of African products neatly decreases before the Byzantine re-conquest of Africa in 533, as here around AD 510 the percentage of African amphorae is halved compared to the quantities of the mid 5th century.[13]

For Terracina, since the Graeco-Gothic War probably the main Byzantine stronghold in this area and, according to Procopius (Procop. *Bell.Goth*. 1.15.22; 2.4.19-24; 2.2.1-3; 2.5.4),[14] a vital garrison centre which guarded the via Appia and which possessed a fine harbour, we have no information concerning the import and circulation of goods. However, the importance of this sea port can easily be deduced from its circuit wall endowed with towers and wall-way, now dated to the 5th century.[15] The *castrum* or *castellum* of Terracina, which was explicitly mentioned for the first time during the pontificat of Gregory the Great (Greg. *Epist*. 1.34; 2.6; 3.13-14), was not only a coastal stronghold but remained a fundamental fort during the entire medieval period for the control of the inland communication routes. Especially, control existed over the route with prehistoric origins connecting *Privernum* with the Tyrrhenian coast, along the Amaseno valley, at the head of which the Benedictine and later Cistercian abbey of Fossanova[16] was founded, probably already during the same 6th century.

During the Gothic war, the region was much involved in military conflicts, as can be deduced from the well known march of Belisarius along the Via Latina from Naples to Rome,[17] and from the description by Pope Gregory of a meeting between the Gothic king Totila and Saint Benedict at Montecassino.[18] These events have, however, only poor archaeological backing. At the moment this turbulent period is only reflected by a number of 6th century Byzantine and also Ostrogothic coins, one of which, found at Montecassino, bears the name of Totila.[19]

Among the numismatic evidences (some 94 coins) found in the town area of *Interamna Lirenas*, most coins from the period of the Gothic war refer to its ultimate phase, when the Goths were lead by Totila-Baduela (*fig. 5*).[20] Most remarkable in this assemblage is the high percentage of Vandal coins, of the reign of Trasamund. They could indicate traffic between the Tyrrhenian coast and the Valle Latina, by way of the Liri-Garigliano valley (*fig. 6*), suggesting that relations with Africa had not entirely ceased. The use of this penetration corridor by the Vandal hordes is confirmed by texts recording that Emperor Maioranus 'caught the Vandals while returning with their booty to their fleet near the river mouths of the Garigliano and the Volturno'.[21] The river valley was frequented as corridor all along the late antique period and Early Middle ages, as is proven by the discovery of at least one golden coin of Emperor Justinianus at *Aque Vescinae*, present-day Terme di Suio, near the pass connecting the Garigliano with the middle Liri valley.[22]

This connection between the coast and the inland is one of the most important itineraries: its use during the whole medieval period is confirmed by the foundation in 881 of a colony of Saracene mercenaries on the *mons Garelianus*, at the initiative of the duke of Gaeta, Docibilis I.[23] The choice of this site, where recently excavations have started,[24] was not accidental. It is possible that the port of *Minturnae*, installed in an ancient coastal lagoon and connected by a channel with the Garigliano river, was still active, even if its silting up by natural causes or neglect (or both), must have followed soon.[25]

Based on the data of toponyms and scattered archaeological findings another possible route can be traced along the Gari valley down to Gaeta: on the base of the place-name 'Fratta' or 'Fratte di Ausonia', we can hypothetically locate here a Byzantine *castrum*.[26]

More problematic remains the identification of the biography of an unpublished Byzantine bronze weight from the Museum of Aquino.

Among other diagnostic types of artefacts, dated to Late Antiquity, we mention a brooch of the type called 'Zwiebelkopffiebel' (cross-bow), preserved without information about find spot, in the museum of the abbey of Montecassino. This *fibula* should be placed among the latest types of its kind (Kel-

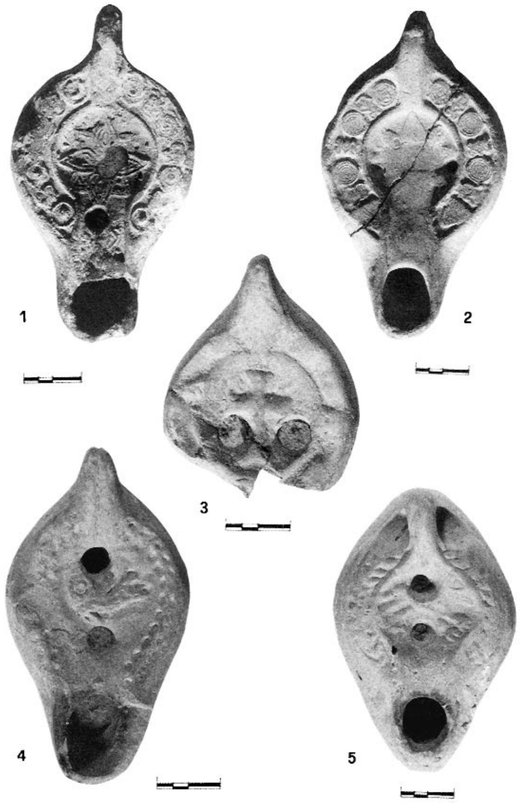

Fig. 4. The late antique lamps from the 'Biblioteca Giovardiana' in Veroli (Luttazzi 1992, fig. 8, photo I. Biddittu).

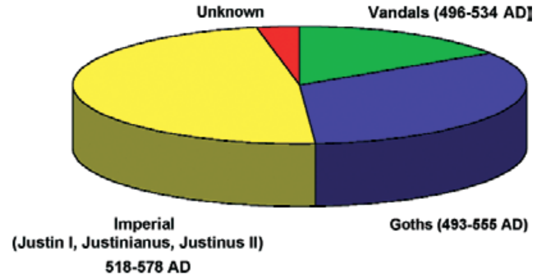

Fig. 5. Chronology of coins found with surveys in Interamna Lirenas (graph by the author).

ler-Pröttel Type 6), and seems, therefore, to belong to the first part of the 6th century. Its fine and rich manufacture suggests that it was an emblem of power.[27]

The well documented excavation data from the nearby abbey of S. Vincenzo al Volturno are very helpful to assemble information about production and imports in an early medieval monastic system. One of the best known category of materials is represented by glass lamps: among them, only a few could be considered imported.[28] A majority could be seen as varieties of the handled lamp form Isings 134, whose production started in the late 4th century in the Near East, and spread all over the Mediterranean with a most northern appearance in Luni. The 5th or 6th century examples from S. Vincenzo find comparison with lamps from Belmonte, near Altamura in Puglia, S. Giovanni di Ruoti, near Potenza in Basilicata, and Via Carminiello ai Mannesi in Naples, in Central and Southern Italy. It is not clear yet whether this interesting group of lamps was produced on one site and distributed within the region, or was made on different sites, linked by the same tradition.[29] It is, therefore, suggested that the lamps from S. Vincenzo al Volturno are evidence for a possible regionalisation in the glass production during the 5th and 6th centuries in spite of the common Near Eastern origin. After a period of relative inactivity during the 'Dark Ages', in the 9th century this tradition seems to re-emerge.[30]

THE LOMBARD INVASION

It is again thanks to the testimony of Gregory the Great, and also to Paulus Diaconus, that we know some details about the devastating Lombard invasions in the region of Cassino and Aquino.[31] As Gregory the Great affirms, when he wrote the *Dialogues* (593-594 AD),[32] that the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino had been 'recently' destroyed, the devastation should be dated in the late 580s, perhaps during the reign of Autari (584-590 AD). It is therefore unlikely that Aquino was

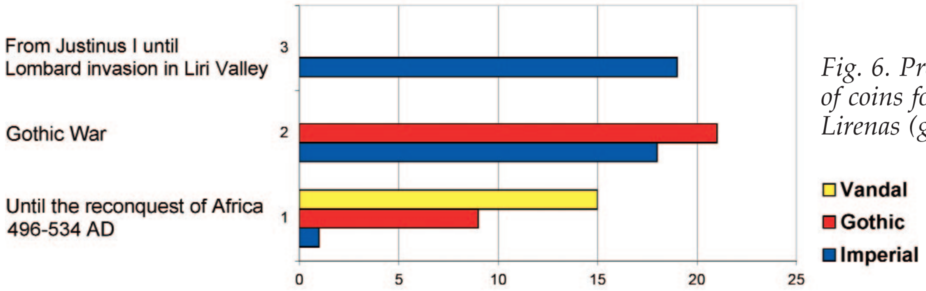

Fig. 6. Provenience and mints of coins found in Interamna Lirenas (graph by the author).

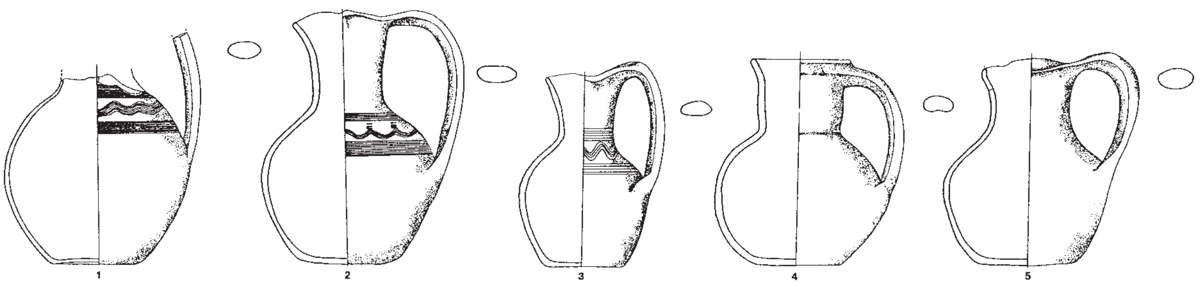

Fig. 7. Pottery from the medieval necropoli of Castro dei Volsci (after Fiore 1992, Tav. I).

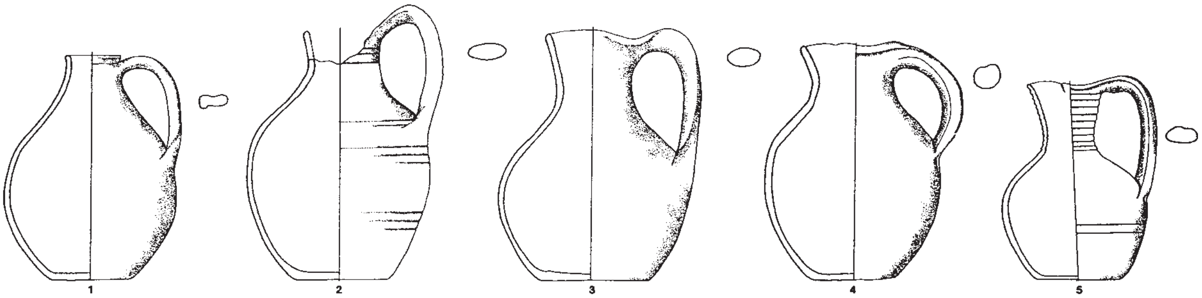

Fig. 8. Pottery from the medieval necropoli of Castro dei Volsci (after Fiore 1992, Tav. II).

taken by the Lombards before that date. According to the same Gregory, when Jovinus, the bishop of Aquino, died (589/590 AD), the Lombards already controlled the town, which at that time was so much depopulated by the devastating plague which struck the whole of Italy, that - according to the same Pope - the election of a new bishop in Aquino was not necessary anymore.[33]

Other data confirm that around 590 the southern borders of the Duchy of Rome were attacked by the Lombards.[34] Already in that year, the Christian community of Minturno, which suffered from these incursions, was associated to the Diocese of Formia (Greg. *Epist*. 1.8),[35] and it seems not to acquire its position as Episcopal seat again. In 592, as a result of Lombard devastation of Fondi, Agnello, the bishop of this town, was obliged to seek refuge in Terracina (Greg. *Epist*. 3.13-14). Materials found during excavations in Terracina in the 1960s seem however to indicate the persistence of important buildings in the ancient city centre until at least the mid 6th century,[36] even if ancient documents do not mention this town before 649, or the year when the local bishop was listed among participants to the Roman synod of that year.[37] On the contrary, as we will see, Sora, Arpino and Arce remained within the Byzantine sphere until the 8th century.[38]

A 6th century hoard of Byzantine coins might well be evidence of the Lombard-Byzantine conflict in the region[39]. This deposit was found at the end of the last century in a not precisely located place in Southern Lazio. The most recent emissions of this coin hoard belong to the reign of Justinus II (565-578) and could, therefore, still have been in circulation at the end of the 6th century.

Another 6th century coin hoard, consisting of 1461 bronze pieces, found in Castro dei Volsci proves the social insecurity as well as the active exchange between inland and coastal regions, as it contains Byzantine, Vandal and Ostrogothic coins.[40]

Together with the above mentioned coins, the grave finds of the early-medieval cemetery in connection with a little Christian church in the *villa rustica* of Casale di Madonna del Piano, at Castro dei Volsci, demonstrate a lively exchange system.[41] The ornamented female objects, such as two couples of bronze and silver earrings, could be considered products of local manufacture, but the technique of decoration, with delicate granulation, shows Byzantine influence.[42] The pottery is still part of the Late Roman tradition (*figs. 7, 8*), while the belt-fittings find mid-7th century parallels in Lombard Verona.[43]

The same mixture of cultural elements can be observed on materials found in 1922, during the excavation of some tombs near the cathedral of Veroli.[44] From the documentation of these objects, most of which were stolen almost 20 years ago,

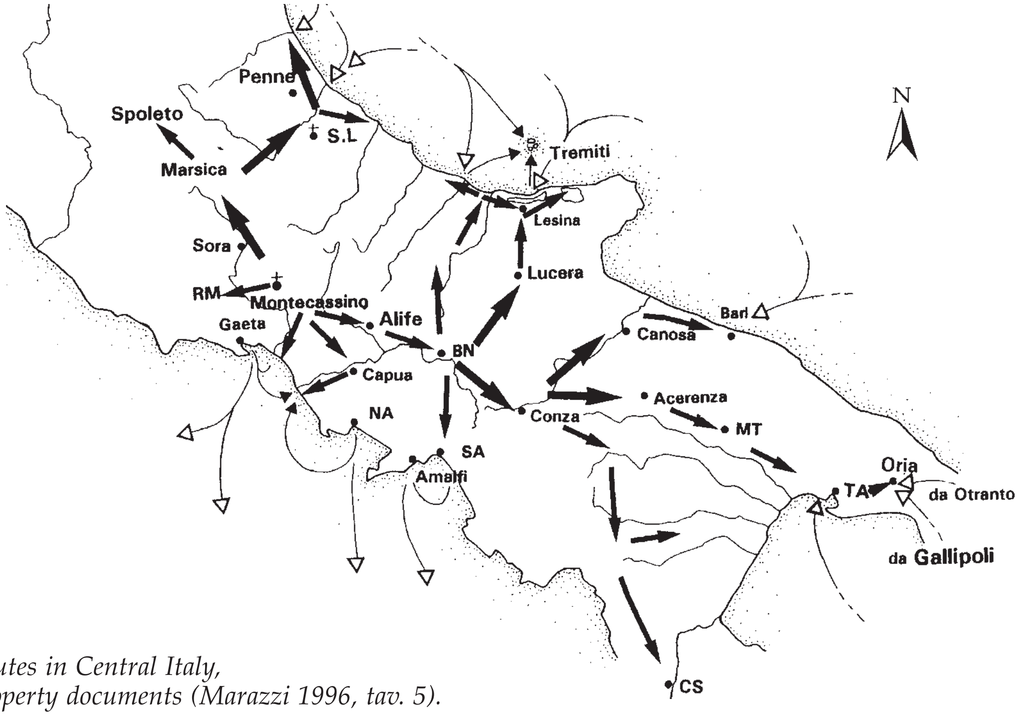

Fig. 9. Trade routes in Central Italy, according to property documents (Marazzi 1996, tav. 5).

we learn that during the 6th/7th century Late Roman traditions prevail (rings with metal bezel engraved with the sacred monogram; bracelets with plain hoop and flat or round section; ear-rings 'a poliedro'). A series of contemporary finger-rings with a lozenge shaped bezel and bronze ear-rings with little holes, particularly popular in Istria in the mid-6th century, can be ascribed to the Byzantine tradition. Of Lombard origin or imitation are some weapons and pottery, while other pottery finds, ranging from the 4th to the 7th century, are clearly locally manufactured. The main question is then to explain this Lombard presence, considering that this part of Ciociaria did not fall into the hands of the Lombards before the beginning of the 8th century, while the date of these graves should reasonably be placed in the 7th century. In fact, perhaps in 702, Gisulfus II, duke of Benevento, set fire to Campania and annexed Sora, Arpino and Arce,[45] and at the end of these military operations the 7th century frontier between the duchies of Rome and Benevento was fixed between Arce and Aquino, while in the south it remained the river Garigliano.

As a result, this land reverted to its old role as a frontier zone, as the Exarch of Rome and the dukes each tried to control it. Then, possibly even more important, was control over the central line of communication between north and south, that passed by Sora.

THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

The preliminary excavation data from Priverno document the continuity of occupation throughout the whole early medieval period in the previous Roman town area. Here, the significant presence of Forum Ware pottery, especially the so characteristic chafing-dish type, records the commerce with Rome,[46] while most other ceramic products of the early Carolingian phase, such as painted ware (narrow and broad line) and coarse wares, can be linked to southern, especially Campanian traditions, but also to Roman products between the 9th and at least the 12th century.[47]

After the Lombard destruction it took almost a century before a newcomer from Northern Italy, Petronax of Brescia, refounded the abbey of Montecassino around 718.[48] In the subsequent period the monastery came under the influence of the Carolingian emperors, even if they failed to protect it against the Muslim raids. The latter took the abbey in 883 and the surviving monks had to flee to Teano in Campania.[49] Probably during this period of exile the first contacts between the monks and Byzantium occurred.[50]

Judging from the written documentary evidence about its state, growth and distribution of landholding, Montecassino probably did not go through very prosperous times during the Carolingian age.[51] Mostly based on documentary evi-

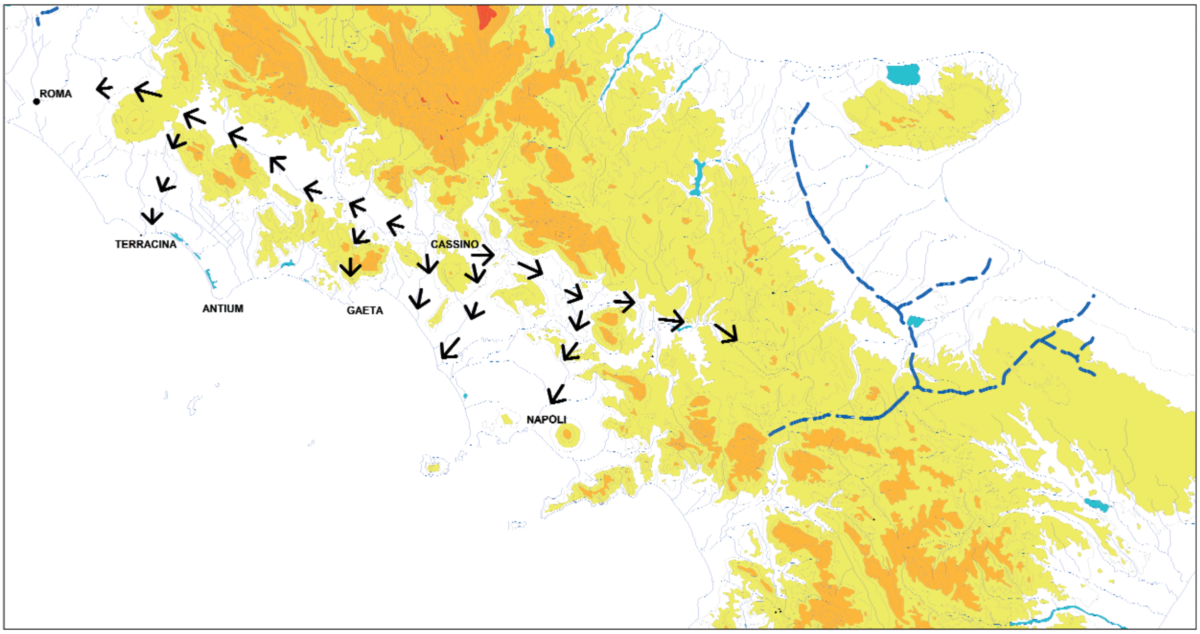

Fig. 10. Trade routes in Central Italy according to the archaeological evidence (map by the author).

dence of land property, Federico Marazzi has been able to reconstruct the general picture of trade and communication routes during this phase, including the main landing places (*fig. 9*).[52] One of the most important routes, the valley of the river Garigliano, was reinforced in the course of the 10th century by Docibilis and his successor Pandolfo, Hypati of Gaeta. Two towers were built at the mouth of the river, according to the most traditional historiography, to prevent Arab invasions.[53]

CONCLUSION

The trade routes suggested by the scattered artefacts found so far help to reconstruct several main axes of communication, linking our region, and especially the same road junction in the Cassino area, with Rome, Campania, Puglia, the Tyrrhenian as well as the Adriatic coasts. While conservative, because much conditioned by the geography of the region, the routes for penetration and exchange have known variants and breaks throughout the period concerned, partly as a result of political events. We must, however underline the continuity in the local road network, mostly along two main axes. First, along the natural paths connecting Rome with Campania and *Samnium*, through the Liri valley and the 'Via Pedemontana'. Secondly, there is the transappennine itinerary, connecting the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian areas through the Val di Comino and the Liri-Garigliano valley, with Cassino as the most important network junction (*fig. 10*).

During the first phase of the establishment of Byzantine power in Italy, we see in the limited archaeological record a relative fast fusion of Byzantine and Lombard elements. This is very comparable to what is observed for example for the neighbouring region of Abruzzo, Umbria and Marche. We can particularly underline this phenomenon of acculturation for Cassino and Aquino. As they were both lying on the borders of Byzantine and Lombard areas of control, where neither culture was dominant, it was possible for each site to absorb traditions from both cultures.

The well attested presence in our region of ceramic types with wide distribution in the Mezzogiorno during the Early Middle Age, confirms the existence of active exchange systems between the southern part of the peninsula and the Liri valley. This demonstrates that the Liri valley was becoming again an important crossroad for traffic between Central and Southern Italy.

NOTES

* I sincerely thank the Directors of the Museum of Aquino, Angelo Nicosia, and of the Museum of Castro dei Volsci, Desiderata Viola, for their kind help.

[1] The state of research is different for the Carolingian and later Medieval periods, as is illustrated at least for the area around Montecassino by excellent historical research of Raymond Bloch (1986).

[2] Corsi *et al*. 2005, 1067. Within the context of an original GIS system elaborated for the project, a wide diversity of data are being processed, based on a re-evaluation of bibliographical information, new archival research especially on the well preserved documents from the abbey of Montecassino, historico-geographical analysis and field survey.

[3] This dominant topographic feature is largely responsible for the famous total destruction of the abbey and the town during the Second World War.

[4] Christie 1989, 260-262; Zanini 1998, 19-20, 28-31.

[5] Arthur 1989a, 79-93.

[6] Dark 2001, 25.

[7] Hayes/Martini 1994.

[8] Nicosia 1982, 77-101.

[9] Hayes/Martini 1994, 37.

[10] Luttazzi 1992, 781-783.

[11] Saguì 1980, 471-544.

[12] Saguì 1980, 541-543.

[13] Panella 1989, 137.

[14] *Procopii de Bellis Libri* V-VIII, edited by G. Wirth, Lipsiae, 1963.

[15] Christie/Rushworth 1988, 73-88.

[16] Recent excavations in the abbey of Fossanova have brought to light an uninterrupted occupation from Late Republican times until the 15th century, displaying the transformation of the *villa rustica* first in a Benedictine and later in a Cistercian abbey. Especially between the 4th and the 7th century the part of the villa that was the *cryptoporticus* knew several phases of restructuring. During the 8th and 9th centuries things are still unclear, especially from a stratigraphical point of view: Coccia/Fabiani 1998, 55-57.

[17] Proc. *Bell.Goth*. 1.14.16. A road that was probably used by the army bringing reinforcements to Rome, after disembarking at Naples (Proc. *Bell.Goth*. 2.5.2).

[18] Greg. *Dial*. 2.14.1-3. See also: Nicosia 1995, 55.

[19] Aurigemma/Furiani 2001, 14.

[20] Nicosia 1982, 78-79: it is not a coin hoard, even if 94 pieces were recovered. Only one is silver, while all others are made of bronze and are small denominations struck between the reign of Anastasius I (491-518) and the Lombard invasion (565/569). The coins were mostly found near the south-eastern sector of the town, where Cagiano de Azevedo located the forum, while 'during the second half of the 5th century and the 6th century only the central and western parts of the plain were most intensely inhabited' (Nicosia 1982, 83).

[21] Sid. Apoll. *Carm*. 5.385-430, (= ed. Loyen I, 43-4).

[22] Giglioli 1911, 49.

[23] Arthur 1989b, 186.

[24] Torre 1998, 183.

[25] Remmelzwaall 1978; Sevink *et al*. 1984; Torre 1985, 127-130.

[26] Cagiano de Azevedo 1978, 25-26. Very doubtful is the identification with Sora of the other *castra* of this supposed 'limes' mentioned by Georgius Cyprius (Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 550, ed. H. Honigmann, *Le Synekdémos d'Hiéroclés et l'opuscule geographique de Georges de Chypre*, (*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Forma Imperii Byzantini* I), Bruxelles, 1939, p. 51), Anagni, Segni e Patrica (Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 553, 569, 571, ed. Honigmann, *cit*., 51); Nicosia 1995, p. 91.

[27] Aurigemma/Furiani 2001, 14.

[28] One is a rather elaborate early Byzantine lamp from Jerash (Crowfoot/Harden 1931, 205, pl. XXX, fig. 45).

[29] Stevenson 1988, 207 with bibliography.

[30] Stevenson 1988, p. 207.

[31] Greg. *Dial*. 2.17; 3.8.2; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang*. 4.17.

[32] Greg. Dial., 2.17; 3.8.2.

[33] Nicosia 1995, 69-70.

[34] Nicosia 1990, 82-83; Zanini 1998, 64-66.

[35] Frecentese 1994, 59; Villa 1994, 55-65 on the history of bishopric.

[36] Lissi Caronna 1971, 349-350.

[37] Mansi 1798, col. 867.

[38] Bavant 1979, 61-62, 82.

[39] Picozzi 1972, 99-130. There are 255 pieces in total, of which 2 golden (*tremisses* of Justin II, securely struck in Italy, perhaps in Ravenna), 60 silver (fractions of *siliqua* of Justinian and Justin II), 193 bronze (3 *nummi* of Justinian and 1 of Baduela = Totila, 189 *pentanummi*). Among silver issues several imitations can be listed, even if some of these quarters of *siliqua* are not to be considered Lombard imitations but bad quality coins struck in other places than the imperial mint at Ravenna (Picozzi 1972, 101-102). Some of the bronze *pentanummi* that were formerly attributed to the Ostrogoths (Theodoric, Atalaric e Theodatus), who would have minted them in the name of Justin I and Justinian, are now recognised as imperial emissions by Justinian and Justin II, mostly struck in Rome. In general this coin hoard proves that the Ostrogoths did not emit many bronze coins in Italy and that most bronze coins of this period were produced in the imperial Byzantine mints of Italy between the end of the Gothic War and the reign of Justin II. On the other hand, some bronze coins (*pentanummi*) could be considered Lombard imitations (Picozzi 1972, 110-112).

[40] Cesano 1913, 515, nn. 227-381.

[41] Bellini 2001, 41.

[42] Fiore 1992a, 206.

[43] Fiore 1992b, 212-231.

[44] Luttazzi 1992, 767-787.

[45] Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang*. 6.27. It is possible that Aquino marked the extent of the Duchy of Benevento, and it has also been proposed that in this period the town of Aquino was already structured as a gastaldato that included the territory of Cassino (Fabiani 1968, I, 13-14, 21), but documentary proof does not pre-date the 9th century (Scandone 1908, 721-723; 1909, 50-51).

[46] Compare with a piece from Crypta Balbi dated in the first half of the 9th century (Pannuzi 1994, 150-152, fig. 10, 151, n. 9).

[47] Pannuzi 1994, 148-149. This material was found in the NE sector of the Roman town (loc. Mezz'agosto), where the finds suggest some form of continuity until medieval times, but it remains unclear whether these traces belong to stable settlement or to an occasional frequentation maybe connected to transhumance (Pannuzi 1994, 143).

[48] Bloch 1986, I, 5.

[49] *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, H. Hoffmann ed., (*MGH Scriptores* XXIV), (Hannover 1980), I, 44, p. 610, 15. See Falco 1929, 459-461.

[50] Bloch 1986, I, 5-6.

[51] Marazzi 1996, 42.

[52] Marazzi 1996, 62-63, tav. 5.

[53] Cecchelli 1951.

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Zwei 'neue' schwarzfigurige lakonische Kratere aus Samos

Review article

Conrad M. Stibbe

Abstract

Recently large fragments of two important black figured Laconian volute kraters, found in the Heraion on Samos in 1991, were published, but their significance was not fully recognized and their attribution not even attempted. This note aims at filling the gaps.

Während der deutschen Ausgrabungen im Heraion von Samos kamen 1991 bedeutende Fragmente lakonischer, in schwarzfiguriger Technik bemalter Volutenkratere zu Tage, die in den *Athenischen Mitteilungen* 2004 (erschienen 2006) von der griechischen Archäologin Aliki Moustaka veröffentlicht wurden.[1] Zu dieser Veröffentlichung dürften einige kritische Beobachtungen angebracht sein.[2]

Die Verfasserin hat in dem ihr zur Verfügung stehenden Material die Überreste dreier Kratere erkannt, die sie mit den Buchstaben A, B und C bezeichnet. Krater C besteht allerdings nur aus einem Fragment von Rand und Hals; es weist scheinbar keine figürliche Verzierung auf. Bei näherem Zusehen stellt sich jedoch heraus, dass dieses Fragment zum schwarzfigurigen Krater B gehört. Es bleiben daher nur die Kratere A und B übrig.

KRATER A (*Abb. 1*).

Dieser Krater ist bruchstückhaft erhalten. Es handelt sich um sieben Fragmente von Rand, Hals und Schulter, von denen zwei schon früher, während der Vorkriegsgrabungen Ernst Buschors, gefunden worden waren. Sie blieben bis 1989 unveröffentlicht.[3] Die Verfasserin hat diese beiden Fragmente mit den neugefundenen richtig zusammengefügt (s. die Fragmente K 10744 und 10745 in *Abb. 1*). So wurde es möglich, sie in ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang zu verstehen.[4]

Der Rand ist mit einem schwarzen Strahlen- und darunter einem Mäandermotiv auf hellem Überzug verziert. Beide Motive gehören zum ältesten Bestand der Randverzierungen lakonischer Kratere und legen eine Datierung vor oder um 600 v.Chr. nahe.[5] Am Hals schreiten auf der einen Seite, wiederum auf hellem Überzug, grosse schwarze Wasservögel nach rechts. Auf der Gegenseite wird die Eintönigkeit des Vögelaufzuges von einem Tierfries mit zumindest einer Sirene und einer hockenden Sphinx oder einem Löwen unterbrochen. Die beiden Halsteile trennt eine schwarze Henkelzone. Auf der Schulter gibt es, wie üblich an lakonischen Volutenkrateren in Ton und Bronze, einen Fries hängender Zungen; in unserem Fall sind diese abwechselnd schwarz und rot gemalt.[6] Anschliessend sieht man den Beginn eines nächsten, leider unklaren Frieses.[7]

Moustaka ist in ihrer Veröffentlichung des Kraters A einer Zuschreibung ausgewichen. Das ist an sich vernünftig, denn der frühe, noch recht primitive Ritzstil zeigt, dass der Maler zu jener Gruppe gehört, die noch nach einer eigenen Ausdrucksform sucht. Auf Samos wurden mehrere Beispiele von lakonischen Gefässen, die zu dieser Gruppe gehören, gefunden.[8] Im Vergleich zum Krater B fällt übrigens auf, dass der allgemeine Syntax der Verzierung und sogar die Massstäbe der beiden Kratere recht ähnlich sind. Dazu kommt noch eine Einzelheit: Die merkwürdige Ritzung der Brust- bzw. der Bauchpartie (die Brustfedern bei den Wasservögeln auf Krater A und die Behaarung am Bauch der Löwen auf Krater B) stimmen weitgehend überein. Es dürfte ein Einfluss vom älteren Maler des Kraters A auf den jüngeren des Kraters B ausgegangen sein.[9]

KRATER B (*Abb. 2*).

Vom Krater B ist mehr erhalten als vom Krater A. Moustaka veröffentlicht ein grosses Fragment von Hals, Schulter und Bauch, das reich mit Figuren verziert ist. Vom Halsfries sind zwei, auf hellem Überzug, antithetisch um eine aus dem Boden wachsende Palmette gruppierte Löwen erhalten.

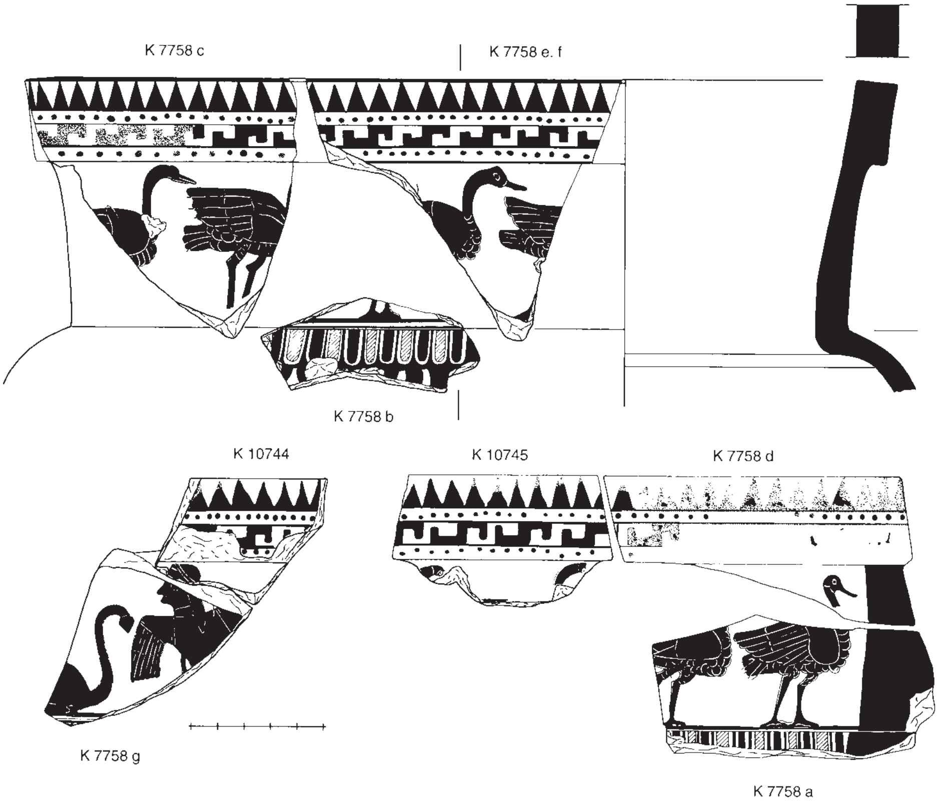
K 7758 c
K 7758 e. f
K 7758 b
K 10744
K 10745
K 7758 d
K 7758 g
K 7758 a

Abb. 1. Krater A.

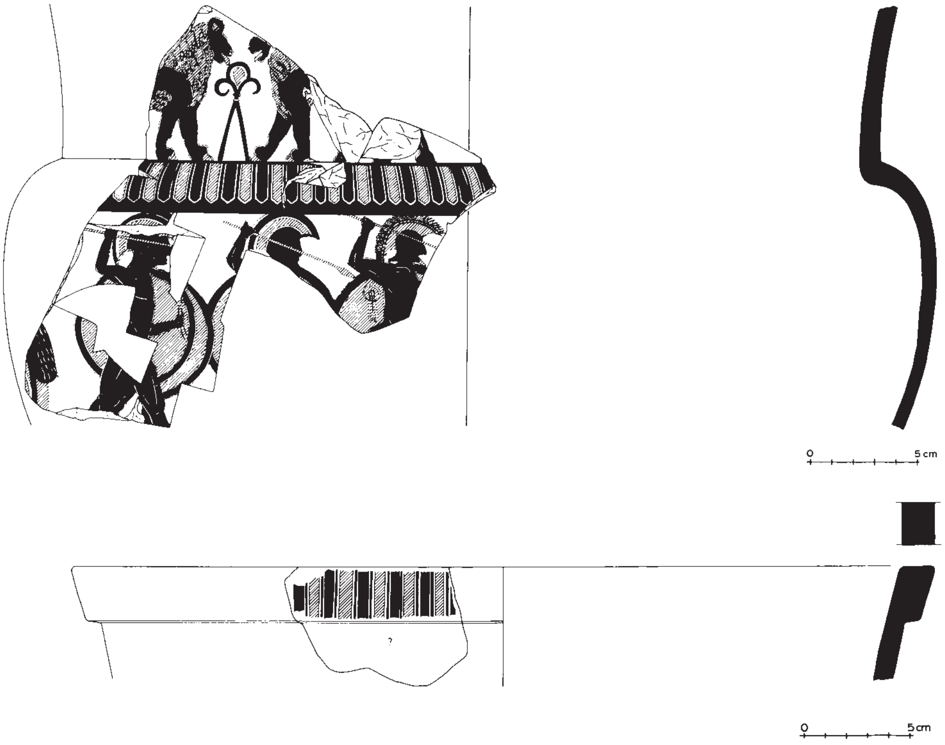

Abb. 2. Krater B.

Sie dürften die linke Hälfte des Frieses zwischen den Henkelzonen besetzen. Darunter gibt es ein Schulterband mit abwechselnd schwarzen und roten hängenden Zungen, wie auf Krater A,[10] und ein Figurenfries am Bauch, von dem man vier nach rechts zum Angriff ausschreitende Hopliten erkennt; die zwei hinteren sind hinter einander gestaffelt, die beiden vorderen jedoch gehen einzeln voran.

Es ist der Autorin entgangen, dass die gegnerische Kriegergruppe, die zu diesen Hopliten gehört, ebenfalls erhalten ist und zwar unter den Fragmenten, die aus der alten Grabung des Heraions stammen. Sie wurden 1972 veröffentlicht und 1989 ergänzt.[11] Unter diesen Fragmenten befinden sich etliche zum Rand des Kraters gehörende und auch solche, die den Halsfries und die schwarzgefirniste untere Hälfte sowie einen Strahlenfries über dem Fuss des Gefässes zeigen. Sogar das Fragment eines zugehörigen Volutenhenkels ist erhalten.[12] Sie tragen die Inv. Nr. K 1044 und wurden einem selbständigen Maler, eben dem 'Maler von Samos K 1044', von dessen Hand es noch das Fragment eines weiteren schwarzfigurigen Kraters in Sparta gibt, zuerkannt.[13]

Die gegnerische Kriegergruppe auf Samos K 1044 umfasst mindestens drei nach links zum Angriff schreitende Hopliten und einen am Boden zwischen den beiden Gruppen auf dem Rücken liegenden Gefallenen.[14] Die Gruppe unterscheidet sich von der anderen indem sie Helme mit hohem Lofos trägt anstatt des niedrigen Lofos der 'korinthischen' Helme, und sog. 'bötische' Schilde anstatt der gewöhnlichen Rundschilden der Gegner. Die beiden Gruppen, die sich auf Seite A des Kraters bekämpfen, hat der Maler also klar durch unterschiedliche Bewaffnung von einander abgehoben.[15] Auf Seite B des Kraters sind noch die Reste eines rechtsgerichteten Pferdegespannes erkennbar. Reste von zumindest drei Pferden sind erhalten. Vielleicht hat es dort ein weiteres Gespann gegeben, das nach links ausgerichtet war. So kann man diese Gespanne auf die Krieger der Gegenseite beziehen indem man sie als die Streitwagen der mythischen Kämpen interpretiert.

Auch den Tierfries am Hals, der auf dem 'neuen' Fragment nur zwei Löwen und einen nach rechts stehenden Huf zeigt, kann man mit Hilfe der 'alten' Fragmente ergänzen. Der Huf gehört wohl zu einem Eber, wie er dort erhalten ist (dort linksgerichtet), und der erhaltene Hinterleib eines rechtsgerichteten Löwen kann zum linken Löwen auf Krater B gehören (man beachte die bezeichnende, gleiche Ritzung der Bauchmähne). Weitere Vierfüssler auf den 'alten' Fragmenten zeigen, dass es dort einen Aufzug ähnlicher Tiere gab,[16] im Prinzip vergleichbar mit den Wasservögeln und sonstigen Tieren auf Krater A. Bezeichnend sind auch die leeren Stellen zwischen den Tieren, die dazu beitragen Moustakas Krater C als zugehörig auszuweisen.[17]

Bezeichnend für die Hand des Malers ist die Farbenfreudigkeit. Moustaka hat das für das 'neue' Fragment klargestellt; es gilt aber übereinstimmend für die 'alten' Fragmente: dort ist z.B. ein starkes Rot auf den Helmbusch des einen erhaltenen Helmes, auf einen Schild, auf die Mähne und auf den Schwanz der Pferde, ja sogar auf den ganzen Körper des hinteren (?) Pferdes sowie auf den Wagenkorb hinter den Rädern und auf die Deichsel aufgesetzt. Bezeichnend ist auch die kräftige Ritzung, die u. A. die Muskulatur von Knien und Wade hervorhebt und die Augen umrandet.[18]

Gegen die zeitliche Einordnung des Kraters B um 570 durch Moustaka habe ich nichts einzuwenden. Dass es sich 'um die bisher früheste Hoplitendarstellung in der lakonischen Vasenmalerei' handelt, wage ich allerdings zu bezweifeln. Besser wäre 'eine der frühesten Darstellungen', denn es gibt auf der grossen Lakaina 1016 aus Sparta, die um 580 datiert worden ist, eine ältere: auch dort kämpfen Hopliten über einem Gefallenen (s. *LV* 264).

Zusammenfassend möchte ich festhalten, dass das grosse 'neue' Fragment (Krater B) sich durch einen besseren Erhaltungszustand von den 'alten' Fragmenten unterscheidet und dass es einen entscheidenden Beitrag zum Verständnis der Verzierung des ganzen Kraters liefert. Man darf hoffen, dass ein kundiger Restaurator einen Versuch zur Zusammenfügung und Wiederherstellung des ganzen Gefässes unternehmen wird.

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Moustaka 2004.

[2] In Stibbe 1997, 31, mit Anm. 25, konnte ich nur die schon beschlossene Veröffentlichung von Seiten Alike Moustakas erwähnen. Seither habe ich darüber nichts mehr gehört.

[3] S. Stibbe, *LBP* 1, 24, 91 Nr. B2, Abb. 4, Taf, 2,1.

[4] Moustaka 2004, 56-57. So hat sich herausgestellt, dass der menschliche Hinterkopf auf dem linken Fragment K 10744 zu einer Sirene gehört und nicht zu einem Pygmäen, wie ich vermutet hatte (s. vorige Anm.).

[5] S. Stibbe, *LBP* 1, 131 Nr. 26-28.

[6] Für die Zungenfriese auf lakonischen Bronzekrateren s. Stibbe 2007.

[7] Es könnte sich um einen zweiten Verzierungsfries mit hängenden Strahlen handeln. Vgl. etwa die Kratere in Stibbe, *LBP* 1, Abb. 15 und 22.

[8] S. Stibbe 1997, 48 mit Anm. 131. Dazu auch Stibbe, *LV Supplement*, 5.

[9] Es wäre müssig, über ihr Verhältnis weiter zu spekulieren (Vater und Sohn oder Jugend- und Reifestufe?).

[10] Allerdings sind die Zungen auf der Schulter des Kraters B durch ihre eigenartig zugespitzte Form gekennzeichnet. Diese Form findet sich wieder auf dem Fragment mit Zungen und Pferdekopf des Kraters Samos K 1044, *LV* Taf. 125, 1 (oben rechts).

[11] Stibbe, *LV* 187, 266, Nr. 344, Taf. 125, 126. Ders., *LBP* 1, 25, 92, Nr. B6, Taf. 2,3. Es wurden von mir damals nicht weniger als siebenundfünfzig Fragmente, die zu diesem Krater gehören, gezählt, während es ursprünglich achtundsiebzig gegeben haben soll (s. *LV* 266 unter Nr. 344, mit Anm. 2). Damals hatte ich die dazu gehörigen Randfragmente noch nicht als solche erkannt; das geschah erst bei einem späteren Besuch an Samos und wurde in Stibbe, *LBP* 1, 25 nachgetragen. Übrigens kann man dem glücklicherweise erhaltenen Vaseninventarbuch, das von Rudolph Eilmann zwischen 1925 und 1939 geführt worden ist, genauere Angaben über die Fundstellen im Heraion und die Zahl der dort zwischen 1932 und 1937 gefundenen Fragmente, die zum Krater K 1044 gehören, entlehnen (zum Vaseninventarbuch s. Stibbe 1997, 27-28).

[12] Abgebildet in Stibbe, *LV* Taf.125, 2 (links unten).

[13] Stibbe, *LV* 187. S. auch Stibbe, *LV Supplement* 94-95.

[14] Die Anordnung der Fragmente in *LV*, Taf. 124, 3; 125, 1-2, ist provisorisch und bedarf der genauen Überprüfung, wozu es nunmehr, dank dem 'neuen' Fragment, allen Anlass gibt.

[15] Das Fragment mit Arm und korinthischem Helm eines rechtsgerichteten, das in *LV*, Taf. 124, 3, links oben abgebildet ist, gehört nicht zu einem der vier erhaltenen Krieger auf Krater B, sondern zu einem weiteren Krieger, der wahrscheinlich vor jenen gemalt war. Damit erweist sich dass die Szene nicht zentriert war. Zum gleichen Schluss führt das rätselhafte, pferdeschwanzähnliche Objekt in der linken unteren Ecke auf Krater B, das Moustaka 2004, 60 als Teil eines Schildzeichens oder eines Gefallenen deutet.

[16] In Stibbe, *LV* 266, unter Nr. 344 wird sogar 'eine kleine menschliche Figur in langem Gewand nach l.' erwähnt (vgl. *LV* Taf. 125, 2, rechts oben).

[17] Auch die ungewöhnliche Verzierung des Randes mit einem Zungenfries auf Krater C, die auf den Randfragmenten des Kraters Samos K 1044 wiederkehrt, wie gezeigt in Stibbe, *LBP* 1, Taf. 2, 3, beweisen die Zugehörigkeit. Ein weiterer Beweis ist die Randform; man vergleiche die Schnitte in Moustaka 2004, Abb. 3 und *LBP* 1, Fig. 7.

[18] Vgl. Die Charakterisierung in *LV* 187.

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ABBILDUNGEN

Die Abbildungen 1 und 2 sind der Veröffentlichung in Moustaka 2004, 58 und 59 entnommen. Sie beruhen auf Originalzeichnungen von R. Docsan.

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Describing meanders on geometric vases; profile drawings showing the transition from neck to shoulder

A review article on CVA National Museum Athens, fasc. 5

J.M. Hemelrijk

Abstract

This paper started as a review of CVA Athens *5, which deals with geometric amphorae. We begin with a report on the meanders that appear on these vases, because their description is defective and sometimes even misleading. To understand the mental effort that is behind the production of these complicated patterns, we have to know how they were constructed and how they could be transformed from single into multiple patterns; only then we may get an eye for the utter perfection and beauty of these meanders such as those painted on the very tall masterpiece Athens 804 and many others.*

After the discussion of the meanders in this fascicule, we turn to the profile drawings and the technical question how the connection between the shoulder and the neck was made. After this we review the fascicule as a whole.

Nota Kourou, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Greece* (fasc. 8), *Athens National Museum* (fasc. 5). *Attic and Atticizing Amphorae of the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods.* Athens: Academy of Athens, 2002. 110 pp., 54 figs., 110 pls.; 32 cm. – ISBN 960-404-019-7.

This is a fine fascicule that may serve as a handbook for the study of Attic pottery from 1000 to about 700 BC. The present reviewer, who has to apologize for the long delay of this review, is happy he can applaud this work, because formerly he had to be harsh in criticising a fascicule that was written in Greek (P. Valavanis, *CVA Greece* 7, *Marathon*, 2001; see *BABesch* 79, 2004, 212-213). Studying this volume we find much to praise but also points to criticise. Fundamental is our criticism of the treatment of meanders, to which we will turn first.

In a fascicule like this, a solid basis for the analysis of the different types of meander is required with a clear terminology and strict distinctions. This, however, is wholly lacking here and - it must be said - in most other fascicules dealing with geometric vases. A few remarks must therefore be made (see also *BABesch* 79, 2004, 204-211, figs. 13-14). Meanders are constructed round L-shaped hooks, that form the reserved areas inside and between the meander elements (see my *figs. 1a-9a*). A combination of these L's (e.g., one standing on the end of the horizontal bar of the lower L, as in *figs. 2, 4, 7*) results in double, triple and quadruple meanders etc. (see *figs. 1-10*; note that all meanders we discuss here are running meanders, i.e., they are uninterrupted, except those of *fig. 6A*).

Delicate meanders with fine alternating hatching in dilute paint such as are seen on the great Dipylon amphora NM 804 (B. Schweitzer, pl. 29), are rare, but see pls. 101-105 (and note the slight mistake above the centre of the handle in pl. 101.2). The direction of the hatching is not always alternating, not, e.g., on pls. 9, 12 (unusually stretched out) 15, (16, clumsy hatching), 36, 94 etc.

Single meanders (*fig. 1*) are numerous, they always point either to right or to left, but some are irregularly shaped, so on pl. 95 (one element on the neck is squeezed in for lack of space) and pl. 96 (a curious mistake in the vertical meander between the circle metopes). Double meanders (*fig. 2*, also pointing to left or right) are seen on

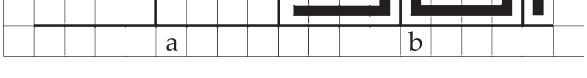

Fig. 1. Single meander to left.

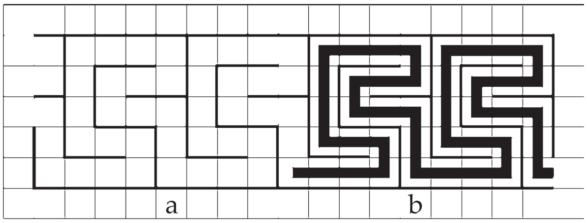

Fig. 2. Double meander to right: pls. 30, 36, 42, 103.

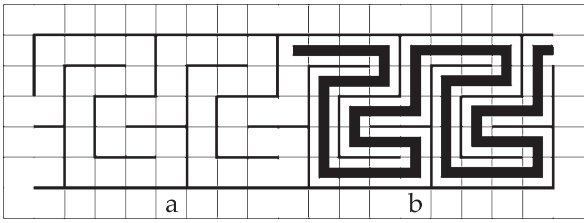

Fig. 3. Double meander upside down: pl. 55.

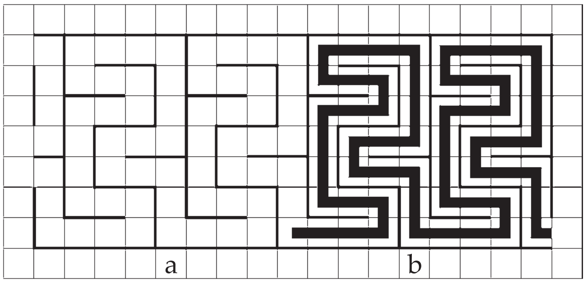

Fig. 4. Regular triple meander to left, not found here.

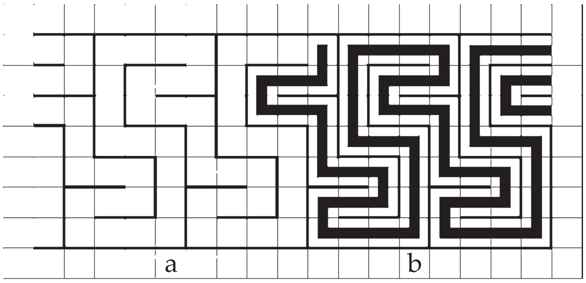

Fig. 5. Triple meander, irregular: unchanged if turned upside down.

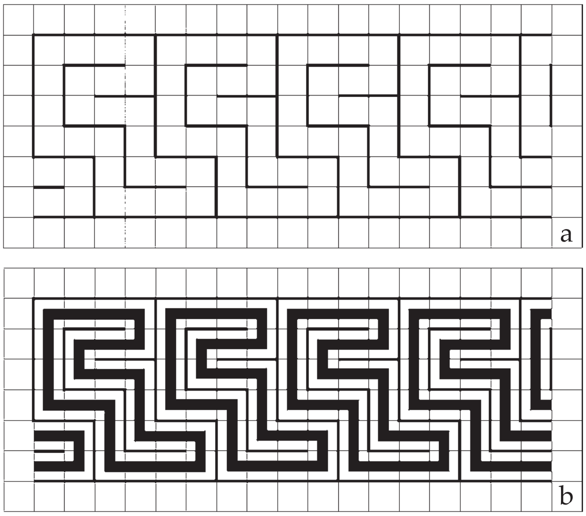

Fig. 6A. Closed loops constructed on two and a half L's: pl. 38.1.

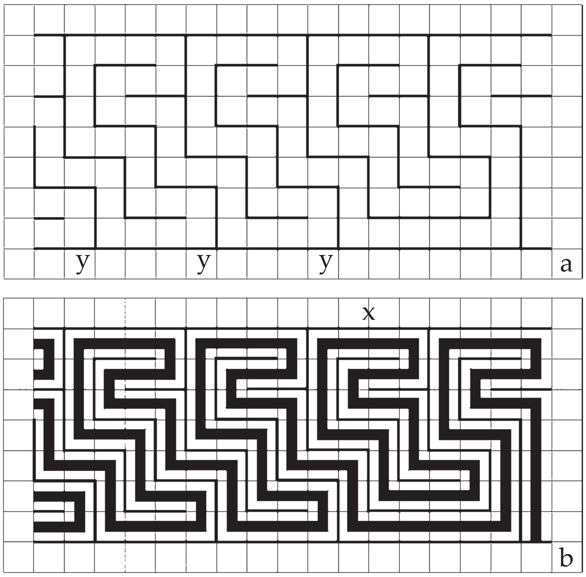

Fig. 6B. Irregular triple meander with a mistake at x*: pl. 38.2.*

pls. 30, 36, 42 and 103. This type, when turned upside down, loses its clear structure and direction, but such inverted, rather confusing, double meanders become quite frequent (*fig. 3*; here seen on pl. 55.2). Regular triple meanders, such as embellish the neck of the Dipylon amphora NM 804 (Schweitzer pl. 29), are perhaps too regular and therefore not very attractive (*fig. 4*); they are not found in this *CVA*, but the irregular type (shaped by means of a deviation of direction of the reserved bottom L in the meander) is more adventurous (*fig. 5*); they can be turned upside down without loss of character: pls. 60 and 103.2 (on the shoulder, but hardly visible; see Schweitzer pl. 35). There are two extremely adventurous variations on the neck of pl. 38 (*fig. 6A-B*). Both are perhaps unique: *fig. 6A* (on the neck of pl. 38.1) consists of separate meander-like 'loops' in a row: they are two-and-a-half meander members (not double, nor triple), since there are two and a half L-shaped hooks to the frieze and to each member; and they

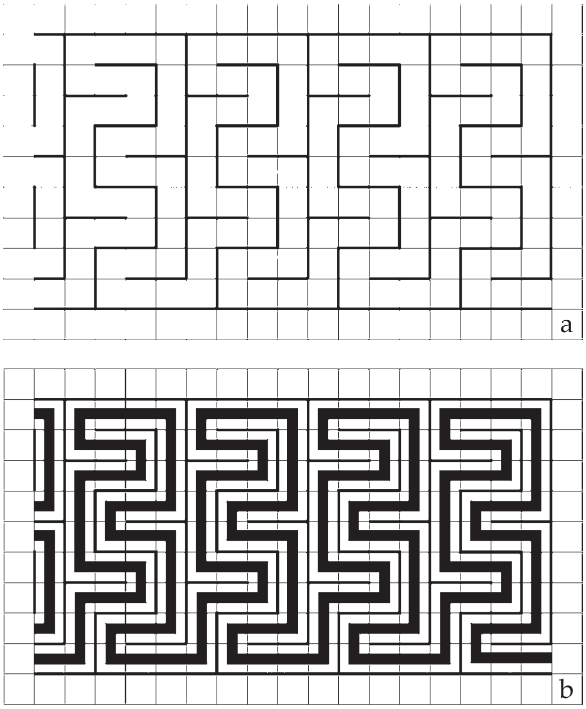

Fig. 7. Regular quadruple meander to left, not found here.

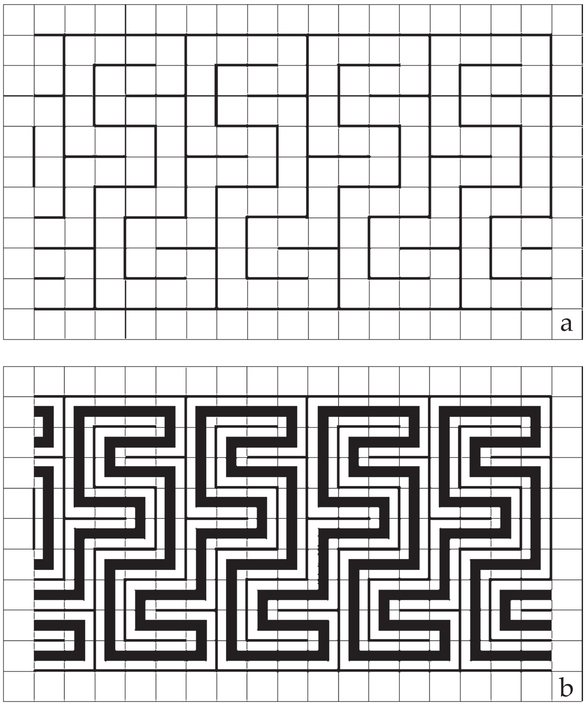

Fig. 8. Irregular quadruple meander (lowest L pointing the 'wrong' way): neck of pl. 102.

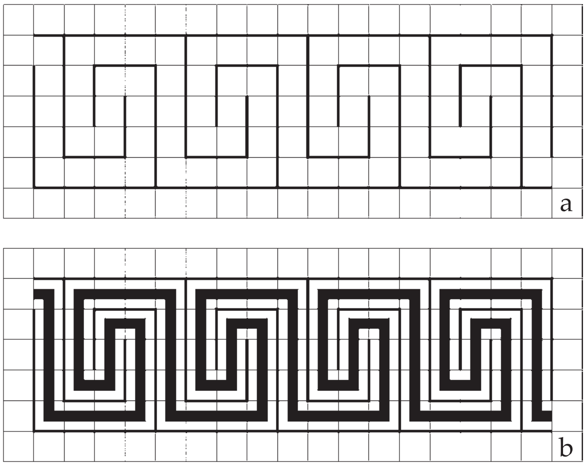

Fig. 9. Fish-hook meander: pl. 102, neck.

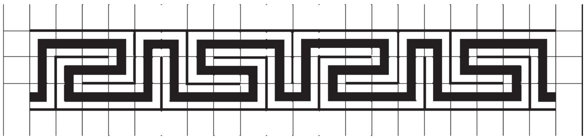

Fig. 10. Meander facing alternately, combined with battlements pl. 83.

are not interconnected (or 'running'). The triple meander of *fig. 6B*, on the other side of the neck (pl. 38.2) is faulty, but looks pleasantly complicated: the element marked X in the drawing is like those of *fig. 6A*, the rest is a triple meander comparable to that of *fig. 4*, except that the second L (inside the upright elements, marked *y* in *fig. 6A*) is turned the 'wrong' way, so that the lower part of the meander forms two ascending steps (to left).

A (rather less wildly) irregular quadruple meander is found on the neck of pl. 102 (*fig. 8*; better visible on Schweitzer, pl. 35; compare the regular quadruple meander of *fig. 7*) and the irregular triple meander of fig. 5. Sometimes the (reserved) L's in the meanders are extended with another angle, forming angular fish-hooks (i.e., with three angles, *fig. 9*). On the basis of such fish-hooks (here with unequal proportions) the meander is formed that can be seen (with great difficulty) on the neck of the same vase (pl. 102; under the quadruple meander mentioned above: better visible on Schweitzer, pl. 35): it is a curious running meander that turns an extra corner inside each meander member (and in this case every meander-member is, as it were, standing upright instead of lying lengthwise).

A wholly different type is the meander on the neck of pl. 83 (*fig. 10*): here the L-shaped hooks are facing alternately and are separated by a pendant or an upright reserved bar looking like a battlement element - on pl. 83.2 there are two of these next to each other.
So much for the structure of the meanders.

There is a fine series of profile drawings (figs. 1-50) that may throw light on the technique of potting: a thickening at the joint between the neck and the shoulder on the inside is visible on all profile drawings, but is not discussed nor explained. Very unusual is the lower end of the neck of fig. 12 (pl. 16, here *fig. 11*; compare figs. 10-11, pls. 14-15, here *fig. 12*). Good potters may fashion a neck amphora of this size (40-47 cm) in a single throw (i.e. without interrupting the process), for the height of the bodies is usually only 30 cm. This simple and effective process should result in a more or less uniform thickness of the walls of body and neck (though the wall of the neck will often be a little thicker because the neck is squeezed when being thrown); such uniform thickness is seen e.g. in fig. 16 (pl. 20, H. 48.6 cm), but it is not the rule as most of the figs. 1-50 show; and when it is - as in fig. 23, pl. 33 - the vase is far too tall (86 cm) to have been thrown from a single lump of clay: even the body (64 cm) must have been thrown in two parts. In *fig. 13* we see how the upper part of such a big pot can be thrown upside down on the wheel (*b*); it is then lifted and placed bottom up on the lower half of the body (*a*); the thick mass of clay that is now seen at its open top, is used to throw the neck as seen in (*d*).

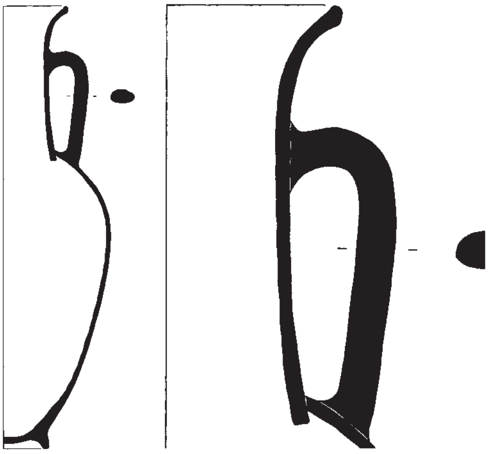

Fig. 11. = fig. 12, 21207, pl. 16.

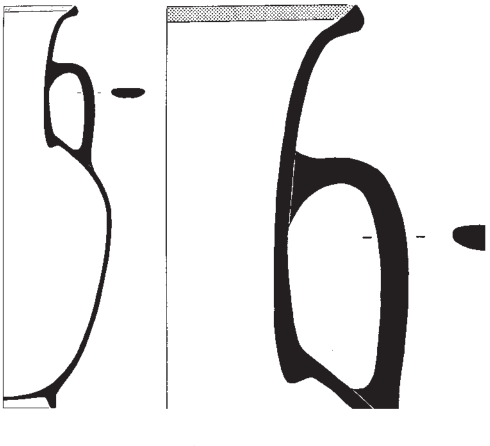

Fig. 12. = fig. 10, 21189, pl. 14.

The wall of another big vase (fig. 52, pls. 96-97; H. 74 cm; height of body nearly 50 cm) also shows a remarkably uniform thickness, in spite of the fact that, because of its size, it is certain that the potter had to stop at the top of the shoulder, before continuing in some way or other with the neck. Also when shaping smaller vases the potter may stop the wheel when arriving at the opening of the shoulder where the neck is going to be shaped; if for some reason or other, at this point, not enough clay is left for the neck, he could apply a new roll of clay by hand around the opening, fasten it on the inside by kneading it with index and middle fingers, and then throw it into the neck while the wheel is turning. Perhaps, the fact that in many profiles the wall of the neck appears thicker than that of the body, indicates the use of this technique (figs. 1,3, 7, 9, 21, and compare our *fig. 12*). However, the very curious flat lower end of the wall of the neck in our *fig. 11* (pl. 16, fig. 12; assuming that it is rightly rendered in the drawing) suggests that in this case another technique was used: it seems as if *a separately thrown neck* was inserted into the shoulder-opening. How this may be done is seen in *fig. 14*, where a modern potter tried to imitate an antique vase (*a*); he threw the neck upside down on the wheel (*b*) and then cut it loose and placed it upside down on the body where he had cut it straight (*c*). From the thick clay at the top he could fashion a nice lip. In *fig. 11*, however, the neck seems to have been *stuck into* the opening of the body, i.e. descending inside it. This must have been very unusual, especially for an amphora of this moderate size (H. 43.5 cm, H. of body only 29.5 cm), but something similar seems to have been the rule for tall, broad-shouldered hydriae (according to J.V. Noble, *Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, New York 1988, 47).

In general, however, the thickening on the inside at the joint of neck and shoulder, as shown

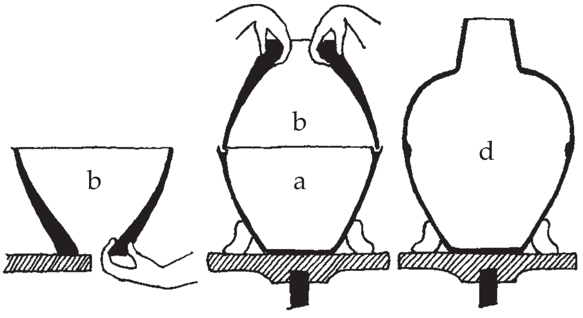

Fig. 13. R. Hampe/A. Winter, Bei Töpfern und Zieglern in Süd-Italien, *Mainz 1965, fig. 5. Fashioning a big pot from two parts.*

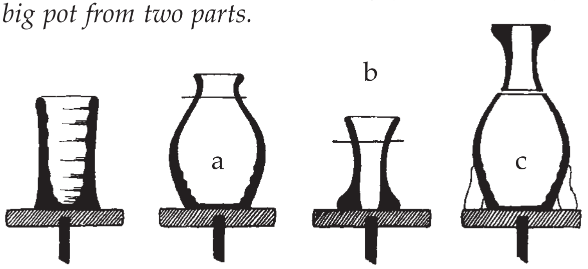

Fig. 14. Ibid. *fig. 9. Neck thrown separately upside down (*b*) and then placed on the body (*a*) in (*c*).*

in all other figures (e.g. fig. 6; here *fig. 12*), may be explained in two ways: either a new roll of clay was laid on the opening of the shoulder, as I have described above, and then this roll was thrown into the neck; or, what remained of the original thick lump of clay when the potter reached the top of the shoulder, was fashioned, fingered and smoothed and then used to throw the neck (*fig. 13b-d*). Sometimes the body is so small (hardly more than 26 cm), that no potter would want to stop the wheel (e.g. fig. 6, pl. 9) and the irregular thickness of this area in other profile drawings must simply mean that the potter used more clay than might strictly have been necessary and that, therefore, the wall of the neck he threw was a little thicker than he intended or might have wished: e.g. figs. 5, 6, 21 etc.; contrast figs. 2, 4, 8, 10.

There is one technical reason why a potter may stop at the opening before throwing the neck. When a foot is added or thrown under the body, the body must be put upside down on the wheel: sometimes the neck would make this very difficult; therefore the potter had good reason not to throw the neck before the foot was fashioned; this is the case. e.g. with broad-necked oinochoae with delicate three-lobed rims.

But these matters require further investigation: clearly such profile drawings are important for the discussion of these problems.

Let us now have a look at this fascicule as a whole. The Preface tells us the aim and scope of the work. The amphorae (78 Attic and 5 'Atticizing' vases) follow the typology and evolution of the Attic Proto-Geometric and Geometric amphorae (some Sub-Mycenaean, pls. 74, 85, 91 and one Proto-Attic vase, pl. 73, are also included). Amphorae from published excavations and those included in earlier volumes of the *CVA* are, unfortunately, omitted: the splendid vases Athens 804 and 990, published by Semni Karouzou in her *CVA* should, most archaeologists will feel, have been re-published and brought up to date here.

63 vases are presented for the first time (12 Proto-Geometric and 51 Geometric ones). The provenances are: 15 from Athens, and 20 from elsewhere in Attica; of the remaining 43, the provenances are unknown, so, for example, of the vases that were once in the Empedocles and the Rhoussopoulos collections.

The vases are arranged according to the four main types: neck handled (pls. 1-73), rim handled (pls. 74-75), shoulder handled (pls. 76-84) and belly handled (pls. 85-110). The introductions to the different sections are instructive, and the descriptions are, as we have seen, provided with excellent profiles (1 : 2, and 1 : 3 but one, fig. 23, is wrongly marked: it should be 1 : 4, for the vase's height is 86 cm, see p. 39). Most of the photographs on the 108 plates are impeccable (but not all, e.g. those of the neck and shoulder of pl. 102).

In general the author's descriptions are accurate, but there are confusing exceptions. The treatment of the ornaments of the amphora of pls. 36-37, for example, has been muddled: the description of the meanders on the neck and the shoulders is confused or omitted (p. 41); in the neck panels there is a running double meander to right consisting of three elements, but the curious mistake the painter made in the left-hand meander-hook on pl. 36.1 is not mentioned. On both shoulders there is a running single meander to left (five hooks and a bit). Also the description of the decoration of the handles of this vase is defective.

As for other ornaments, more drawings should have been published, e.g. of the interesting but nearly invisible neck panels of pl. 8 or pl. 16. In many cases there is no mention of the use of a multiple brush, e.g. in the concentric circles and zig-zags of pl. 96 (p. 82). The use of this brush is *expressis verbis* excluded for the main frieze with narrowly spaced bars and squiggles on pl. 23.3-4, p. 30: the reason is that the number of the bars varies from 11-13, those of the squiggles from 13 to 17! Yet they are surprisingly close together and very neatly even-spaced. Such free hand accuracy on a rather slackly shaped vase with crudely drawn hatching is surprising. Therefore one wonders whether the painter could not easily change the number of brushes in his multiple brush, by simply pulling a number of individual brushes backwards, so that they could not touch the surface; see pl. 82, p. 72, where the number of vertical bars in the belly frieze (at either side of the small metopes) varies from 18 to 23; again the painting seems too precise for free hand work.

A good deal of the text about the lovely large amphora of pls. 94-95 (pp. 81-82) has dropped out, and the height of its neck is omitted. The broad shoulder-handled amphora of pl. 80 (MG I) is said (p. 70) to be an 'elevated' (?) version of the EGII amphorae, 'cf. pl. 58' (read: 'pls. 76-77'), but it is unclear what is meant with 'elevated' ('elongated' cannot be meant the vase being squat and broad). In the following lines on p. 70 there is an erroneous reference to pl. 60: read 'pl. 79'. Such omissions and mistakes are perhaps less rare than we expect from the otherwise conscientious descriptions.

Surprising is the odd use of the term 'reservation' for the painted ornaments all through the text. Even the banded, fat-bodied amphorae of pls. 72 ff and the tall ones such as that of pl. 33 are said to be decorated with 'narrow reserved bands' in stead of black lines or stripes. Many more examples of this could be given but may be skipped here, except for the belly zone of pl. 3, when Kourou speaks of 'groups of opposed diagonals, reserved free hand on a glazed background' (p. 15); the visual effect is indeed like reservation. Hardly less curious is when the authoress speaks of a 'dark ground decoration' for a vase by the Hirschfeld Painter, pls. 30-32 (p. 37) and the amphora of pls. 102-105 (p. 85).

In the text on the two vases just mentioned, in the twelfth line from below on p. 37 (left-hand column) we should read 'inserted' instead of 'intersected'; further, the *kline* of pl. 32,1 should not be called 'a table' (note the curious 'cushion' under the dead man's head). There can be no doubt that the mourners of pl. 32.1 are female, not male as the authoress tells us (though, indeed, they wear no dresses; see p. 38). 'Nude' mourners with breasts are found on many vases by the Hirschfeld Painter, e.g. Schweitzer, pl 42. This is important for the description of the exquisite, but fragmentary colossal amphora by the Dipylon painter, inv. no. 803, pls. 102-105 (pp. 86-88). The mourners on this amphora (pl. 104-105) are definitely all female, in spite of the fact that those under the handles are *helkesipeploi* (pl. 103) and clearly distinguished from the other women. Further, there is no explanation of the text figure XI on p. 86, which gives a reconstruction of the ekphora of this amphora, pl. 104 (the figure seems doubtful).

A casual remark may be added about dating: often the dates proposed seem excessively precise, suggesting a certainty that we would all love to possess: e.g. pls. 84 (780-760); 100 (770-760), 102 (760-750 BC).

Finally we may perhaps comment on the provenance and context of the vases here published. In this time when Italy, Greece and Turkey are fanatically retrieving what they call their 'national heritage' (one thinks of the world-famous Euphronios krater in New York, so excellently published by Dietrich von Bothmer), it may be pointed out that the disappearance of such vases from Italy, Greece or Turkey and their presence in the rest of the world in the last hundreds of years can be defended by pointing out the following: in this fascicule there are nearly a dozen vases that were confiscated long ago but *not one of them was ever published*, not even 60 years after their entry into the National Museum (the amphora of pl. 13: in 1939)! If these vases had become part of a collection, private or public, somewhere in the Western World, they would surely have been described and analyzed with loving care in some fine publication, a catalogue or periodical. The loss of context and provenance is generally said to be most serious, but that in many cases this loss does not matter so much, is made clear by the present fascicule where there is hardly any valuable provenance or context to be found, not even of vases from official excavations such as those by Kourouniotes (pls. 66-67, 70)! Is it not true that Greek vases should be regarded as *the cultural heritage of the Western World as a whole*, since it is there, and not in Italy nor in Greece nor Turkey, that the study of Greek and Roman culture, literature, philosophy and art has been so tenacious, fertile and admirably profound the last three hundred years? However, not many scholars will want to (dare to) agree with this, I fear.

Whether or not this is the case, it is certain that the authoress of this fascicule, N. Kourou, may be content both with the quality of this volume and with the fact that is it is written in an English that reads easily and pleasantly.

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Reviews

C. Isler-Kerényi, *Civilizing Violence. Satyrs on 6th-Century Greek Vases* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis). Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2004. XII+132 pp., 42 figs./drawings; 23 cm. – ISBN: 3-7278-1497-7.

Los que somos seguidores asiduos de las publicaciones de la profesora Isler-Kerényi hemos descubierto con agrado que su interés por el mundo de Dioniso sigue vivo en su último libro, concebido, como ella misma dice, como una continuación de su excelente revisión de la figura del dios publicada en el 2001. Los sátiros ya habían sido objeto de algunos estudios especializados por parte de Lissarrague y de Hedreen (F. Lissarrague, A sun-struck Satyr in Malibu, en *Periplous, Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, Londres, 2000 o G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting. Myth and Performance*, Ann Arbor, Mi. 1992) en los últimos tiempos, sin embargo en el panorama de los estudios dionisíacos nos faltaba todavía la interpretación de una estudiosa que como Isler-Kerényi ha dedicado muchos años a descifrar el contenido de las escenas del dios del vino.

Ya en su introducción nos encontramos con toda una declaración de intenciones en la que nos manifiesta, como es su costumbre, la voluntad de trabajar sobre la obra de arte en sí misma, usándola como fuente casi única de su investigación. Esta aproximación, como ella declara, trata de demostrar que las fuentes escritas, instrumento omnipresente en los estudios iconográficos, no se encuentran en un plano superior en la jerarquía de la transmisión/comunicación del mito y que la representación artística está al mismo nivel o acaso en uno más alto al conservarse en ellas elementos perdidos en los textos.

Son dos las incógnitas que la autora trata de clarificar en su trabajo; la primera consiste en el enorme desequilibrio existente entre la práctica inexistencia de fuentes escritas que nos hablen de los sátiros y sus numerosísimas representaciones en la cerámica; y la segunda sería el vínculo existente entre el aumento de las manifestaciones artísticas y el surgimiento del drama satírico, que se constata cinco generaciones después de los primeros ejemplos figurativos de sátiros. Respondiendo a estas preguntas enlaza con otra cuestión fundamental, esto es, la relación entre Dioniso y el sátiro.

El primer capítulo nos presenta los primeros ejemplos de representaciones del sátiro que nos retrotraen a mediados del siglo VII a. C., con un aríbalo protocorintio que parece representar su antepasado más antiguo en una escena de agresión sexual. Habremos de esperar hasta la segunda década del siglo VI para ver al sátiro con su fisonomía totalmente establecida en ejemplos que perpetúan las escenas de violencia sexual, que, por otro lado, están condenadas a desaparecer a favor de un sátiro semi-domesticado que triunfará en la figuración arcaica (p. 15).

En la evolución de la figura del sátiro se produce una inflexión que se ejemplifica con el Vaso François (Florencia, 4209). Allí, entre otras muchas escenas, está representado el momento del Retorno de Hefesto al Olimpo. Este mito Isler-Kerényi lo entiende como la expresión del papel pacificador y restablecedor del orden divino que ostenta Dioniso, puesto que liberando a Hera se devuelve la paz a la familia y al mismo tiempo mantiene el equilibrio divino. Clitias ha querido resaltar la importancia de Dioniso poniéndolo en el centro y repitiendo su imagen en la escena de las bodas de Tetis y Peleo, subrayando de nuevo su relevancia en momentos trascendentes sea del orden mortal sea del inmortal (p. 20).

Los textos no recogen ese rol de Dioniso pero otro relato mítico parece confirmar esta interpretación; su participación y victoria en otro evento cósmico: la Gigantomaquia. La autora critica el hecho de que la historiografía haya tildado a Dioniso como el opuesto al orden cívico de la polis, perpetuando el binomio Apolo-Dioniso, puesto que su extraordinaria presencia en la vida de la ciudad a través del teatro, el simposio y los festivales contradicen esa visión, demostrando que este dios no es otra cosa que el garante de la organización social, controlando incluso las válvulas de escape que él mismo proporciona (p. 21).

Según Isler-Kerényi, la recurrente presencia de las escenas del retorno de Hefesto tiene que explicarse dentro del contexto histórico en el que se producen esas piezas. Las reformas de Solón que promovieron una mayor conciliación social a través de un respaldo de la producción manual como medio de mantener a los hijos no destinados a ser herederos y, sobre todo, por medio del retorno de los emigrantes que empujarían el comercio. Todo ello repercutió en una mayor seguridad económica y gran prosperidad. No es que la figura de Hefesto surgiese de las reformas de Solón, pero éstas favorecieron el despegue de una clase social de comerciantes y artesanos que se veían identificados en el dios. Así las cosas, Hefesto y su reintegración entre los Olímpicos era una suerte de símil en una sociedad muy jerarquizada, que asistía a unas reformas que ponían en marcha un fenómeno social y económico que permitió el triunfo de la polis (p. 23-24). Frente a esta argumentación sólo queda añadir *se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

En los primeros pasos de la pintura de Figuras Negras son dos los tipos de sátiros que aparecen, los que ejercen violencia sexual y los que son portadores del vino y la música de Dioniso. Los primeros tienden a desaparecer a favor de la visión del sátiro semi-doméstico que regresa con Hefesto al Olimpo y que el vino transforma en inocuo y en músico. La autora sostiene la armonía con el espíritu de Solón pues existiendo la violencia, ésta pasa a formar parte de la ciudad en el contexto de simposio y por tanto de una manera ordenada (p. 26). La autora también cree que los sátiros modifican su comportamiento perdiendo agresividad ante Hefesto y con ello en el ámbito de Dioniso. Sin embargo no estoy de acuerdo en el papel civilizador o domesticador del simposio, creo que puede convertirse en algo muy alejado de una 'violencia reglada' y hay varias escenas de agresión sexual en contextos simposiales que avalan esta lectura.

En el capítulo tercero la perspectiva se amplía a otras zonas de Grecia como Corinto o Beocia en dónde se verifica, al igual que el Ática, una cierta asimilación del bailarín dionisíaco, es decir en un ámbito humano y no mítico. Este fenómeno explicaría su ausencia en los textos de mitología y su recurrente presencia en las artes figurativas, demostrando que su papel lo convierte en la figura en la cual se refleja el hombre, al menos en cuanto a lo que se refiere a la cerámica (p. 33).

La idea de que el espectador se ve reflejado en la imagen del sátiro se desarrolla en el siguiente capítulo, ampliando los contextos en los que estos híbridos acompañan al dios. En primer lugar forman parte de tíaso que saluda al Dioniso en el momento de su epifanía, también están presentes en lo que Isler-Kerényi ha dado en llamar 'Tíaso nupcial', caracterizado por la presencia de una mujer, claramente distinta de las ninfas, que podría representar a una esposa arquetípica o a Ariadna, subrayando de esta forma su importancia como dios de las 'metamorfoseis vitales' (p. 40). Este concepto ya lo había desarrollado en su libro sobre Dioniso, demostrando que se conserva un gran número de vasos en los que el dios aparece estrechamente ligado a actividades de la vida masculina, en concreto de los jóvenes (C. Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos nella Grecia Arcaica. Il contributo delle immagini*, Pisa/Roma 2001, 123).

Así las cosas, el hombre se acerca a Dioniso convirtiéndose en sátiro (mientras que la mujer lo hará de otra forma) normalmente por medio de una experiencia colectiva como es el tíaso y con ello lleva a cabo su metamorfosis personal propiciada por la epifanía del dios. De ahí a las iniciaciones báquicas que aparecerán un siglo más tarde sólo hay un paso (p. 45).

La autora propone una interesante interpretación para toda una serie de vasos emparentados iconográficamente con las escenas del Retorno de Hefesto y que se tienden a confundir con este mito, me refiero a las imágenes del 'jinete y la mula'. En estas piezas existe una intención de retratar un ritual en el que el jinete, normalmente un efebo, pasa de un estado al otro. La idea de que la mula pertenece al ámbito de la 'chora', los alrededores de la ciudad que la sostienen desde el punto de vista agrícola y ganadero, y que con ella se accede a la polis, en suma, juego de significados similar a la idea del joven que es admitido en la organización social (p. 49). No existen datos suficientes que verifiquen la existencia de dicho ritual de integración pero esta lectura iría en consonancia con las reformas cívicas acaecidas entre Solón y Pisístrato, favoreciendo el ingreso de los hijos de ciudadanos áticos que no han sido reconocidos en una clase social inferior pero que les da acceso al simposio, símbolo de la polis, y a otras posibilidades dentro de su ciudad natal (pp. 50-51). Sin duda la lectura es arriesgada, carente de textos que puedan confirmar la existencia de un ritual de ingreso o de readmisión similar al del propio Hefesto, por ello no podemos más que permanecer en el campo de la hipótesis a la espera de que nuevos hallazgos nos permitan verificarla o desmentirla.

La representación de la epifanía del dios con su tíaso se dirige al espectador a través del sátiro que, en muchas ocasiones, nos mira directamente como una máscara. Los sátiros son los intermediarios entre el hombre y el dios, en unas escenas que además evocan el regalo del vino (p. 55). Toda esta serie de meditaciones sobre la figura del sátiro de la primera mitad del siglo VI concluyen con que es la personificación de todo lo violento y subversivo que hay en el hombre pero que a través de su entrada en el ámbito de Dioniso se domestica, esto es, es capaz de dar rienda suelta a sus instintos dentro del espacio ordenado por el dios, sea en el tíaso, sea en el komos. Con la presencia añadida del jinete sobre la mula, se incide en la cuestión del paso de un estado a otro, se trate de Hefesto o de un efebo prototípico, celebrando su ingreso en la polis a través del simposio. Habida cuenta que el vino y la danza permiten a los hombres sentirse como sátiros y excederse, esos elementos potencialmente peligrosos son reglados en la esfera de Dioniso (p. 62).

En el siguiente capítulo se estudia el otro contexto en el que los sátiros hacen su aparición, esto es, la vendimia. Se piensa que fue el Pintor de Amasis el creador de esta iconografía en la que el sátiro se convierte en el transformador de la uva en el vino, enseñando una 'technè' a los mortales y sirviendo, una vez más, de mediadores entre el hombre y la divinidad. La aparición de estas escenas de vendimia coinciden cronológicamente con Pisístrato (540-530) y su política de revalorización del mundo rural, aspecto que según la autora no debemos infravalorar (p. 70). La presencia del vino en la cerámica se constata ya pocos años antes de mediados del siglo VI, en escenas de komos, se transforma en un elemento que puede tener lecturas políticas en torno al 540, en el que el sátiro transforma la uva en vino. Al mismo tiempo se producen cambios en las prácticas cultuales del régimen de Pisístrato (Isler-Kerényi *cit*., 2001, 227) que convierten al vino en símbolo de continuidad después de la muerte, muy de moda hasta el 500 cuando empieza a banalizarse (p. 79).

Los sátiros aseguran de esta manera su importancia en la polis en tanto en cuanto no sólo enseñan al hombre cómo hacer el vino sino que también son modelos de comportamiento que permiten acercarse al dios de una manera, sexual y ebria, que sirve como válvula de escape para una sociedad organizada. El papel de las mujeres será la asignatura pendiente de los ritos báquicos; la autora ya había demostrado cómo la instauración de los mismos responde a una necesidad de integración de la mujer en el sistema ciudadano en época de los tiranos (Isler-Kerényi *cit*. 2001, 256). El hombre ya poseía su sistema ritualizado para acercarse al dios y sólo cuando en el 540 empiezan a aparecer las escenas de vendimia se hace evidente una dimensión religiosa (p. 82).

En el octavo y último capítulo entra en el debate del drama satírico y su influencia en la cerámica o viceversa. No cree que haya una influencia directa de dichos dramas en esa multiplicación de los motivos con sátiros, sino un reforzamiento de su relevancia (p. 90). El drama satírico, por ser estos híbridos los que lo representan, tiene una peculiaridad fundamental que es el hecho de que si los sátiros en los vasos hacían una llamada al espectador, el mismo proceso puede verificarse en la escena, probablemente volviendo a ser inter-

mediarios entre el ámbito de los dioses y el humano (p. 92). Así las cosas el sátiro debe hacer de intermediario con el hombre para acercarlo a la felicidad de Dioniso y para darle su regalo, el vino. En el drama satírico su función es similar sólo que recordándole el pasado heroico al que ya no pertenece. Es una experiencia colectiva, frente a la del vaso, referida al inicio del proceso de civilización. Tanto en el drama como en la cerámica el hombre encuentra el medio de alcanzar la felicidad dionisíaca y de acercarse al dios. Éste vuelve a revelarse como el pacificador y garante del orden de la polis, ayudado por sus sátiros (p. 95).

Sin duda nos hallamos ante un libro lleno de ideas nuevas que abre interesantes vías para la investigación sobre esta faceta del mundo de Dioniso. Una vez más la autora cumple con las expectativas de los que seguimos sus trabajos, ofreciéndonos lecturas audaces de temas ya muy tratados y sirviendo de acicate para la curiosidad intelectual. Ella es consciente de que su teoría del valor religioso e iniciador de los sátiros en los vasos y el drama es fácilmente rebatible, pero ello no le impide argumentar con mucha solidez sus interpretaciones. Para ella los sátiros, al menos en los vasos, representan una reflexión de todo lo violento del hombre que, poco a poco, se doma para producir los mejores resultados para la humanidad: música, vino, amor y experiencia báquica, todos ellos elementos útiles y necesarios para el dios y para la polis. Encarnan las contradicciones del ciudadano ‘to have both a weapon within their body and an aulos to their mouth’ (p. 96).

Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira

KLAUS MÜLLER, *Hellenistische Architektur auf Paros* (Archäologische Forschungen Band 20). Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003. 176 pp., 52 figs, 79 pls; 30 cm. – ISBN 3-7861-2447-7.

This book, volume 20 in the series of *Archäologische Forschungen* published by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, presents the results of research carried out by Klaus Müller on the island of Paros. It is a reworked version of his PhD-thesis (summer 2000), in which he investigates the Hellenistic architecture on Paros. Since 1968 the Technical University of Munich has researched into the antique architecture on the Cyclades, and Müller joined this project in 1992 to analyze and discover Hellenistic architecture on the island. His goal was to document and order the architectural features registered into an accessible database and attempt to assign the individual elements to Hellenistic buildings.

This book consists of two parts: the first deals with the Hellenistic structures on the island and the second part is an extensive catalogue. After the introduction Müller starts with the structures, each discussed in one chapter: first, the great hall (chapter 2), second, the theatre (3), third, the gymnasium (4), fourth, the spolia in the so-called apse building (5), and finally, the fifth, consisting of elements which can not be placed in the above listed structures (6). Thereafter, Müller spends one chapter on the building techniques of the period before he ends with his conclusions. The second part, the catalogue (chapter 9), lists all the individual pieces from the different structures which have been discovered during the whole campaign. It is an excellent catalogue. The pieces are described and measured individually and placed together in tables per category so they are easily comparable. Each architectural element has a link to the plates and pictures at the back. The plates are beautifully drawn and measurements are added which give extra information. The pictures are very useful and provide a more holistic view of the structures. Completing the catalogue is a list of all features ordered by category and two lists of all plates and figures used in the book.

Research into Hellenistic buildings on Paros is possible because building materials were not reused elsewhere in the course of the centuries, but served as spolia in buildings on the island itself. This situation makes it feasible to trace these architectural features, document them and ascribe them to a structure. This is not an easy thing to do and requires very detailed documentation with measurements and drawings. This method of research can be found in the design of the individual chapters. Müller starts with describing the building materials, showing their possibilities in a structure with sometimes difficult calculations, followed by a reconstruction of the building. When accomplished, the building is dated and eventually compared to similar buildings in the region. In the case of the great hall this comparison is quite extensive because the Technical University of Munich also studied the hall on Naxos, which Müller uses as a basis for comparison. All this is very well explained with clear drawings of the features and the elements. The research still remains difficult, especially because the location of the buildings is unknown, with the exception of the great hall.

Müller succeeds in giving a good reconstruction of the buildings with numerous measurements, calculations, and splendid drawings of reconstructions and architectural possibilities. This is of course very important, because now we have Hellenistic structures on Paros, rather than single stones. However, the frequent use of the calculations makes Müller’s research quite a mathematic story and the book may be less accessible for the interested reader, but also for archaeologists. It is clearly visible that the research is carried out by a technical university: it is all well reconstructed, but it gives almost no information about the function of the buildings in the Hellenistic period. Müller tries to implement the buildings in a general history of Paros for this period, only it is too short to deal with all the interesting parts of these buildings. For this reason, the reconstructions are more or less artificial, especially considering that the location of the building is not known. Another disadvantage of this methodology is that the author neglects other aspects of the buildings. When it comes to dating the great hall, for example, Müller only uses comparisons of measurements with similar buildings elsewhere to date the building remains. This is of course a valid way to proceed, but in my opinion Müller could have used many more elements for dating. Here he does not even explore the other possibilities, for example the style of the building elements.

During his exploration Müller has discovered more structures and new features were added to the catalogue. This has expanded our knowledge of the Hellenistic period on the Cyclades and provides a path to more research. The book is perhaps too mathematical and focuses maybe too much on the architecture alone but it provides a very good starting point for research about the Hellenistic period on this island. Müller has explored the Hellenistic buildings on Paros technically, it is now up to other researchers to analyze the structural remains archaeologically at which point this book will be of great help.

Peter Hazen

Κλεοπατϱα Καθαϱιου, *Το Εϱγαστηϱιο του Ζωγϱαφου του Μελεαγϱου ϰαι η Εποχη του. Παϱατηϱησεις στην Αττιϰη Κεϱαμιϰη του Πϱωτου Τεταϱτου του 4ου αι. π.Χ.*

Kleopatra Kathariou, *The Workshop of the Meleager Painter and his Era: Remarks on the Attic Pottery of the First Quarter of the Fourth Century BC*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002. IX+439 pp., figs.; 28 cm. – ISBN 960-12-1143-8.

This is a very ambitious and (probably) also a thorough study, witness the catalogue which contains more than 30 painters and some 400 pots or more. Apart from 143 entries of the Meleager Painter and his workshop, there are 167 of the Jena Painter and 27 of the Painter of London F64 (of the other painters the numbers are smaller). In the English summary (pp. 189-207) the authoress tells us that she chose the Meleager painter because he did not diminish the range of his shapes and themes, as many of his contemporaries did. She studied all the usual aspects, and did so, she says, also ‘against the social, political, religious, commercial and artistic background of the beginning of the fourth century BC’ (p. 189; whether she succeeded in this, remains unclear). There are 44 figures with 84 excellent drawings of shapes (1 : 4 and 1 : 3) and 38 drawings of the handle ornaments. Further there are 99 ‘plates’ (pp. 385-439, several plates on a page) with two to three times as many photogaphs of the vases (43 plates with vases of the Meleager Painter, the others are devoted to other painters). The photos are good but far too small to illustrate the detailed descriptions of the figure style. Nevertheless the book would be very welcome indeed, were it not that it is written in Greek, which, to my mind, is an offense against international scholarship and an insurmountable barrier for almost all readers outside Hellas (see, for example, the sharp criticism by N. Hannestad in *The Proceedings of the xvth Int. Congress Of Classical Archaeology*, Amsterdam 1998, Allard Pierson Series, vol. 12, 189 ff). The authoress studied at German speaking universities from 1994-1999 (p. xi): she might therefore have written in German, but she is a pupil of M. Tiberios who has set the tune and writes himself in Greek. The Greek authorities should, I firmly believe, stop all subsidies for archaeological publications that are meant for the world of Classical studies and not written in one of the widely known Western languages. This is the more necessary since even fascicules of the *CVA* have recently appeared in Greek! The membership of the EU should by now have eradicated this narrow-minded nationalism of some of the Greek scholars (a similar reproof might be addressed to Italian archaeologists, though the knowledge of Italian for this purpose is more widely spread).

Who, after all, knows the Greek words for relief lines (*anaglyphi grammi*), brush (*chroostira*), abdomen (*koiliaki choora*), knee cap and other parts of human anatomy? Try and read the stylistic analysis of pp. 73 ff and meet the Greek for ‘hip’, ‘smile’ and the details of the face and arms and legs. It is true that there is an ‘extended’ summary in English, but its most useful paragraph should have been that about stylistic development, anatomy etc.: it is, however, no more than 15 lines (p. 206), whereas the far less instructive iconographical discussions about Dionysus, Ariadne, Atalanta, Amymone, Herakles and the symposium, occupy ten double column-pages (pp. 196-205). I suspect that translating anatomical and stylistic descriptions into proper English was too arduous a task for the translator. I am sure that only very few vase specialists have the ability and the courage to plough through the 85 two-column pages of densely printed text with the addition of more than a thousand notes. The authoress herself became confused, when, in her numerous and very useful indexes, she writes Oxford, Utrecht, Vienna and Bonn in curious transliterations in Greek letters (*Oxfordi* and *Outrechti*, *Bienni*, and *BONNH*) but Birmingham, Bologna etc. in the ordinary spelling. (In spite of these serious defects, the authoress is confident enough to vent criticism on certain volumes of the Kerameus series; see n. 9, p. 87).

It seems clear, however, that the descriptions of the stylistic characteristics of the painter and his workshop are detailed and possibly highly interesting, though, as I have said, even when one succeeds in deciphering the Greek, one cannot verify the descriptions because of the small size of the photos (the use of the relieflines, the eyes, the ways muscles are rendered and all such details, are quite invisible).

What can we learn from the English summary, pp. 189-207?

I have tried to understand the difference between the Meleager painters M1 and M2, introduced by the authoress (pp. 72 ff), but without success (the English text is useless, see p. 206). There is much excellent work, I suppose, in the distinction of the four potters (Alpha-Delta) of the bell kraters (pp. 193-194), and of the three hands in the subsidiary ornaments (figs. 38-41); these worked for a great many painters, for example, for the Erbach and the Hare Painters, for the Painter of London F1 etc. etc., but the distinction between these potters and painters is not made clear in the English summary, nor that between bell kraters with ‘simple’ feet and those with ‘composed’ feet (p. 193). To translate all these discussions would surely have required too much space and so we have to wait for a full translation - if ever it appears.

All this is discouraging. I must confine myself to giving the contents and the scope of the book so that the reader can concentrate on one or more subjects of his choice.

Chapter I deals with shapes: neck amphorae, pelikai, the four types of kraters, hydriae, cups of type B, foot-less cups and skyphoi (pp. 5-25, see the fine section-profile drawings on pp. 357-372).

Chapter II treats of iconography: Dionysus, Amymone, Atalanta, Herakles and symposia: this is a very extensive and thorough treatment: pp. 27-63. I have not succeeded in understanding everything, but it seems to me that it contains examples of the kind of over-interpretations caused by the conviction that scenes render either actual or mythical situations, and that, therefore, it must be possible to identify or explain all figures: on p. 197, for instance, she regards as Ariadne the main females in scenes with satyrs and maenads on pl. 20A, 35A, 35B, 39A, 48, 70A, 80A, 84B, 90A; this seems unwarrented.

Chapter III (pp. 69-79) analyses the style of the Meleager Painter, its general characteristics and development. Here are treated technical details such as the use of relief lines, preliminary sketching, added colours, the rendering of physiognomy and anatomy, and the fascinating and very varied and typical decorative motives in the drapery (these important sections are, as has been said, not reported in the English summary on p. 206). Further paragraphs are: chronology, connections with pupils, the workshop, relations with, and influence on numerous painters (here too the English summary on pp. 206-207 is very disappointing). Finally there is a Greek summary (pp. 81-86).

All in all, I have no doubt that the book deserves much attention and, therefore, a good translation but, because of its present form, it is, unfortunately, impossible to profit from it or to give useful comments or a balanced judgement.

J.M. Hemelrijk

Tobias Fischer-Hansen, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Denmark, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Fasc. 1, Copenhagen, 2004. 161 pp., 106 drawings, col. figs., figs., 132 plates; 33 cm. – ISBN 87-7452-272-8.

This fine fascicule opens with an introduction that tells us of the collection and the great men behind it, Carl Jacobsen and Wolfgang Helbig. It is the first of two volumes of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: the main Danish collection of Greek vases is in the National Museum. Wanting to expand the Helbig Museum, Jacobsen bought a collection of vases in 1907 from the Freiherr von Leesen in Cologne. Etruscan vases were acquired by Helbig in Rome, and in 1924 the largest acquisition was made allegedly from Orvieto (but Beazley and Riis believe that the provenance was Vulci). Part of this acquisition was presented to the National Museum. On the whole, however, Jacobsen 'was not predisposed towards the acquisition of Greek vases as this field was covered by the rich collections in the National Museum in Copenhagen' (p. 10).

In the introduction we find beautiful colour photos of seven of the most remarkable vases. The fascicule contains Attic black and red figure, Greek Hellenistic wares, South Italian red figure, Apulian, Messapian and Canosan wares, the Classical and Hellenistic wares from Central Italy and figure vases from Ionia and Corinth.

There are 132 plates: the photographs are excellent and generally very detailed (though some are too dark: nos 2 and 3, for example) and in the text there are beautiful profile-section drawings (1:2) and fine renderings of preliminary sketches. As for the descriptions, I was a little surprised to read of a 'dark orange (or dark orange brown) "slip"' on the Attic pots (*passim*, e.g. p. 26). I assume that this means what I prefer to call 'a wash', or perhaps ochre (*miltos*).

Descriptions and discussion are not always quite accurate. To give an example: in the description of the beautiful Gorgon cup cat. 18 (pl. 25), the tunic of the left of Gorgon's two bodies is said to be purple, which, judging by the photographs, it is not. The drawing of this monster is monumental and impressive with powerful details (such as knees, for example) and a very finely drawn, lively young hind (not a 'kid') in its three (!) hands. There is little to criticize here; only the left hand holding the animal is weak. The outside (pls. 23-28), however, is different. The faces of the two goddesses of A and B (pl. 27b and c; for convenience, I add the letters a-c to the plates) were, I guess, white (with incised eyes?), for the profile of the right winged lady (pl. 27c) is drawn in outline (brown), as was the custom in late Corinthian (and East Greek) ware. The bodies of these goddesses are shown frontally with their elbows on both sides wrapped in their mantles, their hands covered. The elbow on the left side of the figure in pl. 27c looks like a breast, but the outlines of her lower arms help to understand the intention of the painter. One of her wings, therefore, is attached to her breast, the other to her back. The drawing is definitely awkward and so are the curiously broken ships under the handles with their weak boar heads with rudimentary tusks. I therefore agree with Vagn Poulsen who, noticing the difference in the quality between the in- and outside, said that they must be by two different hands. The cup is attributed by Freyer-Schauenburg to the Timenor Painter, but who is this painter? Beazley speaks of a Timenor Potter but not of his painter: one expects references to him or his work for he is new to me and probably to many other readers.

More examples of such (slight) defects in the text can be given. Let us take the Affecter (pls. 1-2; see H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter*, Mainz 1975, no 100). While reading the description we notice that the purple bands above the rays are not mentioned. In the two duels of A and B there is a remarkable lack of 'efficiency': the right hand warrior does not aim his spear at his foe but holds it uselessly pointing upwards as if at rest, which is surprising, though the painter is known for his curious deviations. Besides, it might have been said that the metal corselets of the right-hand warriors are shown frontally, though they turn their backs towards us (cf. no 4, pl. 6a and no 5, pl. 9a, the fallen warrior). This is, as often elsewhere, a deliberate 'mistake' used to embellish the figure with the fine frontal ornaments of the breast and the abdomen of these breast plates. Further, it seems to me that, stylistically, the date given (520 BC; also by Mommsen, l.c. p. 79) is a decade late (see also the profile of the foot, fig. 1 on p. 27). I agree with Mary Moore, that more might have been said about the plastic shield devices (a wildly projecting snake and a satyr's head in profile; see now H. Philipp in *OlForsch* 30, 69, 76 ff).

In general the photos are plentiful and detailed but not so for no 2, an amphora with an anonymous combat (not mythical, I think). The naked dead man should, I believe, be understood to have fallen forward (having fought on the side of the left-hand warrior). The bearded charioteer on B of no 2 (pl. 3b) is an oddity that is not explained: he is oversized and naked except for a kind of 'sun-hat' (petasos). One would have liked to read the opinion of the author on this anomaly.

As for no 3, it seems to me that Apollo's right hand is not 'pointing the way' but should be understood to hold the *plektron*. The red streak over the *kithera* cannot be its lower transversal bar; it is the band with which the instrument is pulled against the breast by the left wrist to hold it, when playing with the left fingers on the strings, while the right hand handles the *plektron*. As regards the bud-frieze, it may be added that the upper arcs 'skip two' (as on no. 3), a difference with the friezes of, e.g. nos 4 and 5 (on no 5, pls. 8-9, they seem drawn by hand, not with a loop-shaped thread as explained in *Looking at Greek Vases*, 1991, 240 figs. 102 and 104). The vase no 3 should, I think, be dated not before 510 BC.

In the discussion of no. 4 there is no comment of the net-band under the scenes and one would like to know if there are more of such puzzle pictures as pl. 6, with a slyly hidden Heracles with Athena in a frontal chariot (pl. 6b). The description of the 'configurations of tendrils' under the handles (pl. 5c) can be simplified by calling it 'W on M' (indicating that it looks like a capital M on top of a capital W). These ornaments may be simple, as they are here, but on no. 5 they are rich and ornate: with four large spirals round the centre. It is a sign of the extreme conservatism in Attic vase painting that this very constant 'configuration' of the W on M is so long-lived and unchanging on Attic vases and even on Etruscan pots (see the stamnos of the Praxias Group no 91, pl. 110b).

On no 5, pl. 8a, Ares has surprisingly long hair and wears a chlamys, not a tunic, over his corselet (with breast spiral). One wonders if Heracles (who is holding a set of reins in each hand, not in one) is more often depicted as ascending his chariot before Athena and so seems to depart alone for Olympus, but nothing is said about this. In this vein we might go on mentioning slight inadequacies in the description and incidental omissions of information that might have helped the readers. In the following we shall restrict ourselves to only a few remarks.

It seems to me that the skin of the maenad of no. 10, pl. 17a, was painted white (judging by the photos) but nothing is said about it. On no 11, pl. 18, we should like to know how Anchises is carried by Aeneas. The skyphos no 15, pl. 20, by the 'Camel Painter' is dated too early; it should be, I think, 530-520 at the earliest. The cup-skyphos of the so-called Hermogenian type of no 17 looks non-Attic to me (could it be Boeotian?). The dating of no 22, pl. 36 (480-470 BC) seems rather late (Berlin Painter). I find it hard to accept the attribution to the Kleophon Painter of the Panathenaeic amphora no 28, pls. 45-48. The photo of pl. 73b (centre above: man leaning on a staff, only faintly visible) is reversed: see pl. 73c and p. 92.

There are plenty of Italian, Sicilian and Etruscan vases. One of the most remarkable is the trozella with primitive black figure scenes of the duel of Diomedes and Aeneas and of Capaneus being blasted before the wall of Thebes, no 82, pl. 106. A beautiful head from a Canosan polychrome grave-vase is no 88, pl. 109c (can it not be male?), and just as fine is the Gorgon of no 89, pl. 109d, which is much later: no 88 could be 325 BC while 89 is certainly from the third century.

There are a considerable number of Etruscan vases, among which a very charming skyphos (no 95, pl. 114) by the Aurora Painter (Beazley): a girlish Aphrodite, seated comfortably on a chest, holds a dove on the back of her hand; the bird flaps it wings and stretches its neck upwards pecking at the right hand of a young, charming boy, Eros himself, who, leaning with his left foot on a rock (?), bends towards it and offers it some titbit, holding it delicately between thumb and index.

A striking item is no 98, pl. 119 (colour print on p. 15), a cup of the 'stemless delicate class' with a sketch of a female head in fine relief lines; she is shown in three-quarter view and one guesses that she is lifting a veil with her left hand (not shown); the eyes are marked by fine lashes. As the outside seems to indicate, the cup cannot be later than 350 BC and probably is earlier.

There are a considerable number of relief decorated wares. Very elaborate is the cista no 103, pls. 121-2, which is decorated with two detailed amazonomachies and a number of relief-heads of Heracles, made from a 'worn mould after the Castellani amphorae' (Orvieto, class of silvered vases); but for no apparent reason the reliefs are not described nor discussed.

At the end of the volume we find some twenty East Greek plastic vases (nos 107-130, pls. 125-132) and one Corinthian squatting komast (no 131). All are of fine quality: there are girls (one like the Hera of Cheramyes), busts (nos 109-114), a helmeted head, satyrs, a Gorgon, sirens, genitals, a booted leg and a sandaled foot, monkeys, birds, a hare and a pomegranate.

The foregoing does not do justice to the wealth of information of this volume. Its quality is high and the diversity of its contents truly delightful. We are looking forward for the second fascicule of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek's vases.

J.M. Hemelrijk

ELKE BÖHR, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland, Berlin, Antikensammlung* (ehemals Antiquarium) Band 9 (Deutschland Band 74). *Attisch Rotfigurige Hydrien, Attische Firnis-Hydrien*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2002. S., 60 Taf., 22 Textabb., 20 Beil. – ISBN 3-406-49044-1

This is the first fascicule of the *Berlin CVA* after the reunion of the collections of the Pergamum Museum and the Antikenmuseum Charlottenburg. The name Elke Böhr is, of course, a guarantee for high quality work; this time, however, her task was unusually complicated. The confusingly different types of inv. nos. found in this fascicule (see p. 7) reflect the long and eventful history of the collections. Particularly adventurous are the remains of the vases from Göring's villa, Carinhall, N. of Berlin (*Anhang*, p. 81-82, by Ursula Kästner), which was blown up after Göring's departure; further devastation and pillaging followed. In 1945-1947 and 1994-1995 the terrain of Carinhall was searched and excavated which produced a mass of fragments, see pl. 60: among them Elke Böhr recognized vases in Sotheby's 5, 7, 1928 nos 26 and 28 and photographs of these vases, still unbroken, were found in the Beazley archive (*Beilage* 20); it appeared that they stemmed from the collection Rothschild in Paris! Fig. 22, p. 85, is a delicate tracing by Beazley of one of their figures, Kephalos, of which very little is now left: see pl. 60.2. There is also a chapter on lost hydriae (pp. 86-92, *Beil*. 1419). Eduard Gerhard would be happy and proud to see that, due to these losses and disasters, after some 175 years he is not only quoted but his fine drawings are printed and used as evidence: *Beil.* 14.2, 15.2, 18.

There are interesting lists and diagrams of the relation between height and volume, weight and volume and weight and height (pp. 96-97). To get an idea of their contents: a robust household bucket of wine, some 21-22 cm high, can hold 12 litres: the tall b.f. shoulder-hydria of pl. 56.1 (H. 42 cm) contains 13 litres, while the smaller but copiously rounded kalpides of pl. 56.4-6 will hold 12 litres with a height of 33-36 cm; the big fat one of pl. 56.7 (H. 40 cm) will contain even 21.5 litres.

To study and compare the shape of these hydriae, there are fine photos of the profiles of all vases on pls. 56-59 (mostly on a scale of 1:6). On *Beilage* 1-12 we find life-size section drawings of the feet and rims of the vases, 1:1 (by M. Heilmeyer). Further, there are fine drawings of preliminary sketches (figs. 2-7, 18-19, also by M. Heilmeyer); most of these drawings, however, are not published here but are available in the archive of the Museum.

The descriptions are full of information on the slightest details and contain complete references to comparable things on other vases; the discussions are perfect and exemplary. In short, this is a very rich volume that requires close study to be fully appreciated. In this review we have to be impolitely concise: there is little to criticise and too much to praise. To rouse the interest of the reader, some minor remarks may be made. The first entry is perhaps the most interesting and striking (pls.1; 2.1-4): it is a shoulder hydria painted in a very early red figure technique, with Dionysus between two satyrs and, on the shoulder, a closed palmette with an ochre heart between eyes. Dionysus' hair, the satyrs' tails and other details are painted ochre, beards, pupils and irises are incised, as are the hairs and contours of the heads. The silhouettes of the heads are said to be reserved and then incised, but on the photos of pl. 2.2-4 I seem to see that the contours of the hair are painted with a very fine wavy line of some light colour (ochre? white?) before they were incised. This would mean that Böhr made a mistake, which I can hardly believe. Possibly, however, the photos show more than the naked eye can see, for they are exceptionally clear. The reader must judge if he can see what I see.

Less fine, but not less interesting, is the following vase by the Painter of Munich 2303: it was a pastiche composed from a black shouldered-hydria (pl. 2.5-6) and a large fragment of another such vase with the death of Priam on the shoulder and a curious picture of the abduction of Helen by Theseus in the metope on the belly: Helen, stiff from fright and straight as a wooden board, is lifted in the air, both her hands (badly painted) stretched out, we imagine, towards her family; there is no expression of fright on her face, though there is much tension and a sense of hurry in the faces and eyes of the two men. This vase shows us: the text of this *CVA* may be perfect, the vases certainly are not. Many of the paintings are technically weak: relieflines are sometimes uneven and unsteady: pls. 3; 5.3-5; 6.4; 11; 12; 13 etc. and often the drawing is incompetent and unattractive; so, for example, the (otherwise interesting) scene of Orestes under attack of the Erinyes in Delphi (pls. 18-19).

On the other hand, some facial expressions are striking, so (as pointed out by Elke Böhr) on pl. 10 where they are thick-lipped and happily surprised, which, together with the attitudes, produces the effect of a scene from a comedy (Perseus Painter). On pl. 11.4-5 the faces seem to indicate that the two figures are quarrelling but, as Böhr suggests, Hermes may be the messenger of Aphrodite, acting '*als Brautgeleiter*' (but the young woman looks startled). The authoress calls the vase 'near the Alkimachos Painter', which seems convincing, but am I to believe that the very curly ears are also like his?

A remarkable thing happened to the kalpis of pl. 12: when the metope with its frame was finished and the rest of the vase had to be painted black, a helpmate must have put the vase on the wheel and then, by mistake, covered, on the rotating wheel, the bottom frame (and the soles of the feet) with black. This, at least, is what, I believe, happened, but Böhr's only comment is: '*keine Standlinie*' (p. 32). If I am right, a trace of the original reserved base line should be visible, and so it seems to me in the pictures of pl. 12. The remarkably striking but somewhat spooky gestures of the two hands in the centre of the scene denote, Böhr explains, bargaining over the price of the lady's favours.

As I have said, the draughtsmanship of not a few of these hydriae is mediocre. The pleasant Danaids landing on the coast of the Peloponnesus (pls. 14-15, Nausicaa Painter) are lively, but some hands and feet are clumsy (pl. 14.6). Much better are the seven Muses with Apollo on pls. 16-17 (Polygnotan group). Here Hesiod's nine Muses have not yet become standard and Gerhard is praised because he took the astragal on the ground into account when explaining the curious attitude of the Muse in pl. 17.1, who bends toward it, holding another astragal (?) ready in her raised right hand (perhaps this alludes to the astragal oracle, p. 39). Yet, on this vase too there are weak details in the figure painting: e.g. the left hand of the right-hand Muse of pl. 17.1. The lotus-palmettes (mirrored and single) are complicated and require a masterful hand, but their execution is not quite perfect: the palmettes are irregular, some of the interconnecting loops are a bit shoddy. Böhr shows (p. 37) that the painter did not put the vase upside down when he started to paint the 'reflected' part of the mirrored lotus palmette chain: she points out the differences in the way these details were painted when the painter had to draw these complicated motives topsy turvy (these details are not shown in the plates). The ghost of a neighbouring vase in the kiln is described in detail but, unfortunately, invisible on the photos, as is the damage this fault has caused (p. 36).

In this way we might continue much longer, but we shall end with pointing out four vases that have some special interest or subject. Pl. 26 is a kalpis with 'Amphiaraos at home': Eriphyle suckling Alcmaeon, a peaceful scene but she is looking at two fierce cocks fighting before her feet. Pl. 23 is a weakly shaped and weakly painted vase, with a priestess with a sacrificial knife (*machaira*) at a rock altar, a very rare scene. Then there is a truly monumental hydria with Kadmos fighting the dragon, a great scene with numerous figures, exhaustively documented on pls. 34-39! The other monumental vase by the Kadmos Painter, found together with it in Vulci in 1839 but lost since the war, is here published in detail in old museum photos and in an impressive drawing from Gerhard's Apparatus: *Beilagen* 16-18.

In short, this volume is worthy of Elke Böhr, for she is an example of conscientious, discerning and learned scholarship and a student of pretty details, besides: she loves birds and tells us that the big, rather awesome one on the rim of the kalathos in the *gynaikeion* on pl. 25 is a crow, and that he is sitting there because he a monogamous animal and as such a symbol of conjugal fidelity - in the eyes of the Greeks - and, therefore, he must be regarded as very much at home in this unpretentious but pleasant scene (p. 50).

J.M. Hemelrijk

Helga Bumke, *Statuarische Gruppen in der frühen griechischen Kunst, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 32. Ergänzungsheft. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004. X+204 S., 138 Abb., 36 Taf.; 28 cm. – ISBN 3-11-018179-7.

This book, containing nearly 200 pages of text and 35 plates with about four times as many photos, does not provide much that leads to positive new insights, but it is very productive in a negative sense, i.e. in criticizing existing theories that turn out to be doubtful or erroneous. The author 's main aim throughout the book is the search for '*zeitspezifische Gestaltungunterschiede*'. Until Late Archaic times groups were '*Kombinationen unverbundener Statuen ohne erkennbare Handlungszusammenhang*' (p. 106). From the first chapter onwards the key words are, after Himmelmann-Wildschütz 's well-defined terminology, *situationsunabhängig, situationsgemäß, hieroglyphisch* and the like (see e.g. pp. 54-55). Such intentions are laudable, but the style of writing is very wordy, and sometimes it is drowned in rows of abstract theorizings. An example from the first page of the Introduction: '*Eine Betrachtung frei aufgestellter Gruppen, die gleichermaßen nach diesen zeitspezifischen Prinzipien der formalen und inhaltlichen Verbindung der Figuren und ihrer wechselseitigen Beziehung fragt, verspricht daher, in besonderem Maße über die der künstlerischen Gestaltung jeweils zugrundeliegender Seh- und Denkweisen in den einzelnen Epochen Ausschluss zu geben*.' It makes sense, but it takes a while before I found it out.

Also in other respects the length of the treatment is sometimes unexpected. Right at the beginning there is the famous small bronze group in New York of a hero fighting a centaur (pl. 1; or is it a god fighting a Titan?). The treatment of this object occupies no less than 10 pages with 50 extensive notes. Yet there is no photo nor drawing of the open-work base of the group. In the course of its treatment other things come up for discussion, but the terracotta group in Athens of pl. 3a-b (pp. 19-20) might have been relegated to a note, since it is more rightly regarded as Boeotian of about 600 or later (see n. 97). As regards the two *Löwenkampfgruppen*, better photos should have been given of the complicated bronze group in the collection Ortiz in Geneva (pl. 4a-c; pl. 4a is bad; one would like to have a frontal view of the group, a detail of the sharp-teethed muzzle of the lion etc.). The same holds for the famous group from Samos, pl. 5 (pp. 25-26; lost since 1945; would it had been, like other sculptures, taken away to Germany before the war?). Perhaps no other negatives are preserved, but a frontal view should have clarified the group. As for the object in the lion's muzzle, it might be the remains of some prey (compare pl. 4) rather than a weapon or the left hand of the hero (see n. 122). It is curious that in both bronzes the tail of the lion is connected with the base by a *Gusskanal*, a particularly unpleasant rod in the group from Samos (pl. 5c; the one in the Ortiz group, pl. 4a, is not mentioned).

An objection against the set-up of the book is that big and very tiny statues (pl. 8.a-b, less than four cm) are treated indiscriminately, as if they follow the same 'rules' and throw light on each other. Yet the small lion-hunting groups of pls. 4-5, are essentially different from the more monumental groups discussed in the rest of the book: they are three dimensional in the sense that they have to be turned around in the hand to be understood: at least four views are necessary to get a full understanding, in spite of the fact that the individual figures are to a high agree not '*situationsgemäß*' but undifferentiated *topoi* or types. Other bronzes, such as the tiny Heracles wrestling with the lion (pl. 23a-b), should not be discussed in a study of sculptural groups: it is a mere transposition in bronze of a very common scheme in vase painting (and looks like a tender embrace!).

Other deficiencies may be mentioned. Of certain figures there are no photos (p. 118, a small bronze group from Messenia, Heracles and the Hydra; p. 128, a bronze Apollo of the struggle for the tripod; the terracotta group in Berlin, p. 82 n. 462 etc.). There are hardly any reconstruction drawings and those that are given (Theseus and the Minotaur; pl. 26, p. 125 ff) are rejected, but not improved upon. The measurements of the statues should have been given in the captions of the photos, and not hidden in notes. On the other hand, one of the attractive sides of this rather surprising book is that no time nor space is devoted to what is perhaps the most favourite occupation of many of us: dating. There are very few dates to be found in the entire book.

But let us turn to more positive matters. In treating the Dreros shrine and the three *sphyrelata* Bumke displays sharp criticism (pls. 9-12, pp. 45-54 and n. 225). 'Apollo' (ca 80 cm high) consisted of ca 30 bits of bronze sheet (nothing is said about the thickness of the sheets or the presence of nails), the two females of 10-15 bits (height 40-45 cm). The original parts in the restoration of pl. 9b can be seen in pl. 10 (pp. 45-46, n. 228). Unfortunately, there are no photos of the profile and back of the male figure, though the long hair on the back is described (but see Boardman, *Archaic Greek Sculpture*, fig. 16). Both the dating and the place inside the building where they were found are uncertain. The building itself is from the end of the 8th century (n. 240). Bumke shows that the reports by Marinatos are wholly untrustworthy (pp. 47 ff, n. 235 etc.). He did not discover the *trias* himself, but (n. 238) some farmers found them, divided or broke the fragments (*katekermatisan*), put them in an iron box and then later told where they had dug them up (everyone knows how misleading such stories are). From this Marinatos reconstructed the situation: his theory must be regarded as wishful thinking, though it seems true that the remains of the statues were actually found inside the little shrine (pls. 11-12). Bumke sharply criticizes Marinatos' reconstruction of the wooden lid on top of the depot of goat horns (pp. 49-51, pl. 11), where he wants us to believe the bronzes stood.

This is a lesson to mistrust the certainty with which excavators like to present their findings. Not even the identification as the divine *trias* should be regarded as certain (pp. 51-52) nor can the 'altar' with goat horns be regarded as a *keratoon* altar (analogous to that known for Apollo in Delos, n. 276). The statues may have been votive images; and they may not have formed a group in the sense of this study, because the male might seem too tall (p. 54).

Also in the treatment of 'Kleobis and Biton' (pp. 59-69) the authoress displays much critical *akribeia*. She states, rather superfluously, that Archaic groups invariably consist in a *Zusammenstellung unverbundener Einzelstatuen* (p. 57) of similar or differentiated types (see the seated ladies from Miletus, pl. 13b). For the preservation, the correct measures (often misquoted) and the almost totally unreadable inscriptions on the plinths of the two kouroi from Delphi (pls. 13-15) see n. 308 and 309: statue 467 measures 2.16 without, and 2.35 m with plinth. For the differences, for example in the hair of the two kouroi, see p. 61. Bumke denies all current 'readings' of the inscriptions on the plinths (n. 323) except *-ymedes epoiese hargeios*. Here again, the reader finds with dismay, we have a case of wishful thinking that has tyrannized scholarly thought for a century or more. This demythologizing is very useful and instructive. Further details are discussed mostly in notes: e.g. the two men's *endromides* (doubtful?) in n. 324. It is usually forgotten that Kleobis and Biton were no twins at all (n. 325); and therefore another identification of the statues has been proposed: the Dioskouroi (n. 327, Vatin, Faure, Mertens-Horn). The plinths were probably not sunk into a common base, since there is no discolouring visible where they should have been sunk into it (p. 64 ff, also n. 353 and 362). The statues must have stood with their plinths directly on the ground or on a low pedestal. Which one stood to the right of the other cannot be made out (p. 67-68). In short, there is hardly any certainty, and very little reason to call the two figures Kleobis and Biton, since all we have are two syllables of the name of an Argive sculptor, who can have had a commission from all over Greece (though a votive monument ordered by some Argive person remains probable); '*es bleibt ungeklärt, welche Bedeutung der weitgehend übereinstimmenden Gestaltung ... beizumessen ist*'.

This section is followed by a long discussion of the phenomenon that, in Archaic times, more or less identical figures are not meant to indicate persons or gods that actually look identical (pp. 69 ff). In this context she speaks of the curious and unexplained case of a cup by the Heidelberg Painter (n. 382) on which there is a pair of 'Dionysoi' standing opposite each other, each with a drinking horn in his raised hand; such reduplications are not unknown in sculpture, since several statues of a god were sometimes placed next to each other (n. 381). In all such cases it is difficult to speak of a group, because of the inherent '*Bezuglosigkeit freiplastischer Gruppenstatuen*' (p. 71); in this context she refers to the seated female figures found near Miletus and analogous pairs of small bronzes (p. 74); further she speaks of pairs of mirrored statues: dogs, lions (those of Didyma), sphinxes (also those on the wall of the temenos at the holy street from Miletus to Didyma, pl. 16a-d); and the Rampin horseman and his counterpart (pp. 75-80).

Via the well-known small bronze group of a man in himation between two slightly taller kouroi, once in Samos (pl. 16e-f; but lost since the war and, again: they might have been saved if, like Ornithe (pl. 18a-b), they had been smuggled out of the country before German soldiers played havoc with the magazine), she starts on the Geneleos group (pls. 17-18; pp. 82 - 90). Here too the authoress displays her acute critical sense. She rejects all dogged attempts to explain the group as if the family is represented in a definite situation or occupation, for example that the girls are dancing in a chorus (Steuben, n. 493) or that the family is portrayed as active in the service of the gods; as if we have to do with a '*szenische Darstellung*' (p. 86). This is an error that is deeply engrained in the modern eye and so in the mind of many scholars. We have here '*kontextunabhängige veranschaulichte Topoi der archaischen Gestaltung*' (p. 87). The essence of these statues is that they are, if I may say so, meant to be transcendental or elevated above time and situation, representing as it were Plato's ideas long before their time. Incidentally, she believes that the *pater familias ..ilarches* is holding a drinking cup, not a bird as he does in the reconstruction by Kienast, pl. 17a.

More or less the same treatment is devoted to the statues dedicated by Cheramyes (pp. 90-95, pl. 19; original height 2.20 m, p. 90, n. 519). It is to be regretted, however, that there are no photos of the back of these lovely korai and their 40 - 50 cm smaller sister, the rabbit-girl in Berlin (pl. 19c), nor any picture of the fragments of the tall kouros (H. 2.40-2.50 m) that must have belonged to the same *ensemble* (p. 92, n. 526), nor of the blocks that were probably re-used when the group was erected for the second time (n. 523). Though the statues may well have belonged together, Bumke should perhaps have laid more stress on the lack of Schwung or elegance in the folds of the *himation* of the rabbit-girl (pl. 19c) in comparison to the fine rise and fall of the diagonal 'modelling' folds on her two taller sisters. I wonder whether this difference in quality does not speak against the assumption that all four (or five, n. 540: Kyrieleis assumes that there was a second rabbit-girl) belonged to the same group. But the repetition of the inscriptions (n. 524) seems to indicate that they did, and the difference in size does not contradict this (n. 537).

The following section treats of the 11 or 12 seated statues of different size, male and female, that stood on a curved pedestal in the sanctuary on the road from Miletus to Didyma (pp. 95-100; pl. 20, n. 543). Next, there is a short discussion of the Branchidai from Miletus (pp. 100-101).

This chapter is concluded with a summary that repeats that these groups consist in elements that are '*kontextunabhängig gestaltet*' and '*Einzelstatue*'.

Chapter III deals with the Late Archaic and Early Classical period, p. 108 ff. There is a discussion of a famous torso on the Acropolis belonging to a Theseus-Procrustes group (pp. 109-113, pls. 20, 21); of a more hypothetical but fine group of Athena fighting a Giant (pl. 22, pp. 113-118) and of a similar group from Laurion (pl. 23e; more photos and a reconstruction drawing might have been given; it looks like an original but the male leg seems too large; see n. 670). There are two versions of a group of Theseus and the Minotaur (pls. 24-26, p. 122-129) and so we come to the most famous group of all: the Tyrannicides, pp. 131-145, pl. 27. This forms a lengthy discussion but does not bring new insight; however, Bumke strongly criticizes the anachronistic wish of some modern scholars to see in the group a kind of photographic representation of the actual historical event (as described, much later, by Thucydides and others); this, of course, it is not, for in all respects the group deviates from what must have happened (they are nude and carry swords etc.). Again this piece of art is clearly elevated to a higher plane than that of ordinary reality, as most Greek sculpture is. This discussion is full of useful references to literature but again seems overlong to me.

Nearly the last and in some respects the most important group discussed in this book is that of Marsyas and Athena (pp. 145-154, here discussed with three replicas of Athena, including the new one from the collection Lancellotti; pls. 28-32). The discussion and description are very detailed. We usually forget that in the preserved literary tradition Athena and Marsyas never met (but see n. 849); the scene is, therefore, what I would call a conflation of different events in a mythological story such as are found frequently in Greek art (the most eloquent example being: Priam killed with the body of his grandson used as a club). New is, however, that now the impression is raised of a momentary incident, that of a split second, which seems to be typical of the sculptor's style and artistic interest. Bumke adopts the discovery of R. Wünsche (p. 149) that Athena must have held her lance in a slanting position, pointing it menacingly at Marsyas, who was approaching the flutes on the floor, stealthily and on tip toe, but is now suddenly recoiling - though clearly not definitely deterred from picking them up. Bumke's discussion is very interesting but does perhaps not lead to a definitive conclusion: it may be objected that no threatening lance appears in the small pictures on coins and vases and that Pausanias speaks of Athena as *paiousa* (hitting) Marsyas.

The last part of the book contains long discussions of three monuments known from Pausanias and from some blocks of their foundations. First that of the Orneatai in Delphi (pp. 161-166, pl. 34a, Paus. 10.18.5), the inhabitants of Orneai (Argos), who had promised a daily procession with sacrifices in Delphi, if they would beat Sicyon; when they succeeded, they could not fulfil their promise and so offered a bronze group representing their promise, a procession with sacrificial animals and all. Preserved are two blocks with traces of the attachments of bronze feet and hooves and clearly representing a Late Archaic procession: '*eine Aufreihung unverbundener archaischer Statuentypen*'.

Secondly there was the famous monument of the Achaeans by Onatas in Olympia, of the pedestal of which a few blocks are preserved (pp. 166-171, pls. 34b and 35). It represented the ballot among the Greek heroes for the duel with Hector (*Iliad* 7.160-190): there were ten bronze statues, nine on a curved pedestal (80-90 cm high), while Nestor was standing on a round base opposite its centre at a distance of some 7 m (Pausanias 5.25.8-11). These two groups are discussed with great precision, but hardly any new light is thrown on the problems.

This is different with the extensive discussion of the curious *anathema* of Apollonia (on the coast of Illyria, pp. 171-185). It stood in Olympia in the not yet located Hippodameion (Paus. 5.22.2), but part of the inscription is miraculously preserved (pl. 36 a-b, p. 176). The group's centre was Zeus performing the *psychostasis* of Achilles and Memnon in the presence of their mothers, while the two heroes themselves were placed opposite, but far from, each other at the very ends of the pedestal (pl. 34c); they stood, as Pausanias says, in an attitude of opponents (*schema antitetagmenoon*). Eight other heroes, Greeks and Trojans, also in a scheme of opponents, filled the rest of the curved pedestal. Eckstein has done much work on this group and the remaining stones (pp. 174 ff, pl. 36c). He reconstructs a '*dreistufige Halbkreisbasis*' with a length of about 13 m. This reconstruction is described with care, but sharply criticized and disproved by Bumke (pp. 177-178): '*Insgesammt is festzustellen, dass Eckstein's Identifizierung der Basisblöcke und des Basisfundamentes als Reste des Apolloniatenanathems nicht zutreffen kann*'. Once more, Bumke shows her strength: she turns against the fashionable anachronistic approach that wants to see in this monument (and, in fact, in all pieces of Greek art) the representation of a definite moment; it has even been said that the heroes of the monument of Apollonia are 'full of expectation to see how the *psychostasis* in the centre will turn out' (Eckstein, n. 1018): as if they are present and witness Zeus'actions, as if the gods are actually there, but - much more fundamental - as if the Greek *sense and understanding of time (and space)* is like that of ourselves: one of the fundamental mistakes in modern archaeology is - in the firm opinion of the present reviewer - that one does not realize that in the early periods the Greeks had no concept like our *Augenblick*, 'moment', 'split second' etc. and that, down to about the middle of the 5th century, *one should never speak of the choice of the right moment* in a story: the Greek artists thought in *terms of whole actions* and not of *Wahl des Augenblicks*. These, however, are not Bumke's words, and I disagree with her when she says (p. 182) that in the art of the 5th century there is a tendency '*bei den Darstellungen von Handlungen die Einheit von Raum und Zeit zu beachten*'. At any rate, this particular monument proves that this is not true here: she points out that Achilles and Memnon were at least 11 m apart, and that the other heroes were added quite independently from the central theme but '*dass sie einer Phalanx vergleichbar seitlich hintereinander gestaffelt auf der Halbkreisbasis gestanden haben müssen*' (p. 182). In these more or less opposing lines of battle (pl. 34c) the separate pairs of heroes symbolized, it seems to me, the entire Trojan war and together portrayed the two great armies that opposed each other during the ten long years: in short this was a synoptic view of the whole Trojan war. Again, this is not a statement of Bumke's, though her words lead to these thoughts. And the *psychostasis* in the centre is, of course, central: all warriors were - the sculptor(s) wanted to say - ultimately dependent on the Moirai and Zeus' judgement, just as Achilles and Memnon (again we have a synoptical conflation of events). Apollonia´s victory in the war is thus glorified; the votive inscription (p. 172) '*verkündete stolz, dass der Sieg über das feindliche Thronion im Einvernehmen mit den Göttern errungen war*' (p. 183). I am not sure that I agree when Bumke says (p. 181): this is a '*zeitspezifische Darstellungsinteresse....; ein Tendenz zur Veranschaulichung von inneren Zuständen, Stimmungen und Konflikten menschlicher Gestalten*' (she is, of course, thinking of the East pediment of the Zeus temple). So far for the visualization of this great ensemble.

The reader may ask whether there are no other archaeological remains or literary reports that might be discussed in this connection. Of course, there are; e.g. the remains of a group of terracotta fighters in Olympia (n. 610) and others. Important, however, is the problem discussed in note 1028; here Bumke does again turn against an identification that is generally regarded as relatively safe: Buschor's discovery of a curved pedestal (in square O-8 of the Heraion of Samos), which seemed to him to be the base of Myron's colossal group of Zeus, Athena and Heracles (probably representing Heracles' apotheosis). The monument was erected when Samos had been conquered by Athens in 440-439. Strabo (14.1.14) tells us that Antony took the statues away, but Augustus sent two of them back (keeping Zeus for his Capitol). The pedestal was probably shortened since now it bore only two statues. With precision and detailed arguments Bumke demonstrates that Buschor had '*keinen einzigen sicheren Anhaltspunkt*' for his identification! Here we have another disappointment, for we would like to see in our mind's eye how Myron's three exquisite giants towered against the sky in Hera's great sanctuary.

This must suffice. The above has shown, I hope, that this book deserves close study. It is a book that is difficult to appreciate in all respects but it is a rich source of information and full of very useful and healthy criticisms.

J.M. Hemelrijk

RAFAELLA BONAUDO, *La culla di Hermes. Iconografia e immaginario delle hydriai ceretane*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004. 329 pp., 149 text figures, extensive list of literature and abbreviations, index of names and subjects; index of ancient texts). – ISBN 88-8265-264-5.

This study of the iconography of the Caeretan Hydriae is based on two assumptions: first, that the representations have much more to tell and much more coherence than meets the eye (and that this is to be discovered by the methods of modern iconology); and secondly, that they were made according to the wishes of the aristocratic clientele of Caere. One of its main objects is, therefore, to assess the role played by these Etruscan customers (p. 34), an object that keeps the reader in expectation all through the book without a definite result.

Curiously enough, the luxurious floral decoration of the hydriae is not discussed at all and apparently regarded as a mere visual p1easure, though this ornamentation is the most elaborate of all Greek vases and clearly asks for special attention.

The first chapter (pp. 13-32) deals with the contexts and tomb groups (hardly anything is known of them, see my *Caeretan Hydriae*, hereafter *CH*, 158-60) and the earlier history of the study of the hydriae (see for this also *CH*, 195-200). Then follows a methodological introduction (pp. 32-35), written in a language that does not read as easily as one might wish. As Colonna points out in the *Premessa* (p. 8), the author strives after a profound and holistic understanding of the rich imagery of the hydriae by the use of the sharpest (or most aggressive) methods of iconography: '*una lettura approfondita e integrale del ricco imaginario presente sulle idrie, utilizzando gli strumenti offerti dalle più agguerrite metodologie della ricerca iconografica e iconologica*'. We may expect, therefore, a kind of 'close reading' in the study of scenes.

She herself says (p. 32) that she will try to show how the hydriae present a coherent world of imagination ('*questo lavoro proverà a dimostrare come le hydriai ceretane presentino un universo immaginario coerente*'). In other words B constantly looks for hidden meanings in the pictures, for disguised or obscure relations between the scenes on a vase and for Etruscan influence behind them. She tells us (p. 3) that the basic idea of the study is that the construction of the scenes is like the composition of a written text ('*corrisponde ad una operazione culturale, assimilabile alla redazione di una testo scritto*'). We have to proceed along the double 'perspective' of the linguistic distinction between word and language, which means that minute attention must be paid to significant details, so as to grasp the overall, underlying, meaning. We have to use the linguistic method of distinguishing the level of the language under that of the separate words: '*individuare il livello della lingua sotteso alla serie delle parole*'. In other words, through the individual signs the deeper meaning underneath is to be made visible. These 'signs' may be all kind of details, also, for example, the gestures of the figures (p. 34; which, to my mind. are overburdened with meanings they do not convey; see below).

The same language with a high level of abstraction is found in the last chapter which serves as a kind of summary (pp. 237-249). It is called: 'The rules of the game: programs and figured imagery' (or: figured scenes). Unfortunately there is no summary in English, German or French which might have made the book more accessible. In this last chapter she divides the iconography of the hydriae into four categories: 'the youthful universe', 'Heracles', 'the youthful gods' and 'the roles of women'. The question what these themes are supposed to mean to the Etruscan elite is not made clear and not even broached. In fact the four categories as applied to the hydriae remain highly theoretical and doubtdul; to my mind they are unwarranted.

B says that, by the way she places the hydriae in the special cultural context of the Caeretan 'consumers', their repertory gets a greater and more coherent 'legibility' (p. 239). These words may seem very interesting but the arguments for them are, I am afraid, often fanciful, full of over-interpretations and even mistakes - as we shall see below.

Some scholars tend to regard Caere as a Greek city or nearly so. So does B: since the Etruscans of Caere were, she says, almost wholly Greek, the Caeretan hydriae may, she believes, be regarded as an Etruscan class of pottery (p. 239). This is very misleading and simply untrue, for the hydriae are totally un-etruscan in style and also in respect of almost all details of their repertory; they are as un-Etruscan as they are un-Attic; they are genuinely 'East Greek' (see *CH* 172-188). Thus, the precise results of B's research remain difficult to grasp, but she does fortunately provide a full catalogue with (smallish) pictures of the obverse and reverse of all hydriae (that is to say, minus the three that, surprisingly, escaped her attention; see p. 280). There is a very good index, and misprints are not many.

We now turn to the main body of the book, Chapter 2 (pp. 37-229). It contains sections on animals (p. 37 ff), gods (p. 57 ff), heroes and mythical fights (p. 97 ff), and humans (pp. 199-229). We shall look at a number of theories that are developed in these pages and resumed in the final chapter.

The main subjects of the hydriae are said to be 'cultural': they treat great civilizing themes, e.g., the sacrifice. Thus we are asked to believe (p. 239) that the 'institution of the sacrifice' is symbolised, or represented, on the funny Hermes-hydria in the Louvre (cat. 3, figs. 23 ff). This assumption is unfounded, for there is no hint of a sacrifice whatsoever, though there is a peaceful herd of cattle in a grotto (for more about this vase, see be1ow). The 'abolition of human sacrifice' is recognized on the Busiris hydria (cat. 34, figs. 54. 65, 67), a far-fetched and humourless explanation of a great myth. And the 'normalisation of the sacrifice' is to be seen in the cow-sacrifice of cat. 15 in Copenhagen, which is an ordinary scene such as there are many, and no further significance should be attached to it.

This kind of forcing the interpretation is also applied to the symbols of the following 'cultural theme', the 'introduction of the wine culture'. This introduction is believed to be seen on cat. 9 (figs. 49 ff, pp. 91 ff, 239), which, however, is nothing more than a festive chorus of satyrs, picking and treading grapes, and incidentally catching a fine maenad; of course, the scene is supervised by the god himself. It is a very common theme indeed.

The 'risk of drinking wine' is recognized on no 20, Rome Polyphemus I (where indeed he is drinking, 'though' he is being blinded, fig. 94) and on Polyphemus II (I give the names I use in *CH:* city of collection and subject: e.g., London Battle, cat. 1; Vienna Hephaestus, cat. 4, etc.), which is my no 19 *minus* (unknown to B.), where he is drinking happily (not blinded), 'though' the Greeks are already escaping under enormous sheep (there is no 'choice of the right moment' as German scholars usually suppose: the story is told 'synoptically': different and distinct elements combined in one picture). The same danger of drinking is discovered in the scene of Pholos' centaurs attacking Heracles on cat. 25 (figs. 88 ff; there are two more centaur-scenes, but on no 27 there is neither wine nor Heracles, and on no 7 the Greeks are in hoplite gear!). And finally, there are the two sword-dancing youths around a smallish dinos on the reverse of no 25 (fig. 146), in which B recognizes the 'integration of wine in the framework of the dance' (p. 239; I do not understand the wording of this view). It is true that the scene is puzzling (see *CH* 120, n. 195 ff; 183, n. 856 ff). On p. 245 she compares it to the dancing boys on the shield of Achilles which seems far-fetched (incidentally, we should correct note 36 where we should read *Il*. xviii 494, 594-8).

Further B speaks of a chain of metaphorical associations between humans and animals (p. 240). This means that she believes that the hare running along on 'Crete' of cat. 10 (fig. 99, p. 172) is a love symbol in connection with the abduction of Europa (p. 178). However, it is no more than a lively detail to enhance the somewhat primitive Cretan 'forest'. The hare in the wood above the cave in which Apollo's cattle is hidden (cat. 3, figs. 23, 27, 103) '*assume i connotati della mètis*' in connection with Hermes' '*dolos*', for there is much emphasis on the representation of *mètis* and *dolos* in this book (e.g. p. 178), though we are not clearly told why (apparently they play a part in the education of aristocratic youth, but how?). However, this particular hare is no love symbol; it is exactly like the one on the island Crete of cat. 3 and definitely without a deeper meaning. Dionysus' panther 'with its sweet smell' on nos 5 and 14 (p. 73 and fig. 37; depicting the return of Hephaestus) is there 'to increase the seductive power of the wine god' (p. 240), but the animal is Dionysus' special pet, as indispensable to him as his beard!

These are only one or two examples of fanciful interpretations, but I must confess that I am amazed that scholars can believe in such symbolical explanations, of which there are countless more on pp. 240-252. I may be excused to mention only some more, before we turn to a number of special cases.

Horses are a fine subject for a vase painter: wealthy people have liked them from 2000 BC onwards and their images are highly popular. Both painters of the hydriae were very good at portraying prancing horses and depicted them with pleasure on the reverse of the vases, at either side of the handle palmette (figs. 5-7), where - they could be certain - they would please their customers, Etruscan or Greek. But what says B.? The prancing horses on the hydria with the rape of Europa (cat. 13, fig. 5) 'focus on the "*topos*" of the prudery of the girl and the forceful power of Eros' and for this she reminds us of the similes of skittish foals in Greek lyrics (pp. 240-24l and 39); clearly she does not realize that the horses of figs. 5-6 are big stallions! The horse is also associated with the thiasos of Hephaestus' return to Olympus (cat. 14, fig. 6), depicted on the reverse '*a celebrare la natura sfrenata del komos*', though one might object that the horse is dear to human kind because, in spite of its great power, it is domesticated and not even stallions are supposed to be '*sfrenati*'. In a similar vein it is suggested that these horses are dancing by the sound of a flute, as those of the Sybarites, according to late sources, are believed to have done, both in symposia and on the battle field (p. 40)! Further, the fine eagles catching hares (cat. 4, 7, 12, 26) 'bear the same metaphorical erotic meaning' as in lyrics to evoke the beauty and inconstancy of youngsters in love (p. 24l). All this seems surprisingly fanciful to me.

In this context of '*paideia*' we find the Greek words '*apatè*' and '*dolos*' repeatedly cropping up as educational schemes belonging to the growing up of boys (p. 244). Hunting scenes and the battles farmers wage, together with their sons, with felines over their bulls or mules (cat. 8, 15, 18, 19 etc.) are a favourite subject of our painters: they are, I believe, not metaphorical as referring to the education of youths (pp. 243 ff); they are inspired by the similes in epic poetry and by the fact that they have a dramatically elevating, heroic character for all human beings, Greeks and Etruscans: not only for *ephebes*.

But B devotes much attention to such supposed metaphorical meanings (pp. 241 ff; in note 14 ff she forgets cat. 29). In discussing hunting she deals extensively with the length of the hair of the hunters; they denote different age-classes, says B (figs. 111-112, p. 192-193, 244), but there seems to be no fast rule (*CH* 133-137). The tendency to see hunting as part of the education is common (see B's notes on pp. 241 ff) and perhaps it is well-founded for certain cases, but the repertory of the hydriae does not permit, I think, such narrow, burdensome interpretations. The same holds for the association of the *esercizio/pratica equestre* with *paideia* (p. 244) and the myths of Heracles (p. 246), who is, of course, the model of aristocratic youths during the course of their initiating period ('*il loro percorso iniziatico*'; she also speaks of the '*riti di passaggi*'), but Heracles is in the first place the model of courage and heroism for áll ancient human kind and not only for boys; his myths have no special connection with education alone.

The above may have given an inkling of what B has tried to attain with her iconological study of the repertory. There is very much more of this, but I will leave the rest to the judgement of the reader. I may now turn to a number of cases in which her suggestions must be firmly contradicted.

Cat.1, pp. 230 ff, fig. 142 (London Battle). Two battle lines of two hoplites are charging each other with great leaps, their front legs kicked high up. To a modern eye it may seem a rather ballet-like scene, but in late-Archaic times Greeks used to portray fast runners in this way and runners on Archaic Panathenaic amphorae of the time are always depicted so: the hoplites are certainly not rushing forward in an armed dance, as B proposes. She compares the dancers on the shoulder of cat. 12, fig. 145, which, on the contrary, are simply hopping about; they provide clear proof that the hoplites are nót dancing but clashing at high speed in battle. An actual sword dance (*CH* 120, 183, n. 856 ff) is found on cat. 25, fig. 146, p. 233-5. B compares *Il*. 18. 594-598, where, on the shield of Achilles, there is a chorus of dancing youths with daggers hanging on baldrics (*not drawn* and held ready as on the hydria). Curiously enough, B suggests that the drawing of the swords could perhaps hint at the necessity to acquire the mental power to overcome uninjured the dangers of an amorous meeting and escape the risk of seduction (this is so strange a suggestion that I add the Italian text: '*per superare indenni l'incontro amoroso e sfuggire alle insidie della seduzione*'). A lone, kneeling youth drawing his sword from its scabbard (but looking ahead, not round) is seen on cat. 31; though he is nearly exactly the same as the foregoing youths, he does not look like a sword dancer at all (fig. 147, p. 236). He is combined with a stiff siren (the only one on the hydriae; *CH* 120, n. 198; 122); he must remain unexplained, but B associates the two with the Ocean and the dancers carrying daggers on the shield of Achilles, mentioned above.

There are more misinterpretations, the most serious one in connection with cat. 3, the vase that suggested the title of her book: *La Culla*, i.e. the cradle of Hermes (pp. 58-66: figs. 23-24, 27-28: see *CH* 12; we have mentioned the vase above in connection with her belief that the hydriae treat the institution of the sacrifice). B.'s main error is her identification of the tall figure in a long gown and with a cloak drawn over the head whom she makes into Maia; she attaches great importance to 'her' central place in the scene, 'her' role as a protagonist and her gestures. However, the figure undoubtedly represents Apollo (as argued in *CH* 12. B seems not to have noticed that her interpretation differs from the accepted one. The scene looks very 'dirty': the painter dropped a big blob of 'paint' over the scene and then proceeded to scrape the smear away; in modern times the vase was badly repainted); he is mourning for the loss of his cattle and therefore has pulled the cloak over his head, as if mourning the death of his dear ones; he gestures angrily with arms and hands, accusing the endearing baby-scoundrel Hermes of the theft; while the long haired and less imposing person opposite him (the only woman in the scene) is Maia and the rather pathetic grey-beard next to her (*CH* pl 30b) must be her husband whom she cheated with Zeus (or perhaps more probably Hermes' grandfather Atlas; he looks surprisingly like Polonius, too much so for a parody of the king-royal of all gods, Zeus).

It seems to me that B does not sufficiently appreciate the playful originality and wit of the painters, that she can make so fundamental a mistake. But she is probably misled by the long garments of the figure and the shawl or 'veil', drawn over his head (which is, of course, very unusual and clearly meant to indicate Apollo's sorrow for his great loss) - though a long garment is also found on another young god: Hermes on cat. 2l, fig. 97. Even the '*culla di Hermes*', which provides the name of the book, is not rightly described (fig. 24 and p. 60); it is not a *liknon* (= winnowing fan or -basket) as depicted in other scenes (e.g., fig. 25). She speaks of: '*la culla vera e propria, con una base solo leggermente arcuata*', but it is in fact no '*culla*' at all, but a baby-mattress (put on top of the trolly, serving as a baby-bed and not as a cradle); the mattress is slightly concave because both ends rest on the main supports that project at either end, like those of an ordinary *klinè* (see *CH* 183 with note 865).

A mistake that is repeated over and over again by many scholars, is also made by B It regards the screaming lady who races towards Artemis and Apollo on cat.

12, figs. 40 and 43; she cannot be Gè, the mother of the gigantic and monstruous Tityos who, riddled by arrows, is fleeing to left; clearly, the screaming lady does not try to protect him with her body, no, she flees fróm him, terrified and screaming. So much seems clear anyway, but it also appears from the fact that the gesture of her arms is like that of Deianira who flees towards Heracles on cat. 16, 17, 20, figs. 82 and 85 (though it is true that Deianira is not screaming). B argues her identification by comparing her with the furious she-wolf (or whatever animal is depicted, for the tail is not that of a lioness), who fights ferociously for her diminutive whelps (fig. 125): compared with this mammal, the emotions of the lady of no. 12 (Leto) are clearly different: she is screaming from fear, and wildly fleeing, not fighting in defence of her offspring.

One more remark may be made. Students of the hydriae should be aware that the hunter (a soldier with shield and sword) on the reverse of 'Copenhagen Sacrifice', cat. 15, fig. 127, is a young man and cannot be Atalanta; this mistake is due to the fact that he is white, but white males are very common on the hydriae (even Heracles may be white; as on cat. 21, figs. 55 and 61). B gives the right description on p. 211, but on p. 31 she writes: '*il combattimento isolato di un'Atalante (?)*'.

Bonaudo exhibits great knowledge of ancient literary sources and (what is perhaps rather less common among classical archaeologists nowadays) she proves to have a good command of ancient Greek. So far as I have been able to understand the book, I cannot agree with her way of thinking: she strives after a (rather abstract) deeper significance in the iconology of the scenes on the Caeretan hydriae, which seems generally far-fetched to me, and she believes that this iconography was inspired (or even dictated) by the Caeretan clientele, but she has not explained how. In short, in the course of the last fifty years, an ominous feeling has taken possession of me whispering: 'to understand Greek vase paintings one should not be too learned.'

Rafaella Bonaudo has unfortunately not taken note of three additions to the catalogue of the hydriae from 1984: two very important hydriae in the United States published in 2000 (*CH II* see below) and an important publication by Hamdorf (1992). To fill this gap I list the following literature:

CH = J.M. Hemelrijk, *The Caeretan Hydriae*, Mainz am Rhein, 1984.

CH II = J.M. Hemelrijk, Three Caeretan Hydriae in Malibu and New York in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Volume 6, Malibu, 2000, pp. 87-158. This article contains:

'New York Mule', to be inserted as 31^{bis} in the cat. of *CH* 4 (= collection Shelby White and Leon Levy no 742; figs 4a-h: and 10a-f):

'Malibu Hydra' (J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.346; figs.18a-y); this is cat. no 23 in *CH* 4, (there called 'London Hydra').

'Polyphemus II' (collection Shelby White and Leon Levy no 688; figs. 19a-1, 21a-b, 23a-d, 25a-d). This will be *CH* cat. no 19 *minus*: *CH* 34, and table A on p. 4 (this strange number is necessary because the vase belongs to series 3, but the neck to the, more primitive, series 2).

F.W. Hamdorf, *MüJb*, 43 (1992), 194-195, publishes a new fragmentary hydria very like my no 10 ('Louvre Atalanta') to which also cat. 24 ('Louvre Lion') and 37 ('Louvre Hoplites Hunting') belong. It must therefore replace no 24 in my catalogue *CH* 4, and should be named 'Munich Atalanta' or 'Atalanta II'. Cat. 36, 'Munich Wrestlers'. which Hamdorf tentatively includes in this new hydria as balancing the Nemean Lion on the other side of the vertical palmette on the reverse of his hydria, does, I believe, not belong, but I am not sure. The alleged provenance 'Egypt' of no 37, always suspected, is now definitively refuted (correct Bonaudo, pp. 19-20).

There is the 'new' hydria, now in Cerveteri, published by M.A.Rizzo, *BdA* 56-57 (1989) 1-7. This hydria is no 40 in B.'s catalogue, but should be inserted in *CH* as cat. 2 *bis* (it is very like Cat. 2.)

See for further 'new' fragments, not mentioned by Bonaudo (not important for her investigation): *CH* II n. 5.

J.M. Hemelrijk

I. Edlund-Berry, G. Greco, J. Kenfield (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles* III: *Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations* (Proceedings of the International Conference held at the American Academy in Rome, November 7-8, 2002). Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006. 544 pp., figs., 16 col. plates; 28 cm. – ISBN 1-84217-208-5.

The proceedings of the latest conference on Etrusco-Italic architectural terracottas comprise 44 contributions, arranged according to region: Etruria, Umbria/Abruzzo, central Italy (Faliscan territory, Rome, Latium), Campania/Magna Graecia, and Sicily. These are preceded by a small number of more general approaches, under the heading 'New research on architectural terracottas'.

The tradition of these architectural terracotta conferences started in 1993, when American Academy in Rome librarian Nancy Winter and the Acquarossa excavators from Sweden Charlotte and Ørjan Wikander and Eva Rystedt decided that this emerging field deserved co-ordinated specialist attention. The increase of excavations and the growing concern about unpublished museum holdings, both in Italy and abroad, began to make rapidly obsolete the few comprehensive works in this field, such as Arvid Andrén's monumental *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (1939-1940). Since full study of architectural terracotta material even of a single site may take up to half a life-time, eloquently illustrated by the very Wikanders' contribution in this volume, a platform was needed both for preliminary publication, experimentation of publication format, and scholarly discussion. The resulting *Deliciae Fictiles* series meets this demand. This volume is meant specifically for the specialist, but is still accessible to others since all contributions are carefully summarised in the lengthy editorial introduction, and, what is more, put in a coherent perspective there. By the combination of the presentation of newly discovered material with thought-provoking, more synthetical contributions that often reflect on the former category, together with rich footnotes and a carefully made bibliography of over 1,500 entries, these conference papers may almost be considered a handbook.

Under the first category, of new finds, falls the noticeable presentation of the recent Veio Piazza d'Armi excavations by G. Bartoloni and her team. The well-known, late 7th-century *oikos* remains can finally be connected to a coherent set of terracotta revetments. The same goes for the results of the renewed Vigna Parrocchiale research at Cerveteri. The quick but somewhat haphazard first publications of the roofing materials by M. Cristofani (*Caere* 3 and *Caere* 4, from 1993 and 2003, respectively) are now greatly enriched by A. Maggiani's and V. Bellelli's careful studies in this volume. The important Campanian tradition in tiled roofs is brought out by no less than a dozen contributions, no doubt inspired by Carlo Rescigno's seminal dissertation on this subject (*Tetti Campani*, Rome 1998) and his subsequent work at Naples Federico II University. The latter institution's research programme in the field at Cumae, Pithecussae and S. Maria di Capua Vetere, complemented by several sadly needed *scavi nel magazzino*, is truly promising. Sorely lacking, therefore, are contributions on Rome and its supposedly prominent role in the development of decorated roofs. One study only addresses this area, the opening contribution to this volume by C. Carlucci. Hers is the construction of a chronological framework for the many Roman, Faliscan, and Latial antefixes decorated with human heads or full-figures from the late 6th to the mid-5th centuries BC. Regrettably, here a somewhat outdated, hybrid typo-stylistic method is used, developed by the Danish scholar P.J. Riis between 1941 and 1981 (*Tyrrhenika and Etruscan Types of Heads*), which for all its visual acumen largely ignores the fact that antefixes are first and foremost to be considered as parts of roofs. This results in two tables (pp. 3-4) of isolated types which are ordered and dated slightly differently though belonging to the same roof system (F and G IX, '485 a.C.' with 3. IX and 4. IX '485-470 a.C.', all four from Satricum). The one stylistically secured date for this roof of 500-490 BC, well argued by P.S. Lulof (*The Ridge-Pole Statues from the late Archaic Temple at Satricum*, Amsterdam 1996), is thereby neglected.

Logically, this leads to one of several criticisms, not perhaps of this particular volume but of this field of studies in a more general sense. There is still a major uncertainty about dating. The long delay in thoroughly publishing stratigraphical excavations other than in preliminary reports or exhibition catalogues makes it increasingly difficult to connect the more spectacular finds, often quick to find their way to the scholarly world, with dated contexts. In fact, the present volume contains only a single such contextual study, but a brilliant one at that: by L. Cicala on the acropolis excavations at Velia/Elea. There, it is the contextual evidence that dates the building fragments between 540/530 and the late first quarter of the 5th century BC. Elsewhere, scholars rely on much less convincing dating methods.

Another problem inherent in this field is that of regional traditions. On the one hand, this is no less than an achievement: no longer are all peripheral cultural phenomena measured in terms of Greek (Attic) v. non-Greek. This sensibility for localised workshops, techniques, and formats has its drawbacks, though. The organisation of this volume in five major areas of present-day Italy makes it altogether clear that there is still very little common ground between them, despite the brave attempts, especially by Rescigno and G. Greco, to investigate interregional cultural dynamics.

In the second category of types of contributions to this volume, of a more synthetical nature or else on method or on interpretation, several deserve mentioning. M. Strandberg Olofsson's approach on the *vexata quaestio* of the meaning of the Acquarossa relief friezes leads to the notion of 'emblematic images'. Halfway between myth and symbol, the image of Heracles in these repetitive scenes is understood as underlining the character of the processions rather than representing a mythological narrative or celebrating an identifiable person in a triumph of sorts. Travelling workshops is another such question. Three authors home in on it: G. Iaculli with regard to Chieti, P. Lulof on the Campanian roof from Satricum, and L. Cicala on Campanian pieces from Elea/Velia. Independently, they come to the same, astonishing conclusion: entire roofs could be moved, in one case apparently so by sea.

The future of these studies is uncertain. The field, it seems, might do well by concentrating on themes, such as dating (what are the fixed points?), terminology (*tegola di gronda, di sponda* or *di riva?*), interregional transmissions (but also the intraregional interactions between main centres and hinterland, well attested in the contributions on Sicily and around Campania in this volume), archaeometry (there still is no standard), and clearing up the large body of *membra disiecta* in museums in both Italy and abroad.

The proceedings have been edited in an exemplary fashion - though perhaps an index would have been welcome - and with hardly any mistakes, omissions, or printing errors. Especially commendatory is the choice to preserve the individuality of each paper in terms of both language and format, well reflecting the variety and colourfulness of this particular field.

Riemer R. Knoop

DONATELLA MAZZOLENI, UMBERTO PAPPALARDO, *Pompejanische Wandmalerei. Architektur und illusionistische Dekoration*. Aufnahmen von Luciano Romano. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2005. 415 pp., numerous ills.; 33.5 cm. – ISBN 3-7774-2445-5.

This lavish coffee table book is astonishing for its wonderful illustrations: no visitor will ever see Pompeii and the other ancient remains destroyed by Vesuvius in such a splendor. It is first of all the photographer who has to be complimented with this achievement. At the same moment the question rises, what the function of this thick book is, originally edited in Italian and now published next to another Pompeii book (edited by F. Coarelli) in the prestigious house of Hirmer at Munich. The names of the editors promise quite a lot: they are well-known for their scientific work, and as to the cities around Vesuvius, especially Pappalardo, who has worked in the Superintendency before moving to the academic world. There are two distinct parts: two essays by the editors in the first section and a set of short presentations of houses (and some other buildings) in the second, these anonymously presented. A bibliography completes the whole text. The authors give no statement about the goal of the work at the beginning and do neither explain the choice of monuments discussed. There are also monuments in Rome (Villa della Farnesina, Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, Golden House). One thing is clear: the era discussed matches that of the flourishing house culture in the Vesuvian area, viz. 2nd century BC-AD 79.

Mazzoleni, an architectural historian, starts with what looks like an introduction into the architecture and meaning of the Pompeian house, but soon turns to the paintings in the houses, defined as the skin that covers the structures of the buildings, enforces them and introduces the visitor to a hidden world. For her, paintings are mysteries and far-away fairytale realms, full of gods and unknown powers. She highly estheticises the murals, using terms like 'Paradigma einer solchen künstlerischen Produktion' for the house, 'ästhetische Wahrnehmung' for looking at paintings, 'makellose Landschaft' for the area the towns are set in, 'entmaterialisiert' for the degree of not-concreteness of paintings. A main point that evinces from her essay is the suggestion that the celestial orientation of the house plans and, in combination with that, the display of the paintings are crucial for a fundamental understanding. This means that the onlooker can only grasp these purported meanings, if he or she gets in the room at a very precise moment: words like morning light, golden sun beams and the like are speckling the text on many places. But what would be the case if one entered at another moment? Or if one lived within those colourful walls? Frankly, I cannot understand very well what the author wants to let us know. If she stresses semiology and architectural iconography (the notes only refer to her own, mainly not-Pompeian studies), what is the case in the first pages, these topics are abandoned in the run of the text. Going to antiquity itself, Mazzoleni neither worries about (modern) discussions about the function of paintings within the context of ancient Pompeian society nor bothers about chronology. The latter point is grave, when she singles out specific rooms to illustrate her idea and leaves out the whole set of remaining spaces after having hinted at the importance of the house as a unity. And that for an architect! In singling out and not using extant studies, Mazzoleni comes to unexplainable contentions: the room of the 'mysteries' in the famous villa is destined for initial rites (which?) and displays mirror oracles, the garden rooms in the House of the Orchard are full of cultic objects for mystery cults (p. 33; Pappalardo says the same, p. 48), the Esquiline pavilion of the Golden House in Rome had to serve for official functions etc. In a landscape with animals in the House of Fronto at Pompeii Diana suddenly pops up in the guise of a deer.... I cannot help to feel irritated in reading such unsound suggestions. Does the long outstanding strain of research on wall paintings and houses in ancient Pompeii have not any value for this stranger in the field of this architectural historian?

The essay by Pappalardo does not match Mazzoleni's fantasies in that it lacks any discussion about the architectural setting and the orientation. He remains on firmer grounds in his sketch of the development of the four Pompeian 'Styles' originally coined by August Mau. He connects the developments in a good way with political and cultural developments in the Roman Empire. Pappalardo betrays his background as an admirer of Karl Schefold, when he speaks about 'Zauber' and a high degree of religious feelings expressed in the murals. His dating of the Fourth Style, according to him started in the 50s of the 1st century AD, is nevertheless linked with the decoration of the Golden House (64-68), the project of the 'maßlose' emperor Nero. Some remarks concern the technique and the organisation of the work, whereas the appearance of panel decorations and candelabra as ornaments in the provinces over the Alps is seen as a good example of the gradual development of a painted *koine*. A certain degree of political correctness is tasted in remarks about the great number of poor people housed in shabby flat houses. At the end of the short essay the antique paintings are linked with the Renaissance and later frescoes, to begin with Raphael. The suggestion that Second-Style paintings stood at the beginning of this revolution, is unlikely, simply while examples of that 'Style' were not yet known and Raphael worked in the tradition of a gradually refined perspective painting that had begun with Giotto some 200 years before, whereas he also used the 'grotto' motifs of the Golden House ceilings (Fourth Style).

In the second part 28 buildings or sets of paintings are presented, 13 from Pompeii, 5 from Herculaneum, 3 from its surroundings and 6 from Rome. The order is more or less chronological and so the House of the Faun is the first, the House of Fabius Rufus the last one discussed. 'Pompeian' in the title, obviously, means nothing more than 'belonging to one of the four Pompeian Styles' (strangely enough, the original edition was titled *Domus*). Criteria for the choice of the edifices are not given and we get a panorama of barely comparable complexes. The texts are extremely short and the nice photographs barely support the remarks made. Sometimes the reader/looker gets details printed on a different sort of paper, whereas the whole walls are not depicted. This weakens the appreciation of text and image as seen by the authors. The bibliography is deplorably simple and could, for that reason, even have been left out; now the pretension of scholarly research is suggested.

A short essay on the reconstruction of painted rooms by Ludovica Bucci De Santis concludes the book as an appendix ('Anhang'). Starting from the technique of photogrammetry she tries to display suggestive three-dimensional representations of architectures on the walls (i.a. House of the Labyrinth and Villa of Oplontis) and even that of a landscape with wild animals (House of the Ceii). The author could have gained profit from numerous studies by Bettina Bergmann and the artist Victoria I, who did interesting proposals for the evocation of space in antiquity. Bucci's contribution is interesting but is too short to go *in medias res*, so that the attempts are no more than plays of a 3D-computer game.

I put a certain accent on the highly romantic and esthetically rich formulation of the texts. Checking the Italian 'Urfassung' I must conclude that this flaw (at least in my opinion) is due to the authors. The translator, a renowned Pompeianist herself, Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, apparently respected the idiom and duly translated these 'wonderful' thoughts.

Eric M. Moormann

JEAN-MICHEL CROISILLE, *La peinture romaine.* Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2005. 375 pp., 486 b/w and colour figs.; 29 cm (Les manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques). – ISBN 2-7084-0748-1.

Twenty years after a book with almost the same title by Alix Barbet, the prestigious Parisian editor Picard publishes a lavishly illustrated manual by a scholar who has made name with studies about arts under the Flavians and a commented Budé edition of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* book 35. In this and other works Croisille focuses on the area of literary and archaeological sources in the imperial era. This sort of art history of antiquity does not look very modern in the sense of following (or creating) theoretical thought about the approach towards ancient art and archaeology, but proves its necessity by showing a profound knowledge of both fields which, especially during the Roman Empire, often are separated in a rather unfortunate way. The student of ancient wall painting is not want of manuals: after Barbet's 1985 monograph, Roger Ling (1991) and Harald Mielsch (2001) published English and German text books respectively. From Italy, the country where most discussed examples have been found, we do not have such a book, but there are some collections of essays that more or less pretend to offer such an overview, the best - in my opinion - being the exhibition catalogue *Romana pictura* of 1998 (exhibition at Ravenna; edition Electa Venice 1998).

As Croisille approaches the same material from different starting points - extant data, chronology, themes, technique and meaning - he has to repeat several data in different chapters. That may be a boring thing to go through for that reader who reads the book from cover to cover, but most users will be helped, as they consult certain chapters or parts of them.

Croisille is more a man of iconography and (literary) themes than of style ('Four Styles' to begin with) and archaeological dossiers. That means that the abundant collection of figures focuses on figural scenes or motifs instead of showing walls and ceilings (also discussed, albeit in a secondary manner) as an integrating part of the building they adorn. The reader remains wont of long digressions about the value of paintings as a component in the structure of the house or other buildings. Strikingly, as important sources of Roman painting the 'peinture de chevalet' is highlighted: the lost masterworks of artists like Nikias, Zeuxis and others are repeatedly brought into the discussion of the actual painted wall papers of the Romans.

As to the chronological development the book starts in the 2nd century BC (First Style) and finishes in the time of Constantine; the transgression from pagan to Christian art is sketched in the succinct chapter 22. Some marking points within the genesis of Roman painting are marked by important historical moments; the age of Augustus is such a pivotal moment, well accentuated, whereas the change from Nero to the Flavians might be another. The latter, however, is much more difficult to assess in wall painting, as the discussion about the development of the Fourth Style and the change within this era has not yet been concluded; we simply do lack an understanding of the time schedule this part of the painting's history made through. It is clear that the model used by H.G. Beyen for the Second Style and by his pupil F.L. Bastet for the Third Style (both have 2 phases and five sub-phases) cannot be applied to the large bulk of material of the Fourth Style. Croisille makes clear that the simple subdivision made by his spiritual father Schefold does not match the reality (pp. 81-102). As to the later centuries, pivotal moments are no longer sought for. The two centuries after the Fourth Style are subdivided into two more or less equal bits of hundred years. But the reader does not understand why the Severans should be the breaking point. Similar tendencies can be seen in both periods, such as growth and decrease of plasticity in architectural motifs and depictions of figures as well as the simplification of these forms into the linear style, often called 'Katakombenstil'. Regarding the chronology of the Ostia murals, the most rewarding ensemble of post Fourth Style painting, Croisille apparently missed the rather recent discussion by S. Falzone and S. Mols (i.a. *BABesch* 77, 2002, 151-174). For Ephesos the old proposals by V.M. Strocka regarding the 4th century (p. 116) must be substituted by the new insights of N. Zimmermann and other scholars. The paintings outside Italy are sometimes included in the chapters on these chronological sections, but also occupy a short chapter of their own (chapter 9); here the oldest documents related are the Second-Style paintings in the Province.

In the chronological chapters, dedicated to the four Styles and the subsequent phases (Part II: Systèmes décoratifs) a sketch of the characteristics and developments is followed by a dossier of some specific 'ensembles'. To mention one example: the second Style is illustrated with short discussion of the Villa of the Mysteries, the villas of Oplontis and Boscoreale and the imperial houses on the Palatine and the Villa della Farnesina in Rome. That means that the two first complexes turn back in other chapters, viz. on iconography and on the genre of the so-called *megalographiae*.

As was said before, the greatest interest is paid to figural scenes (Part III: Thématique picturale). Croisille starts with what he calls cycli, i.e. *megalographiae* and series of images like the Odyssey Landscapes and the Heracles and Troy friezes in the House of Octavius Quartio (*not* Loreius Tiburtinus, as this person is a phantom invented by M. Della Corte). Croisille does not use the adjective 'mythical' and/or 'mythological', but always speaks of 'thèmes légendaires ou historico-légendaires'. This fits for the Boscoreale frieze that might be a historical scene: Demetrius Phaleron and his victory over Macedonia (so Sauron), the Villa of the Mysteries indeed contains 'mystery' elements, whereas the mythical story has to be taken into account as well. The number of historical scenes, nevertheless, is extremely small (he omits one of the clearest cases, the Alexander and Roxane from the Insula Occidentalis at Pompeii). By using such a terminology, the author apparently wants to historicize mythology, and so he does. That means that many Augustan mythical images are explained as metaphors or metonyms of historical events, which may be true in few cases of official arts, but what, in my opinion, has little proof in the private contexts of houses. The 'single' scenes are presented on the basis of their themes: narrative scenes, garden paintings, still lives (in Dutch *stilleven*, not *still-leven*, p. 228), portraits and genre scenes. In the latter section erotic scenes are included: the author labels them as decorative elements in secondary rooms and cafés, but he should have consulted J. Clarke's *Looking at Lovemaking* (Berkeley 1998) to get a better understanding of this highly popular and not simply vulgar genre of 'perversions sexuelles' described by Martialis (p. 264). It is unlikely to accepts, as Croisille does, the old interpretation of the garden rooms in the House of the Orchard at Pompeii as cult rooms because of the Egyptian motifs (see for the popularity of Egypt in Roman art the not consulted M.J. Versluys, *Aegyptiaca romana*, Leiden 2002).

Part IV tackles technique, colours (e.g. the four colours' scheme of Hellenism) and aesthetics, the latter mainly addressing the problem of central perspective (or not) and that of the nexus with theatre decors. Part V is devoted to the difficult item of sense. As to the architectural representations in the early 1st century BC and the interpretation of enigmatic paintings like - now for the third time - *megalographiae* (Vitruvius, *De architectura* 7.5.2), Croisille fully leans on the seminal but not unquestionably conclusive studies of Gilles Sauron. As to the development, Sauron has tried to reconstruct the genesis of the early Second Style, especially the motif of the tholos, on the basis of stories about father and son Q. Lutatius Catulus in Rome: the father built the round temple on the 'Largo Argentina', the second introduced the motif on the walls (p. 313-314). Croisille also takes over the suggestion that philosophical ideas played a certain role in the choice of architectural motifs. For the 1st century BC he should have profited at large (even more?) of the rich study by Andreas Grüner (*Venus ordinis: der Wandel von Malerei und Literatur im Zeitalter der römischen Bürgerkriege*, Paderborn 2004); both Catuli play an important role, but in another way than suggested by Sauron. There are many more suggestions, plausible and not, but to discuss them here would occupy too much space in the context of a review. I hope to address them in a separate essay. These pages are among the most provocative parts of the whole book and will stimulate the discussion about sense and meaning of ancient mural painting.

The images in general are of good quality. Most have been reproduced from extant publications and can even be recognised. Those made by Croisille are, unfortunately, not the best and often show angular distortions (e.g. figs. 240-241, 260). I did not find many misprints and few inconsistencies due to the long gestation of the book (e.g. p. 205: fauces of Samnitic House at Herculaneum has imitations of First Style paintings; p. 206: here are Second Style elements). We may conclude that Croisille did a very good job in writing this book that has the qualities of being accessible to not-specialist readers and students of ancient painting alike.

Eric M. Moormann

CLAUDINE ALLAG (éd.), *Peinture antique en Bourgogne. Actes du XVIe séminaire de l'Association française pour la peinture murale antique, Auxerre (24-25 octobre 1997)* (= Revue Archéologique de l'Est, vingt-et-unième supplément). Dijon: Société archéologique de l'Est de la France/Université de Bourgogne), 2003. 127 pp., ills.; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 2-9510239-8-7/ISSN 0035-0745.

The centre of Studies on Wall Painting at Soissons does very good work in the conservation, restoration and musealisation of wall plaster from antiquity, one of the most friable items encountered in excavations. Some of these projects were presented during a round table at Auxerre in 1997. The book is divided into two parts: Paintings from Burgundy and [more general] 'Recherches récentes en peinture romaine'. R. Nunes Pedroso and C. Allag, the Soissons centre director and editor of this volume, present material from Auxerre dating to the middle of the 2nd century AD and most striking are their photos of panels in the Auxerre museum which restitute some idea of antique room decorations. Their presentation is followed by an explanation of the use of archaeometry, i.c. macroscopic analysis of the layers of mortar under the paint by B. Palazzo-Bertholon. It becomes clear that Vitruvius' rules about the composition and number of the lower layers were quite precisely respected (p. 34, 37). Other regional complexes with wall paintings are presented from Mâlain (by Eric Aujas), Escolive-Sainte-Camille (by Alix Barbet *et al.*) and Dijon (by Karine Caspard). The latter pieces date to the early 1st century AD. Escolive still had paintings *in situ* on walls of a small room next to a nymphaeum. In all cases, the finding circumstances are of little help to reconstruct the original contexts, but it must be said that most of these contributions do not bother at all about that important aspect.

In the first essay of the second part, Hélène Eristov presents murals from Paris. Several houses near the modern Boulevard Saint-Michel were decorated with elegant panel decorations (see the splendid reconstruction drawings based on tiny fragments). There can be distinguished various phases between the age of Tiberius and the 3rd century. Christine Marchand discusses the decorations from a Gallo-Roman temple at Ribemont-sur-Ancre not far from Amiens, already known from the 1960s. Especially the decorations of the cella, painted and destroyed before 60-80 AD and may be dated back to the Augustan period, are interesting. The few fragments preserved show figural motifs such as a woman with a vessel and animals, and architectural elements like a yellow column, ovoli and cornices. The ensemble cannot be reconstructed in full, but probably consisted of (alternating?) red and black panels, adorned with garlands and vignettes. A golden candelabrum crowned by a horse decorated a black band between panels. The portico around the building also had paintings, somewhat younger than those of the cella but destroyed at the same occasion.

One Italian excavation, viz. at Vercelli in Piedmont, is presented by Stefano Pulga. The author is restorer and describes the many difficulties encountered from the point of view of conservation. The fragments belong to repetitive patterns of ribbons and circles, probably parts of ceiling decorations. Not at home in this book, because dealing with archivistic research, is the paper by Silvana Miranda on 18th-century documentation of paintings at the Palatine, found in a later demolished staircase. They show rich facades on a yellow background, with figurative panels and standing, seated and flying persons within the architectural frameworks. The schemes are like those in some rooms of Nero's Golden House, where figural scenes lack, but several details betray a slightly later date, i.e. the Flavian or early Trajanic era. Finally, another r*ara avis* in this collection is the short essay by Eva Dubois on luxury and Roman villas, too short to go into details about so different complexes as Oplontis and Nero's Golden House.

These proceedings were published with a long delay for reasons not indicated. The editing has been done well and the many colour pictures excellent. The slim volume may have a rather limited, regional importance for its topic proper, but from the point of view of conservation, reconstruction (real and virtual), restoration and musealisation of wall paintings it offers many stimulating ideas, useful for all excavators coming across wall plaster.

Eric M. Moormann

DANIELA CANDILIO, *L'arredo scultoreo e decorativo della domus degli Aradii*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2005. 43 pp., 35 pls.; 34 cm (Monumenti Antichi 63; Serie Miscellanea 10). – ISBN 88-7689-234-6; ISSN 0391-8084.

Daniela Candilio is well-known for her work on Roman sculpture in Roma and, therefore, is the ideal person to present this set of some 20 sculptural and other finds made in 1937 and 1945 in the property of the fascist politician Dino Grandi next to the Porta Latina in the Aurelian Wall at Rome (that the indication 'Rome' lacks in the title is odd). Several of the small-scale statues in marble have become known in various publications, but as a whole the series has never been presented. Silvio Panciera did a good job in publishing, some twenty years ago, the epigraphical testimonies, thanks to which the two rooms explored rather rapidly can be ascribed to a famous family in late antique Rome, the *gens Aradia*. Nothing else is known and in the garden of what now is the Embassy of Canada no traces of the complex can be seen any longer.

The starting point is an Isis of 120 cm, of a rather frequent Hellenistic type. It is a modest product of a local workshop to which Candilio also attributes a statuette of Demeter. The folds of the drapery are rigid and one is struck by the rather ugly vertical and oblique stiff folds in a lot of the drapery. Like in most statuary in the imperial period, the back is rendered summarily and was barely intended to be seen. Other figures include an archaistic Dionysos, Leda and the Swan, Fortuna and some young boys, probably heroized and represented as valiant men fighting a crocodile, crowning himself as a winner in the Isthmian games and so on. In general, these pieces are of the same modest quality. Candilio tends to a dating of all pieces in the late 2nd or, preferably, early 3rd century AD and connects the sculptures with the Aradii; their first testimony is an inscription of the early 3rd century. Personally, judging on the good photos in the book (unfortunately with different backgrounds and sometimes not sufficient in number to study all views), I prefer to date the whole set in the middle of the 2nd century. One statue base has the concave profile typical for that period and the drapery and hair of all figures do not yet show the abundant and often coarse drilling of the subsequent periods. The eyes are still entirely blind. I would even suggest that most figures were produced in the same workshop, like the two attributed by Candilio to one shop. All figures have straight incisions between the toes and the hands are clumsy. So is the drapery, already mentioned, characterized by stiff folds. This proposal is not made to dismiss Candilio's sound knowledge of antique sculpture, but the suggestive data about the Aradii family could have triggered her. A somewhat old-fashioned feature in her catalogue entries is that she always painstakingly looks for forerunners in the great sculpture of the Greek 5th and 4th centuries, what for these modest figures is rather irrelevant (cf. E. Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature*, Leiden 1992, not cited). She mentions traces of restorations in some pieces, but does not pay large attention to that feature until these repairs are considered of certain relevance for the long duration of the use, until the late 4th century, when the house was still in the hands of the Aradii. Finally, Candilio suggests that the statues belong to two cult rooms in the house, an idea that is endorsed by the combination of gods and children and has a high degree of probability.

As to editing policy: the length of the contribution does not exceed that of a lengthy article in a periodical and the number of plates is enlarged by inserting copies of the 1945 excavation diary. Contrastingly, no modern plan with the find spot indicated has been included. Seen the elevated price of the booklet, its divulgation will be difficult and the interesting group of sculptures might remain dormant as it was before because of the scarce distribution of the publication.

Eric M. Moormann

WOLFGANG EHRHARDT, *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i)*. (Häuser in Pompeji, herausgegeben von Volker Michael Strocka – Vol. 12). München: Hirmer Verlag, 2004. 284 pp. with 88 figs., 835 figs on pls; 49.5 cm. – ISBN 3-7774-9460-7.

Volker Michael Strocka, the editor of this much applauded series, can be well pleased with his most arduous collaborator Wolfgang Ehrhardt who compiled three volumes in the run of sixteen years. Moreover, the Soprintendenza of Pompeii shared the costs of the expensive publication, funding half the needed sum. However, the projects seems to have come to an end after 29 years of research and twelve volumes on fourteen houses. Unfortunately, the monographs on the House of the Faun (Adolf Hoffmann) and on the so-called Villa Imperiale (Umberto Pappalardo) failed to be completed. The last book is by far the biggest and presents one of the most prestigious houses of antique Pompeii, known first of all for its fine huge *atrium tetrastylum*, with beautiful tuff capitals of the late 2nd century BC. In the long time the large house functioned (almost 250 years), relatively few and rather insignificant changes were made, so that its late-Hellenistic shape and outlay remained preserved in an exemplary manner. It is a pity that Ehrhardt was not able - and I fear no one will be unless specific data come to the fore - to establish the identity of the original proprietor and most of his successors. The last owners, of two or three generations, can be traced back to the beginning of our era. It is important to remark that all these generations apparently wanted to keep up the high standard the first owner had aimed at. This is true for other prestigious houses where old (or even old-fashioned) decorations of floors and walls were kept and only replaced, if this was necessary for obvious reasons like damage and reconstruction. We may think of the Houses of the Faun and the Labyrinth. Like those houses, the house studied in this volume did not yield a large amount of finds, whilst these did not match the lavishness of the floor and wall decorations. Some finds are listed, but a reference is made to a website with a compilation of all objects by Bernard Sigges (www.sto.org/projects/ph/house). The building has been restored recently (1998-2001) with a financial support of the World Monuments Fund.

The House owns its curious name to the silver wedding of the Italian king and queen in 1893. The majestic atrium has imitations or reconstructions of Second-Style paintings (some original patches have been preserved in he upper zone), which means that tradition was regarded important by the owners in the imperial period. The surrounding rooms have paintings and floors running through all 'Styles', often showing a high quality and a certain degree of originality. Very fine, for instance, room 9 with its elegant architectural elements and thin festoons like those in the Villa of Campo Varano at Stabiae; funny Pygmies enrich the predellae (discussed by M.J. Versluys, *Aegyptiaca Romana*, Leiden 2002, 113-114). Some good specimens of late-Republican, Second-Style murals decorate a series of rooms in the southern aisle of the peristyle, the *oecus tetrastylus* being the most famous one of the sort. Ehrhardt makes clear that the dado shows a redoing of the 1st century AD. Oddly, the authors does not describe the decorations in the false dome of the *oecus*. Another peculiar, Republican feature is the private bath suit in the western aisle, where a mosaic showing an arcade is - I think correctly - seen as an image of an aqueduct. The bath was recently extensively discussed in a study on private bath suits by Nathalie de Haan (PhD Nijmegen 2003; in press with Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt). The fact that Fourth-Style murals cover the *tegulae mammatae* of the *tepidarium* shows that the rooms remained in use for more than hundred years.

The long description (pp. 27-185) is followed by the 'Auswertung' (pp. 186-270) and German and Italian summaries. As to the building history, the house was erected simultaneously with the adjacent House of the *Cenaculum* on a plot occupied previously by other houses. Some of the old 4th- or 3rd-century walls in what has been coined as 'Steinfachwerk' by Kees Peterse were used in the new enterprise. The *insula* has an irregular form and is very large (6624 sqm), due to the orientation towards the city wall and its towers. The area must have been quite wealthy. As so often in Pompeii studies, August Mau made a still valuable proposal for the development of the decorations (p. 190) and Ehrhardt cannot but endorse the existence of four phases: (1) shortly before Sulla; (2) late Second Style; (3) Augustan Third Style; (4) Fourth Style around 60. There are no repairs hinting at the earthquake of AD 62, by which the date of 60 is plausible for the usually not well datable last phase of paintings, to which a graffito of 60 can be added as an important point of evidence. Some of Ehrhardt's conclusions base on the meticulous analysis of the plaster layers by R. Meyer-Graft, which serve to detect connections of workshops and time spans. During the first phase there were not yet stairs leading to an upper storey, only installed in the second phase (see figs. 107-108; cf. p. 194: cupboard changed into a staircase). The discussions invite the author to sketch the development of the atrium and its changes (p. 196). The peristyle, seen as an addition by Hendrik Gerard Beyen and Amedeo Maiuri, does belong to phase 1, as had been argued by Mau, and immediately got its so-called Rhodian form, with an elevated northern portico (see now also W. Ehrhardt, in *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e vesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, Naples 2005, 257-270). A real connection with afore-mentioned House of the *Cenaculum* cannot be established (contra Mau, p. 204-205). In comparison to other houses, the House of the Silver Wedding shows a great symmetry and a ample view on 'Freiflächer' like in other houses (p. 205). The monumentality of openings and doorways reflects that in public and sacral buildings like the Temple of Apollo, restructured in the same period (p. 206). Its enormous dimensions of 2194 sqm are those of a dwelling with palatial ambitions, found in some other late 2nd-century houses (Faun, Sallustius, Pansa). The fact that the owners could chose their own plots of land gave them opportunities to realise their personal wishes: none of these houses is identical! The changes of the 1st century BC altered the outlook considerably: doors became smaller or were closed and some large rooms were split up into two smaller ones, but the typical symmetry was largely respected so that the 'feodale Ausstattung Ersten Stils' remained perceptible (p. 209). Some rooms in the façade became shops, having entrances both onto the street and into the atrium. As a whole, these measurements enhanced the comfort of living (p. 218) and corresponded with the new late Republican or early Imperial idea of living in a 'Stadtpalast'. Mau's second and third phases are no longer set apart and seen as a longish period of various changes (p. 217), which should imply a during presence of workmen and scaffoldings. The fourth phase (now, as a matter of fact, the third one, p. 219) is based on the graffito in the peristyle. What has been seen as an endless series of repairs by Karl Schefold and Maiuri, belongs to a new 'Gesamtplan': thanks to the study of the mortar layers it can be proved that all Fourth-Style paintings belong to one intervention (pp. 220-221).

It may be clear that this reviewer has few question marks or quibbles to make. This volume is certainly one of the best in Strocka's series and deservedly so: the house merits it.

Eric M. Moormann

Alix Barbet (ed.), *Zeugma* II. *Peintures murales romaines.* Paris: De Boccard Édition - Diffusion, 2005. 330 pp., 152 text figs., 36 pls., 21 folding pls.; 28 cm (Varia Anatolica, XVII). – ISBN 2-906053-88-0.

The realisation of a dam in the Euphrates in south-eastern Turkey in the 1990s urged large archaeological interventions on the site of Belkis-Zeugma that had to be explored before vanishing under the new water masses. International teams were invited to collaborate and the Packard Humanity Institute provided generous sponsoring. The results were spectacular and hitherto many data have come to light. The volume under review is surely one of the first publications to present a 'hard' archaeological report. One of the greatest experts in the field of wall painting, Alix Barbet, coordinated the work on the save guarding of the mural decorations which had to be taken off, as was done with the floor mosaics as well. Selçuk Şener – whom I had the honour to work with on Nemrud Dağ in 2003 and 2004 - was responsible for lifting and restoring the paintings, now on display in the archaeological museum at Gaziantep. Barbet's energy and rapidity are well known: she is acclaimed for her full commitment to jobs of 'sauvetage' in France and elsewhere and always shares her results with the academic world as soon as possible. But this bright attitude has its dark side: a publication can come too fast. The first volume, presumably containing the documentation of the architectural structures, the chronological data and the finds that have been made is not yet there and so the reader does not understand how the houses were systemised on Belkis' *tepe* and how the various 'chantiers' were related to each other. The coloured plan at the end of the book gives a cleaned image of the house plans (cf. those of fragmentarily explored houses on pls. L-O). The fact that various rooms are 'troglodyte', viz. cut out in the living rock of the hill, suggests that the houses lay in a circle and looked outwards. There is a confusing numbering system, not explained in the text: there are numbers B, c, D 1 etc. next to P1 etc., the latter being Barbet's, in which P indicates 'pièce'. Which numbers we will have to use in the future? This is more urgent a question, as many rooms have no P label, apparently because of the lack of paintings! In the following I respect Barbet's labels.

Research has been carried out in a great speed and the archaeologists were forced to continue as quickly as possible because of the raising water level. In the short time span of spring 2000 the houses were unearthed, studied and stripped from all elements that could be taken off. Some rooms were not explored at all and what remains is barely a complete image. Were there upper stories? Where did the water come from for the various fountains? How did the houses function? The rapidity is resented, first of all, in the 'Chantiers' 2, 6, 9, 11, 13, and 18, discussed in Part 2 (pp. 191-226), where almost no room was explored until the original ground level (pp. 191-192: mainly work of Matthieu Dussauge). Many paintings are shown in details only and are now lost. Let me be clear: I cannot blame Barbet and her team for the speed itself, but even they could have reflected more about this unwelcome and unsatisfying situation. The book lacks any sort of introduction about the project as a whole and the publication policy, and gives a sketch of the work on the frescoes: excavation and stripping in 2000, restoration in the laboratory installed in the Gaziantep museum in 2001. At p. 278 only, the reader learns that there are other volumes to come (on the paintings only?).

'Chantier 12', the largest lot, consists of four (partly explored) houses, that of Poseidon being by far the biggest one, with two peristyles and three fountains. Or, must we surmise that there were two houses, as presented in the text, with the doors at the western side of peristyle P9 being blocked? There are many windows in the interior sections, around peristyles and between rooms, giving ways of communication, ventilation and light to them, what is especially important for the troglodyte ones. In general, the mosaics found are shortly mentioned and illustrated, but we clearly have to await another monograph (by Jean-Pierre Darmon, who is mentioned a couple of times as advisor in the paintings' project?). The mosaic with Eros and a winged lady in P5 is not 'énigmatique' (p. 108, pl. XX.1). The woman is Psyche, clad in yellow as a bride (like Penelope; see the remark on the painted bride, p. 157) and sporting a flower crown in her hair (see pl. XXVII.4), and the young couple is seated in their *thalamos*. Like other Zeugma mosaics with literary themes (e.g. Menander's *Synaristosai*, pl. XIX.1), the emblem presents the novel version of a myth, viz. the end of Apuleius' narration (*Metamorphoses* 6.24); the large crater symbolises the nectar drunk on Olympus.

The chronology is partly based on archaeological data (not yet presented here), partly on stylistic considerations and on comparison with other material in Asia Minor. For the fact that some houses have two or three layers of decorations, we must surmise a long duration of their use and the fabrication of the paintings should be placed between the late 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century, what on the basis of the information available can be accepted. The decorations have many features which are also known from Ephesos, our only substantial parallel of Roman murals in Asia Minor: the imitation of marble veneer, whether in plaques and panels or in the form of *opus sectile*, and panel decorations. Many of the latter contain garlands and standing human figures. P26 has a series of seven ladies, two of which have a Greek label: Deidameia and Penelope (the latter also adorns the cover as a symbol of the patience needed for the study of the paintings, p. 11). They probably form a set of seven worthy women, popular in Antiquity, and testimony the knowledge of traditional mythological themes. Another set in P9 shows four Seasons, but Barbet follows a suggestion of Marie-Henriette Quet that they are *tropai*, figures symbolising the changes of the Seasons - a subtle, but as to me not proven difference: specific attributes to endorse this reading are lacking. A small point: the man with the goat of pl. X is a goatherd or shepherd, not a hunter (p. 78). P11 and P2 have male servants sporting objects. Interestingly, the gender differences are striking: men in a secondary role, women as heroines! That does not implicate that the rooms with women are *gynaikeia*, as is suggested (p. 157, 159), like the male figures do not necessitate *andrones*. The rooms with large figures clearly form important focuses within the houses, destined for dinner or sojourn and the fact that some of them are lying at the inner side enhances this suggestion: they could be reached by intimate clients, friends and relatives of the patron only. Marbling is ubiquitous and, therefore, visible to everyone entering and going around. Sometimes it is combined with real marble veneering or stucco and it clearly suggested a wealthy atmosphere, even if it was cheap.

Jean-Baptiste Yon has had the difficult job to decipher the numerous graffiti, made more complicated by the fact that he could not study all of them in situ or in the laboratory: several finished under the water and were documented with photos and/or drawings. Most scribbles are not understandable. Not being an epigraphist, I enter into two cases only. The graffito read as ΦΕΤΩ in room P11 (p. 29, 37, fig. 6) has an O at the end, so that Phaeto[ntos/i/a] is more reasonable. In P13 ΑΜΑΣΚΟ and ΔΑΜΑΣΚ stand not far from each other: is it too far-fetched to read the city name of Damascus, the more as there also is *metropolis* as an epitheton (p. 69)? Among the figural graffiti are some surprises, esp. an offering man (p. 139-140), probably an officer. His bald head might be a feature of the short-cropped hair dresses of military people like 3rd-century emperors.

The numerous illustrations are mostly of excellent quality, but some excavation pictures are greyish (e.g. figs. 66-67, 79, 84); apparently there were no alternatives, whereas several paintings are not but presented in drawings. The colours are trustworthy (judging from various occasions of autopsy in Gaziantep), although we come across great differences, e.g. pls. III.1-2, V-VI, XXIII.1-2. There are some double illustrations (P6, east wall: fig. 60a and pl. H, top left, where falsely indicated as south wall). The numbering and arrangement of the illustrations sometimes are odd (e.g.: figs. 88a-d comprise one painting from P19 and the other ones from P20; fig. 31 from P21 has been arranged under P13).

An excellent chapter is that by Şener and his (mostly Turkish) colleagues. First, a description of the treatment of the paintings from their discovering until their mounting in Gaziantep is given. The photos help the reader to understand the process of stripping mural panes ranging up to 385 x 180 cm. So, some 150 square metres of decorations have been rescued. Second, Cengiz Çetin discusses chemical analyses of the mortar layers and the paint and his report is (unnecessarily?) recapitulated by Barbet (p. 269: not very friendly!). The book closes with a confusing bibliography, subdivided into categories instead of following an alphabetical order, and summaries in French, English and Turkish. Despite my critical remarks, I cannot but compliment the author and her team with this achievement. The study of micro-Asian Roman wall painting has got a new important momentum.

Eric M. Moormann

J.W. RIETHMÜLLER, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*. Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005. Band 2, 1: 392 pp., 57 ill.; Band 2, 2: 502 pp., 141 ill., 5 maps, 24 plates; 30 cm (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 2). – ISBN 3-935289-30-8.

This is a truly bulky study which aims to present a comprehensive analysis of the architecture of a large number of Asklepieia, to confront its results with what literary sources, inscriptions and uninscribed artefacts tell us about Asklepios, and finally to combine both approaches in a synthesis about the origin, spread and function of the Asklepios cult in the Greek world up to the late Hellenistic period (57; but some Asklepieia of the Roman Imperial period are included, especially in Pergamon, Kyrenaikan Balagrai, Cretan Lebena and even in Rome on the Tiber Island; pp. 326-359). Volume 2 contains a geographically arranged catalogue of all the Asklepieia found and excavated so far on the Peloponnese, in Attica and Central Greece, with brief descriptions of the ruins, bibliography and brief lists of the sources (literary, epigraphical; pp. 10-315). Some of these Asklepieia are also discussed in extenso in volume 1, others are not. In the case of the former this entails occasionally an unnecessary repetition of references to relevant evidence (see, e.g., the overlap between p. 50 with note 155 and p. 355 no. 200; p. 51 note 156 with p. 321 note 17; pp. 103-104 with no 165 of the catalogue; p. 105 with no 147 in the catalogue). A few major Asklepieia from mainland Greece did not get a place in the catalogue at all but are discussed in separate chapters: the Athenian and Epidaurian Asklepieion (pp. 241-324). Separate sections of chapter III are devoted to Asklepieia in Macedonia, on the Kyklades and on Kos and are by definition not included in the catalogue, since the latter is devoted to Central and Southern Greece.

In addition to the catalogue the reader is treated on an 'Appendix-Katalog' of 732 lemmata for all the Asklepios cults and temples, whether or not covered in the catalogue or in separate chapters and whether or not the ruins have been found (pp. 318-460). In many cases one knows about the existence of priests and temples of Asklepios from inscriptions and coins without any remains having been found at all. The lemmata offer references to statues, dedicatory reliefs, coins, inscriptions and modern studies and of necessity in a number of cases overlap with parts of volume 1 in which excavated Asklepieia are discussed. On the one hand one is overwhelmed by the immense heuristic efforts of the author, on the other one cannot help wondering whether all that can be known is actually to be published in print. An electronic data-base accessible to all scholars may well have been a better solution. Monographs of more than 900 pages are a bit too much in an era which otherwise suffers from a considerable over-production.

In chapters on the Homeric Asklepios, the various local traditions concerning Asklepios' birth and activities (chapter I pp. 32-54) and on the cults of Asklepios in the archaic period (chapter III pp. 91-228: 'Der frühe Horizont'), R. rightly emphasizes the close association between Asklepios, his two healing sons, Machaon and Podaleirios, and Thessaly. It is in the latter region that the expansion of the cult began and from there it spread over Central Greece (Doris, Phokis, Delphi, Boiotia) and the Peloponnese, especially Epidauros. The Spartans, Messenians and Arcadians seem to have appropriated the Thessalian cult and to have adapted it to and integrated into local traditions. R. also suggests connecting the origin of the Asklepios' cult on Kos and other Dodekanese islands with Epidaurian influence in the 6th century BC. This concept of a powerful Thessalian radiation in the archaic period seems reasonable enough. Equally satisfactory is R.'s view that in the 4th century BC Epidauros' star began to rise spectacularly, with the concomitant rise of various so-called 'branch-sanctuaries' (Athens, Pergamon, Rome, each with its own 'Subfilialen'). However, R. wants more and, in his case, more is the traditional speculation about waves of northern immigrants (Dorians and others) who between 1200 and 900 BC spread the cult of Asklepios all over Central and Southern Greece, the islands and the coast of Asia Minor (pp. 219-224). Archaeological evidence is lacking here and we are asked to have recourse to literary sources reporting in a much later period about events from the remote past. I for one feel satisfied with R.'s demonstration that there is evidence for a strong Epidaurian impact on Kos and the Dodekanese in the 6th/5th century BC and do not see what speculations about early immigrants carrying Asklepios around all over prehistoric Greece really add. As far as I know there is no hard archaeological evidence for a cult of Asklepios in 1100 BC; nor did the Mycenean tablets reveal anything about this deity to us.

R. has interesting and on the whole convincing remarks on a number of constant features in historical Asklepieia: a close connection between a hero cult centering around a *bothros* and the cult of the god Asklepios practised in sanctuaries, which accommodate the *bothroi*, and the fundamental importance of the incubation-stoas. Apart from such common characteristics there is much to be enjoyed in his analysis of the Athenian, Epidaurian and Pergamene Asklepieia and of a minor cult place like that of Ameinos and Asklepios on the west slope of the Athenian Akropolis, which is likely to have been founded by Sophokles.

In a final paragraph (pp. 388-392) R. argues that the stories about miraculous healing in Epidauros and Pergamon remind us of Lourdes rather than of modern German 'Kurorte'. He underlines the fundamental importance of dreams in the healing process and points to the close link between the incubation-halls and the *bothroi* of the healing heros Asklepios. The incubation is the symbolic form of an original 'Heilschlaf' on the heros' tomb, during which the 'heroische erdverbundene Heilkraft' (this sounds very German indeed!) is supposed to have done its salutary work. The intensity of an authentic belief in Asklepios and his epiphanies in dreams may well have played its role in the healing process. But R. is, of course, not so naive to believe that the contents of and prescriptions given in the dreams came out of the blue. He writes about 'einfache, volkstümliche Heilrezepten' and 'medizinische Grundkenntnissen' which determined the contents of the dreams, and is even prepared to assume that treatments by doctors may have left their mark on the dreams. Nevertheless, he vehemently rejects theories according to which doctors played a vital role in the Asklepieia and thoroughly dislikes the concept of 'Tempelmedizin'. In the Hellenistic-Rome period he discerns a growing importance of hydro- and related therapies: it is in the world of Aelius Aristeides and the Pergamene Asklepieion that we find elements which recall the modern, 'more scientific' German 'Kurbetrieb'. We should, however, not allow ourselves to be misled by Aelius' hypochondric preoccupations. In addition to therapies which smell of German 'Kurorte', traditional prescriptions of herbs and drugs continued to be given in the Roman Imperial period. A Pergamene inscription, containing a 2nd century AD 'healing-story' and published by H. Müller in *Chiron* 17 (1987) 193-233, records a prescription given by Asklepios in a dream and prescribing the daily consumption of white pepper and onions during three months. This divine advice recalls similar, though not fully identical, recommendations by contemporary physicians like Galen. Müller's detailed and carefully balanced study, apparently unknown to R. (though it is easy to overlook something in the plethora of references given by R. in his catalogue and narrative), provides a welcome antidote against all too spasmodic attempts to sever the links between what was going on in Asklepieia and the world of learned physicians. Both worlds used the same medicine, though Asklepios in his dreams introduces light variations: 'Die Zeit der grobschlächtigen Zaubereien der epidaurischen Iammata ist längst vorüber, die Menschen, ihre Erwartungen und ihre Träume haben sich gewandelt' (p. 233).

H.W. Pleket

G. Marginesu, *Gortina di Creta. Prospettive epigrafiche per lo studio della forma urbana* (Tripodes 2). Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2005. 149 pp., 12 figs., 1 pianta, 1 carta; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 960-87405-4-1.

After a brief survey of the nuclei of habitation in the (pre)-geometric period, the author of this book focuses on the situation at Gortyn in the 7th and 6th century BC. The birth of the polis went together with the erection of buildings in the plain at the foot of the Gortynian hills; the Pythion was erected in that plain, the walls of which were inscribed with law-texts; an agora came into existence, with a circular building on the walls of which the famous Law Code of Gortyn was engraved. M. explores the relation between the urban development of the city and the political structure, as shown by the archaeological evidence and, above all, by the various (fragments) of laws found in the city. In an Appendix (111-119) he gives the Greek text, with Italian translation, of twelve inscriptions relevant to his problems: six from the Pythion, three from the agora, and three fragments of the Law Code. In the main text a great many other early Cretan inscriptions are referred to in passing. Centralization of power and jurisdiction is reflected by the concentration of habitation in the plain, the erection of temples and other public buildings, and of private houses. In other words: for M. to say 'polis' is to say conurbation with concentration of political processes and power in that same conurbation. In the city there may have been occasional gardens (*kepoi*), but I am not sure that agricultural fields, attached to houses in the city, were a regular phenomenon, as suggested by M. (42: 'alle case in città annessi dei terreni').

Such fields, true, were in the vicinity of the conurbation but not part of it. In other words: we have the contours of an agro-town. In addition to the built-up center, there were other nuclei of habitation. One of the latter, Aulon, is on record in doc. No. 5 of M.'s Appendix, a honorary decree of 'all Gortyn and those who live in Aulon'. The honorand, a certain Dionysios, possibly a mercenary, receives a house in Aulon 'within the *pyrgos*' and a piece of land. A report of the 18th century traveller J.P. Tournefort shows that Aulon was quite close to the urban center ('a qualche chilometro del Pythion' (36); on 105 Aulon suddenly is 'lontana dal centro politico della polis'!). M. (37) rightly concludes that it was too close for it to have been an autonomous center and interprets it as a *kome* (village), a subdivision of the city; and in the process he suggests that Gortyn may have been a '*polis kata komas*' (a Thucydidean concept applied prior to M.'s study by other scholars): a city consisting of, organized as a number of villages; this, however, remains a hypothesis, as M. candidly admits; just as it remains a mere hypothesis to suggest that three quarters of the city, called after deities and their temples, and mentioned in late sources (Pythion, Latosion, Hermaion), similarly reflect a *kata komas*-structure. P. Perlman (see M.'s bibliography under Perlman 2000) called Latosion 'probably a neighbourhood or suburb of the polis Gortyn' (83, note 14). On 103 and 105 Aulon is called a 'spazio difensivo', situated in a 'marginal area'. What are we to make of all this? Aulon is not a dependent polis, as some scholars suggest, but a subdivision of the city, comparable to an Attic deme, with its own gymnasion (on record in doc. No. 5; Attic demes are known to have had their own gymnasion), and possibly with a defensive character: a combination of a deme and a sort of phrourion, similar to the phrouria of Hellenistic Kolophon, where citizens of Kolophon were registered (Ph. Gauthier, *JS* 2003, 61-100). The people of Aulon were explicitly mentioned because it is in their territory that a house and a piece of land was to be made available. 'All Gortyn and those resident in Aulon' means all Gortynians and, in particular, those from Aulon. On 69-70 M. suggests that the donation of land (*oikopedon*) to Dionysios may have been part of a general program of land-distribution; but surely the situation in Sicilian Himera where *oikopeda* may well occur within a framework of land-distribution (*SEG* XLIII 1326; XLVII 1427) cannot be transferred to Gortyn so easily: *oikopedon* is not a term which unequivocally refers to a general land distribution program or to a standard plot of equal size (see M. Sève in *Bull. Épigr*. 1995 no. 59).

M. has interesting things to say about Gortyn's agora as a multifunctional area: it was a commercial (slave-market) and a jurisdictional center; it was the place where the assembly is likely to have met, and, so M. cautiously suggests, it may have been a center for 'attività agonali' (50); however, an acclamation to 'beautiful (*kalos*) Damagoras', found on a block built into the wall of a public building on the agora, testifies to homo-erotic fantasies, possibly to homo-erotic ephebes, rather than to agones, performed by ephebes in a gymnasial context.

M.'s pages on Gortynian expansionism, resulting a.o. in the subjection of Rizenia, and on the city's chora, are to be recommended strongly. More in general, his study is firmly rooted in an impressive command of ancient sources and modern studies on archaic Crete and Gortyn. Why ca 600 BC a conurbation was developed in the Gortynian plain is a question which M. does not ask himself. He does refer to the insertion of Gortyn into an international, panhellenistic circuit (29-31); to a certain monetarization and to the development of artisanal activities, i.e., to the rise of a non-agrarian branch in the urban economy; but there is no word about demographic developments, developments in the agrarian economy (more land brought under cultivation?; intensification of cultivation?), the feeding capacity of the city's territory. But perhaps we are asking too much for a period which hardly produced the sort of sources necessary for such discussions. Useful indices conclude this book which manages in just over 100 pages to provide a both succinct and clear apercu of archaic Gortynian history and in many cases reasonable, though often hypothetical, answers.

H.W. Pleket

ANNE-FRANÇOISE JACCOTET, *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*. Vol. 1 Texte, vol. 2 Documents. Kilchberg/Zürich: Akanthus Verlag für Archäologie, 2003. 207/367 pp., figs.; 27 cm. – ISBN 3-905083-18-3.

This study of the Dionysiac associations, their function in the cult of Dionysos and their development over time, is based on a corpus of 200 inscriptions presented in vol. 2 (Greek or Latin texts; translations; bibliographies; commentaries of varying length). On the whole this corpus deserves our admiration. No 114 does not belong to Philadelphia but to Sardis (see G. Petzl, *EA* 30, 1998, 19). J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 155 (2006) 38 note 13 and 39 note 29, mentions a few bibliographical omissions. M. Slavova, Mystery clubs in Bulgarian lands in antiquity: Greek epigraphical evidence, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 27 (2002) 137-149 and B. Hirsch, Orte des Dionysos. Kultplätze und ihre Funktion, *IstMit* 51 (2001) 217-272 probably appeared after J. had finished her manuscript. It is unfortunate that J. does not seem to know H.S. Versnel's detailed and fundamental study Heis Dionysos: the tragic paradox of the Bacchae in id., *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: three studies in henotheism*, Leiden 1990, 96-205, especially 131-150. See now also J. Tassignon, Dionysos et les Katagogies d'Asie Mineure in A. Motte/Ch.M. Ternes (edd.), *Dieux, Fêtes, Sacré dans la Grèce et la Rome antiques* (Turnhout 2003, 81-99.)

J. has divided her study in vol. 1 into three large chapters. In ch. I (15-62), after a brief historiographical survey, she briefly discusses the representations of Dionysiac *thiasoi* on vases, with strong emphasis on Dionysos' cortège and the orgiastic nature of its behaviour, and the terminology used in inscriptions to denote Dionysiac associations. The latter are not invariably called *thiasoi*. The terms 'koinon', 'synodos' and 'speira' frequently occur. A corollary of this terminological variation is that these associations should not be perceived a priori as groups of roaming maenads, nymphs and satyrs, as described e.g. in Euripides' *Bacchae* or on vases: 'dire thiasos n'est pas dire Dionysos, pour les anciens' (p. 25). This foreshadows one of the main theses defended by J.: 'choisir Dionysos' and 'la face cachée' is another way of arguing that there was not just one homogeneous cult (à-la-Euripides) or 'expérience vécue' of Dionysiac worshippers. It is precisely the essential contribution of the inscriptions in vol. 2 that they enable us to realize that the associations are 'made to measure' (p. 58) and that we should not allow ourselves to be enchanted by a few grand literary sources. We have no idea to what extent Euripides' picture reflects a ritual reality in 5th century BC Athens or Thebes (cf. Versnel, *op.cit*. 146-149) or what impact Euripides' picture had on religious life in Athens but later generations certainly did not model their religious activities and feelings exclusively after that great piece of classical literature. Incidentally, as Ron Stroud points out to me, we should not forget that the *Bacchae* was set in Thebes and first produced posthumously in Macedonia: how 'Athenian' a play is it? A detailed discussion of the famous inscription of Torre Nova (in Latium; no 188 in J.'s corpus) concludes this chapter. This text, which records a large number of religious officials in a Dionysiac mystery-club, shows that various aspects of Dionysiac religiosity play a role: processions, in which sacred objects were carried around, dancing and pantomime played by boukoloi, and grottos serving as meeting places for bucolic drinking parties in combination with eschatological perspectives. Clearly this is not a group of wild maenads roaming through the mountains; certain symbols may refer to the distant past of such a religiosity but there is no revival of the latter in Torre Nova. The text tells us that the worshippers picked their favourite elements from among a large treasure-house of rituals: '(Dionysos) sur mesure' (p. 54).

Chapter II opens with the hotly debated question concerning an alleged feminine and masculine form of Dionysiac worship, followed by a protracted discussion of the emergence of boukoloi as Dionysiac functionaries in late Hellenistic associations and its implications for the way the members/worshippers perceived themselves in their cultic behaviour; did the 'boukolian' rites refer to the frenzied members of the mythical cortège of the god or is it all just symbolic and on the level of the 'imaginaire' (a favourite term of J.)? Or do the boukoloi on the ritual level rather evoke the image of a god who pastures his flock and of a bucolic world of peace, happiness and abundance? Whatever the answer - we shall come back to it below - one implication certainly is the variety of aspects which could be chosen by the individual associations. Chapter II closes with an examination of Dionysian mysteries, their beginning, development and religious content. J. believes, with M.P. Nilsson, in the existence of orgiastic mystery-rites in the classical period (cf. in the same sense Versnel, *op.cit*. 150-155) but rejects N.'s theory that in the post-classical period orgiastic Bacchism yields to authentic mystery-celebrations (p. 139) without all the hassle of the maenadic frenzy. Nilsson and others also established a link between the classical orgiastic worship and the predominance of female worshippers and suggested that the admission of male worshippers in the post-classical period resulted in a mystery-cult devoid of orgiastic practices. J. rejects the idea of a female origin of Bacchism (see *infra*); and in the post-classical period she finds evidence for the continuation of orgiastic rites in mysteries.

In a third chapter J. presents three archaeological case-studies, which all share one exceptional feature, viz. the combination of a preserved cult-place and inscriptions shedding light on its use. The first case concerns caves in general and a cave in Hellenistic-Roman Kallatis (Moesia) in particular. The architecture of the cave resembles that of vaulted tombs from the same area; the cave is likely to have been the cult-place for a rite of descent into the realm of the dead (*katabasis*) and re-birth (*anabasis*). In the process she discusses a still unpublished Thasian inscription (1st century AD), which as yet is only available in a French translation (no 31). Hopefully J.'s monograph will facilitate and accelerate the publication of the Greek text with full commentary. The second case is the local shrine of the Dionysiastai in Peiraeus, where archaeological and epigraphic evidence (nos 1-3 in the corpus) indicates a combined cult of Dionysos and of the heros Dionysios, the deceased founder of the shrine, with clear references to the archaic past. About rituals we learn next to nothing. Absence of evidence for a phenomenon is, however, not evidence for the absence of that same phenomenon. In a final paragraph dealing with Melos, Smyrna and Virunum, which all have mosaics with interesting iconography of kantharoi, ivy, thyrsos, maenads, satyrs, lions, and peacocks, J. rightly finds no evidence for what really went on in the cult; and the variety of representations, we may add, definitely reflects a variety of approaches to the worship of Dionysos.

A recurring question in these two volumes concerns the relation between the picture drawn by Euripides in his *Bacchae* (and, incidentally, by Diodorus Siculus 4.3.3; p. 136) and the rituals practised by the associations. In fact there are two major problems here. First: is there evidence for associations drawing their inspiration from and actually moulding their cult practices after Euripides' description of groups of females roaming in the mountains (*oreibasia*) in an ecstatic mood? Second: is Euripides' suggestion that we have exclusively female behaviour here acceptable?

For the latter problem J. takes her lead from 5th/4th century BC Athenian vases with representations of female maenads and male satyrs participating in ecstatic dances. J. suggests interpreting these scenes as a reflection of 'scènes rituelles vécues ou au moins observées par les Athéniens' (p. 70) rather than as a mere reference to a 'registre mythico-imaginaire' (*ibidem*; see also pp. 96-97; Versnel, *op.cit*. 148, argues that the satyrs belong to a mythical reality but at the same time believes that they 'do refer to a ritual reality'; he does not explicitly tell us whether he believes in male involvement in the rites; on 133 he posits that 'maenadism was restricted to women', without excluding 'an occasional male involvement in Bacchic ritual and thiasoi already in the 5th century BC'). In the end J. goes so far as to regard literary sources (read: Euripides) as an 'outil d'une véritable désinformation' (p. 97). As a result she posits the existence of mixed groups of ecstatic worshippers in the classical era, followed by equally mixed groups of Hellenistic-Roman colleagues. Incidentally, J. seems to have a somewhat hidden feminist agenda here: on p. 140 she overtly states that her theory makes short shrift with biased theories about archaic and classical women being responsible for wild performances in the mountains and men joining the women later and domesticating this uncontrolled orgiastic behaviour thereby reducing the *oreibasia* to a sort of innocent picnic party.

J. detects one difference between the classical and the post-classical period: whereas in the former the men represented on the vases wear masks, in Hellenistic times they openly confess their Dionysiac leanings. This 'coming out' of Hellenistic men is related by J. to an alleged change in the role of the male citizen and his values: the citizen in his role as 'l'homme actif dans sa cité' (p. 98) became less important and as a result the contrast between the engaged classical citizen and the male 'Bacchant-as-the-anti-citizen' lost much of his force. The Hellenistic 'coming out' is a function of a change in the political role of men. This story is not convincing on various counts. First, I doubt whether it can really be shown that vase-representations reflect actual rituals in a concrete cult; second, the idea of a gradually 'de-politized' Hellenistic citizen is obsolete and part of an old-fashioned story about decay after the 4th century BC, which finds no support in recent studies by Ph. Gauthier and others on Hellenistic democracies. Third, J.'s attempt to find mixed associations in her nos 149-150 (Miletos; 3rd century BC) and 146 (Magnesia on the Maeander; Hellenistic content) are fine examples of special pleading. In Miletos we have Alkmeonis, a priestess of an official, urban *thiasos* of female worshippers, who led her followers 'to the mountains' (*eis oros*; cf. the *oreibasia*); there were other private thiasoi in the city, which may or may not have had male members and may or may not have organized rituals similar to those of Alkmeonis' group. There is simply no way of knowing at all whether men really played a role here. What we do know from no. 150 is that the *omophagion*-rite - originally the tearing apart of the flesh of the maenad's victims and now perhaps the symbolic sacrifice of raw meat (J., p. 252 note 514) - is practised by the priestess of the public *thiasos*, i.e., the same association as that of Alkmeonis.

In no 146 three female maenads are imported from Thebes, who are supposed to become the leaders of three *thiasoi* of what are likely to be female worshippers. J. writes that the name of at least one of the *thiasoi* is the gen. plur. of a masculine term: the *thiasos tōn Kataibatōn* (from a nom. plur. *Kataibatai*). True, in theory the female variant *kataibátis* (gen. plur. *kataibatidōn*) was available; however, *kataibatēs* was the common form of a divine epithet and may have been responsible for an inadvertent use of the gen. plur. *kataibatōn*; and since the text has been re-engraved on the initiative of a man in the 2nd century AD, when mixed *thiasoi* were common enough, *Kataibatōn* may reflect the situation in the imperial period. Whatever the truth, this linguistic argument of J. does not really clinch the point. J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 155 (2006) 37-40, has recently collected the evidence for the link between female worshippers and the *oreibasia*, in combination with the ritual cry and dress of the maenads. All in all, it seems wiser to me to assume that *thiasoi* of female worshippers, characterized by trips to the mountains, ritual cries like *euai/euoi* (cf. the name Euiades for these women), ritual dresses (fox-skins, referred to by the epithet Bassareus of Dionysos and by the cult titles bassarai/ bassaroi in inscriptions) and practices (*omophagion*) were the starting-point and that, at least until the Hellenistic period, there is some evidence for the continuation of this line. At the same time - and here I agree with J. - there is abundant evidence for men operating in a Dionysiac context from the (late?) Hellenistic period onwards; and their contribution did not consist merely of drinking parties and banquets; they joined their female partners also in the more orgiastic activities.

The first above-mentioned problem is more complicated: what is the relation, if any at all, between Euripides' picture of frenzied women roaming in trance and ecstatic dancing in the mountains and tearing apart and consuming (sacrificial) animals, and cultic practices in historical Dionysian *thiasoi*; and is there a development over time? Bremmer (*art.cit*. 38-39) believes in a 'disintegration of the original maenadic ritual' and a gradual 'transformation' of the *oreibasia*-ritual. He discusses a recently discovered epigram of the Hellenistic poet Posidippus in honor of a young girl Niko from Macedonian Pella, who prematurely died after she came down 'from the Bassaric mountains': 'had the physical exertion of the wintry nights with their whirling dances on the mountains been fatal for poor Niko?' Bremmer apparently believes in a sort of 'Euripidean' roughness of Dionysiac rituals well into Hellenistic times, especially in Macedonia. Here it may be appropriate to point out that the *Bacchae* was first produced in Macedonia! I am not quite sure how J. interprets the relevant evidence on this point. On the one hand she suggests that with the rites described in nos 146 and 153 we are not 'loin des évocations du drame euripidien' (p. 55). On p. 140 J. quotes with approval A. Henrich's view about a 'gradual demise of maenadism' after the classical and Hellenistic period (see also p. 99), but at the same time she emphasizes the continuing importance of 'l'expérience initiatique de la transe et de la dance orgiaque' (p. 139). On pp. 116-119 J. even writes about the identity of the mythical and the ritual maenad. On the other hand, she interprets the *omophagion* rite in the Hellenistic inscription no 150 as a *symbolic* sacrifice (italics are mine, HWP) and more in general she frequently refers to the realm of the 'registre mythico-imaginaire' and argues that the Dionysiac thiasos is not a replica of the Euripidean cortège.

The connection between the epigraphically attested associations and Euripides' cortège of Dionysos is situated by J. on the level of the 'imaginaire'. Admittedly, it is especially the Roman imperial world which J. approaches in this way but she does not seem to exclude the Hellenistic period from this exercise in the 'imaginaire'. This lack of consistency becomes particularly prominent in her discussion of a 2nd century AD inscription from Aitolian Physkos (no 153 in the corpus), which mentions maenads, a trip to the mountains (*eis oros*) and *boukoloi*. On p. 140 J. suggests interpreting this text in the same way as her nos 146 and 149 (Hellenistic period): all three reflect 'réalités rituelles incontestables'. She explicitly rejects the suggestion to explain the Physkian *oreibasia* as a 'pique-nique champêtre, prétexte à bombance, pour des citadins blasés en mal de contact avec la nature'. However, in her commentary on no 153 (p. 256 in vol. II) her approach is totally different. We are now asked to believe that we possibly have a 'recréation sur des bases plus littéraires que véritablement cultuelles'. The allusion to literary models is in line with what J. writes on p. 140 about a return or appeal to the prestigious past which she discerns in the behaviour of the associations in the Imperial period, but on the same page she combines this return to the glorious past smoothly with authentic ritual behaviour à-la Euripides' *Bacchae*.

Overseeing the battlefield of conflicting interpretations, I favour a theory according to which in the Hellenistic-Roman associations we find evidence for a tendency towards 'domestication' of what in a distant past (or perhaps even only in Euripides' fantasy) may have been wild, uncontrolled ecstatic behaviour of female worshippers, who roamed over the mountains (*oreibasia*) and tore apart animals (*omophagion*; cf. Versnel's 'drastic routinization of maenadism', *op.cit.* 145), which, however, in his view does not exclude ecstatic behaviour making the worshippers do 'unbelievable' things). The inscriptions record cults controlled by the city or, at least, implemented within an urban framework. In some areas the *oreibasia* may have been less controlled or stylized; one thinks of Macedonia, the poor girl Niko and Bremmer's above-quoted comment; but in Miletos, Alkmeonis, who led the female citizens to the mountains, at the same line led a procession of the entire citizen-body carrying all the sacred objects (no 149; J. p. 74); and from no 150 one may infer with J. (*ibidem*) that the procession took place during the urban festival of the Katagogia (cf. Tassignon's article mentioned above). In the Hellenistic-Roman mystery-cults one perceives clear signs of what J. has termed a certain 'theatralisation' of various episodes of the original myth; dancing, hymn singing, use of caves, natural or artificial, with ceremonies of *kathodos* and *anodos*, i.e., of 'going down' (death) and 'coming back' (re-birth). Here J.'s theory about a Dionysos 'made to measure' can be applied fruitfully. The question remains why a ritual, in which originally the 'contre-ordre' (p. 10) manifested itself, came into existence altogether; a ritual, moreover, in which women initially played a predominant, probably even exclusive, role. Answers are to be found in the position of women in ancient society and in the attitude of men vis-à-vis women, who, on the one hand, lived as subordinates, but on the other hand had a certain 'secret' power which was not to be taken lightly. An answer is not to be found in J.'s work for the simple reason that she rejects the idea that we have a typical ritual for women. She might, however, have tried to explain the behaviour of both women and men. But that is not an easy matter.

H.W. Pleket

Maria Gabriella Angeli Bertinelli/Angela Donati (eds.), *Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia* VII. *Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro: Fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell' antichità, Atti del I Incontro Internazionale di Storia Antica* (Genova 22-24 maggio 2003). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2005. 472 pp., tav.; 24 cm. – ISBN 88-7689-233-8.

In *BABesch* 66 (1991) 187-188 I had the pleasure to review *Serta* II, containing eighteen articles on a large variety of disconnected topics. Now vol. VII has found its way to my desk. It has substantially more articles, which, moreover, are supposed to focus on the general, over-arching topic indicated in the sub-title. *Serta* VII offers us twenty-eight contributions: nine concern the Greek, another nine the Roman world, all produced by established scholars. In addition we are treated to ten so-called 'Comunicazioni', written by less established but younger doctores in ancient history. Eight of the latter discuss problems in Greek history ranging from 'foreigners and barbarians in Aeschylos' tragedies' (M.E. De Luna, 361-373) through 'the Scythian archers in Athens' (P.A. Tucci, 375-389) all the way to the relations between Greeks and natives in the Black Sea area (S. Gallotta, 427-435). The two remaining papers explore the relations between Roman citizens and the indigenous population in Roman colonies in Asia Minor (A. Sugliano, 437-452) and aspects of Alexandrian citizenship in Egypt (M. Rolandi, 453-461), respectively. Under the heading 'Conclusione dell'Incontro' (465-472) one expects from William Harris an analysis of the main results achieved during the congress but instead (and to our great surprise) we get a brief and otherwise very interesting essay on whether and, if so, under which conditions Roman historians are prepared to attribute bravery to Rome's ennemies, i.e., to the other: 'alterity' ('altérité') still enchants the minds of historians.

One cannot blame Harris for not even trying to formulate general conclusions. There is no general theoretical framework, within which all the papers can be assessed; and, worse, there are contributions which barely touch on the general theme of the *Atti*. Instead of presenting a long and boring list of all the twenty-eight essays I prefer to pick out a small number which explore themes on which I do not feel totally incompetent. Wolfgang Schuller (21-29) provides an elegant essay on the ambivalent status of *hetairai*: praised (and integrated) for their charm, beauty and intelligence, despised (and excluded) as unfair competitors of legitimate wives and mothers. Confrontation with elegant, independent and beautiful women ultimately results in the words: 'Man bewundert sie' (29). Admiration may have been the invariable reaction of 'l'homme éternel' but in Greece and Rome respect is reserved for wives which produce legitimate children and thereby ensure the continuity of the family. We may not like that sort of 'respect' but the ancients did. E. Culasso Gastaldi (45-75) explores in a long essay on what grounds (political; economic) foreigners, i.e., citizens of other cities, became *proxenoi* of Athens in the 4th century BC under changing political conditions; interesting enough but partly overlapping with her 2004 monograph on *Le prossenie ateniesi del IV secolo a. C. Gli onorati asiatici*, and hardly fitting in with the over-arching theme of the *Atti*: *proxenoi* basically stay in their own cities and do not even want to be integrated into the society of the city, which appoints them. P. Siewert (93-104) repeats his old theory, based on *SEG* XXXI 358, about the substitution of the *Hellanodikai* for the *diaitateres* in Olympia in 479-476 BC, and adds some reflections on the toponyms carried by victorious Olympian athletes in literary and, especially, epigraphical sources: federal (e.g. 'Boiotian') versus urban ethnica. The case for the *Hellanodikai* is both intriguing and speculative: S.'s theory hinges on whether or not two men, who in *SEG* XXXI 338 act as judges in a trial against Boiotians and Thespians, in fact were *Hellanodikai* who punished violators of the Olympic truce. The two men carry no title; there is no mention of, or even a reference to, the truce; and finally we are asked to believe that the two *Hellanodikai* were overruled by a group of Elean magistrates (mastroi). Apart from all this one wonders what the relation is between this topic and the general theme of the book under review.

E. Buchi (213-244) produced a long piece on immigration and integration in the various cities of the *regio Venetia*. He quotes large numbers of Latin inscriptions, with massive bibliography in dense footnotes, recording veterans from various legions and a few citizens from neighbouring settlements, who settled in the 'Venetian' cities. Some of them penetrated into the urban elite, others were members of the *plebs media* who could afford a respectable tombstone. This is neither new nor exciting. For Concordia B. adduces several Greek epitaphs of Syrian immigrants in the 4th/5th century AD. Some minor flaws could have been eliminated if B. had used the results of a study by D. Feissel (summary in *SEG* XXX 1149; XXXI 854; cf. LI 1404 for still more Syrian villagers). To B.'s Syrians an immigrant from Galatia is to be added (*IG* XIV 2331). Were these immigrants attracted by the imperial arms-factory in the city (and, if so, was it a kind of forced labour?) or more in general by commercial activities in an area which was integrated into the Aquileian network and the concomitant trade with transalpine provinces? And what does this immigration imply for the demographic situation in northern Italy? For Aquileia B. adduces, inter alia, the ca eighty Greek inscriptions found in that city. They testify to what L. Boffo recently called an 'ideologia civica greca "integrata" nell'impero' (see the summary of her article in *SEG* L 1036). B. knows this article but could perhaps have made better use of it: resident, Greek-speaking foreigners adapted themselves to and accepted the Latin culture of Aquileia and at the same time perceived themselves as participants in that great over-arching entity which is called 'the Roman empire'. A. Sugliano (437-452) reflects on the fate of the native Greek population of a polis in which the emperor founded a Roman colony through an injection of thousands of veterans: admittedly one of the 'comunicazioni' but nevertheless one of the best pieces in the volume which, moreover, fits in with its general theme. S. takes advantage of M. Ricl's recent corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions from Alexandria Troas, a Roman colony founded by Augustus. 180 inscriptions record 144 individuals; 121 among these are *cives Romani* and bear the *tria nomina*; the remaining 23 individuals can be divided into two groups: four have a Greek name plus patronymic, whereas the other nineteen bear only one name. S. suggests tracing back the latter to the early Hellenistic, or perhaps even classical, period when Greek poleis were inhabited by Greek citizens and so-called *paroikoi*, i.e., members of the original native population which lived in the area concerned before the Greeks founded their poleis. However, I doubt whether in the Roman imperial period the original *paroikoi* are still discernable in our sources. They are likely to have merged with the group of the resident foreigners (the *metoikoi*) into one category of *paroikoi* and in the process to have been hellenized thoroughly. The use of just one name, without patronymic, points in some cases to a servile background; in other cases (epigrams) poetic license may have played its role and in still other cases sheer carelessness may have been a factor. It is important to note that in the first two centuries AD the native Greek population was not enfranchised in massive numbers in the Roman colony and apparently stuck to their own language and culture.

G. Cresci Marrone (245-256) explores the relations between *cives Romani* and non-citizens in the Transpadana. The whole area is said to have been enfranchised by Caesar in 49 BC but later sources continue to write about the ferocity of Alpine tribes and about their being *attributi* to Roman cities. Inscriptions record a large number of people who do not bear the *tria nomina*, the hall-mark of Roman citizenship. An obvious conclusion would seem to be that the inscriptions confirm the peregrine status of 'natives' who at best may have been 'attributed' to Roman cities but certainly were not Roman citizens. Cresci Marrone is not satisfied with such a conclusion and invents a third category of so-called 'cittadini sommersi'; they focus on 'un codice autorappresentativo ispirato a una differente semiotica' (255); a jargon which in itself raises suspicion! In simple English: these people were *cives Romani* but they preferred to cling to the 'native' onomastic system and were not bent on proudly advertising their *civitas Romana* through the use of the *tria nomina*. Chief witness in C.M.'s case is the Latin epitaph from Transpadane Pedona of *Nicus Roucarius Dissi f(ilius) decurio*. For C.M. the context is clear: we have a man who was a member of the urban council and therefore must have enjoyed *plenum ius*, and at the same time abstains from the *tria nomina* and instead uses two indigenous names in a half-hearted, pseudo-Roman formula of *praenomen* and *nomen*. But what if we date this text before Pedona received the status of Latin municipium in the Claudian-Neronian period? In that case we have a distinguished native person who enjoyed peregrine status, passed himself of as a pseudo-citizen by integrating two 'barbarian' names into a pseudo-Roman onomastic formula and by calling himself 'decurio', i.e., member of a local council which may have called itself a curia without officially being one. Alternatively, we could assume that the epitaph was erected in a Latin municipium which enjoyed the so-called Latium minus, i.e., a city, whose magistrates became Roman citizens. In that scenario we have illuminating parallels from Roman Dalmatia, where in Latin municipia of the 'minus'-variant we encounter people like *Aplis Lumnicus Triti f(ilius)* (cf. G. Alföldi, *Latomus* 25, 1966, 54; the article is mentioned by C.M.). Nicus was a decurio, not a magistrate, and therefore did not have Roman citizenship; onomastically he behaved correspondingly: no 'cittadino sommerso' but rather a sort of 'cittadino manqué'.

Finally we have Y. Le Bohec (305-325), who argues that the *barbari* who according to Cyprian's 62nd letter (ca 250-260 AD) captured a number of fellow Christians, were brigands kidnapping and enslaving people rather than members of invading tribes which are known to have been active in Numidia/Mauretania in the decade 250-260 AD. He rightly discards some Latin inscriptions which allegedly refer to hostilities but on reflection do not, but in the end he is left with some other inscriptions which surely testify to raids by invading barbarian tribes, seizing of booty and capture and subsequent enslavement of human beings. True, Cyprian does not refer to war or raids but nothing in his letter prevents us from assuming that his addressees may have taken a 'war-context' for granted. Ransoming captives of war (enslaved or otherwise) was a common practice throughout antiquity and ransoming is precisely what Cyprian raises money for. In short, in Le Bohec's paper there is perhaps too much special pleading. And once more, the thread which connects his contribution with the general theme of the book, is exceedingly tenuous.

H.W. Pleket

J.W. Shaw, *Kommos. A Minoan Harbor Town and Greek Sanctuary in Southern Crete*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 171 pp., 77 b/w and col. figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-659-7

Forty years of archaeological investigation, personal and material investment, in the lower plains and western shoreline of the Mesara at Kommos, Southern Crete, have been summarized here in just over 150 pages. This book does not cover the extent and depth of all investigation, but confronts the reader with the most important discoveries of archaeological value. Less common, but all the more inspiring is the tale of the author's difficulties and joys, from the original idea of excavating to the final publications of Kommos. The more interested or specialised reader is referred to an extensive bibliography at the end and informed of the on-line availability of respective publications.

In *Part I. The Kommos site*, the reader is informed of the archaeological discoveries at Kommos. The author starts with a clear and complete history of the site in chart form, and continues with a room-by-room, building-by-building description and reading of stratigraphical layers. The complexity of the archaeological site, which may confuse a first time visitor, is clearly explained with the assistance of well-chosen illustrations. All three separate entities of the excavation are described in detail: the houses on the hilltop, the remains on the hillside and at the bottom, the largest part of the excavation with monumental Minoan structures and later sanctuaries. For each of these entities, the different spaces are identified and a function and chronology is given, based on finds and relative position in the respective structure. The most remarkable finds are given special attention.

Part II. Pitsidia and the Western Mesara gives an introduction to the larger environment, both modern and historical. It creates a spatial link between the time when the excavated ruins were still inhabited and how villages like Kommos or Pitsidia survive today. When widening the scale to the Western Mesara, a brief introduction is given to the nearby and important excavations at Phaistos and Agia Triada, which shape 'A Great Minoan Triangle' with Kommos. Also the later history of the area is included: f.e. the Roman tombs at Matala that were more recently invaded by the hippies in the 60s and today's tourist exploitation of the bay.

Part III. Thirty Years of Digging reports the year-to-year evolution of the excavation, focusing on the exciting moments of discovery. In response to the 1970s interest in the past of all people (and not just the elite), investigation focused on the reconstruction of domestic economy, by studying discarded bones, carbonised remains etc. For the same reason, the site had to be placed in the wider landscape, initiating survey, geological and land use studies. Inspiring literature for future archaeologists concerns the story of coordinating the project, including the acquisitioning of properties and the resulting troublesome expropriation of local land-owners, fund-raising troubles, the publication of results and finally making the data available for future reference. It is particularly inspiring because we are made witness to a path of hard work and persistence, flavoured with luck and coincidence that lead to the success of the Kommos project.

The Kommos archaeological investigations are substantial for the better understanding of Aegean history and most relevant discoveries are placed in perspective in *Part IV. Some Thoughts on Contribution*.

Pottery discovered on site from Egypt, Syro-Palestine, Cyprus, Western Anatolia, the Aegean Islands, the Mycenaean mainland, and Sardinia, are ample evidence of the long-distance and overseas trade connections with Kommos throughout time.

The large structure at the bottom of the hill at Kommos aroused most questions. 'Minoan Palaces' is indeed a relevant paragraph title, since structure T is monumental, built in ashlar masonry and has a central court, although the precise identification of the structure is not definite. On North and South side of the court 'Two Monumental Stoas' were discovered with six column bases each. In the South Stoa, a pottery kiln was found, that has added greatly to the knowledge of local pottery. 'The Shipsheds' refer to structure P, built on top of T, with six very large parallel rooms (each 6 x 40 m), facing the coastline on the west. It is the largest known structure of LM III on Crete, and most probably served for storage. The rooms were interpreted as Bronze Age shipsheds, which still remains an interesting hypothesis. Irrespective of the interpretation, the structure in itself is unique for Bronze Age Crete.

On the basis of discarded pottery, deposited in dumps south of the 'House with the Snake Tube', LMII or 'Palace Style' pottery was identified for the first time as period specific and not only a style, because the specific pottery was discovered in the dump with clear stratigraphical beginning (above the LMIB level) and end (below a level with distinctive LMIIIA1 pottery). Recent excavations at the 'Unexplored Mansion' at

Knossos and also at Chania have confirmed this identification.

In search for Minoan remains, the later sanctuaries (superimposed temples A, B and C) were a bonus to start with, but not without archaeological significance. Apart from questions on dedication, temple C led to the establishment of a more rigid typology of Cretan temples. Temple B turned out to be a unique Phoenician Shrine of around 800 BC and probably the earliest find spot of Phoenician material west of Cyprus.

In short, this book can only be recommended. It shows the archaeologist behind the site, the value of his discoveries and at the same time it remains an excellent guide to the site for all, and an inspiration for each archaeologist.

Steven Soetens

ADOLF HOFFMANN (Hrsg.), *Ägyptische Kulte und ihre Heiligtümer im Osten des Römischen Reiches. Internationales Kolloquium 5./6. September 2003 in Bergama (Türkei)*. Byzas 1 Veröffentlichungen des DAI Istanbul, 2005. VIII+282 S.; 27,5 cm. – ISBN 975-807-105-X.

This book - the first in a new series published by the DAI Istanbul - consists of the proceedings of an international conference held at Bergama (Pergamon) in 2003. Its *raison d'être* is the new investigations that have been undertaken on the so-called *Rote Halle*: a monumental structure in the lower, Roman town of Pergamon, which is commonly identified as a sanctuary for the Egyptian gods.

The first part of the book (with articles by A. Hoffmann, U. Mania, C. Brückener, K. Lembke, W. Radt and A.K. Rieger) deals with the *Rote Halle* itself, its *Forschungsgeschichte*, interpretation, and the important work recently undertaken. New conclusions so far are (1) that a date in the Hadrianic period is well established but that a relative chronology must be made for different parts of the building and (2) that, although there are clear Egyptianising elements in the architecture of the complex, the identification of the sanctuary as Egyptian is somewhat speculative. Some authors suggest, with good reason given the 2nd century AD Asia Minor background, that the sanctuary was dedicated to several deities, not all of which were Egyptian. Others even investigate 'ob die Rote Halle überhaupt monofunktional gedacht war, oder ob sie im urbanistischen und sozialen Zusammenhang der Stadt vielmehr nicht auch übergreifende Aufgaben zu übernehmen hatte', a promising approach that so far has only been suggested for the Iseum Campense in Rome, in many respects the only real comparison for the *Rote Halle*. It is laudable then that several articles pay a lot of attention to the structure's direct context (the lower city of Roman Pergamon) and wider social context (Imperial, especially Hadrianic, building policy).

The second part of the book (with articles by B.B.M. Ünlüoğlu, P. Scherrer, A. Hennemeyer and S.A. Takács) deals with cults and sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods in Asia Minor. Important new archaeological data and interpretations are given in Scherrer's article on Ephesos and Hennemeyer's on Priene. Scherrer provides an overview of the archaeological work undertaken in the Ephesian 'Serapeion' between 1990 and 1992, presenting a well-argued case that this complex could be interpreted as a Mouseion. Hennemeyer deals with new and ongoing investigations into the Priene temple - undoubtedly devoted to the Egyptian gods - and suggests a different architectural stratigraphy and dating that has, amongst other things, interesting consequences for the reconstruction of the development of the podium temple in Asia Minor. Takács is as provocative as ever (here somewhat lacking in nuance) and argues, as she has before, on the basis of votive inscriptions from Lydia and Mysia, that the cult of Isis should largely be understood in the context of imperial ideology.

The third and fourth parts of the book (with articles by M. Kreeb, S. Ensoli and M. Haase; and F. Tiradritti, M. Bomas, J. Eingartner and U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser respectively) are thematically less coherent. In the third part (on Egyptian Sanctuaries in Libya, Greece and Egypt) Kreeb presents an enigmatic bronze object (20 cm) from Kalymnos, consisting of a handle decorated with all kinds of motifs supporting a base showing five gods, including Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrates and Osiris. Ensoli summarises new work that has been carried out on the important excavation of the Egyptian sanctuary on the acropolis of Cyrene. Haase presents a draft for a corpus of Isis sanctuaries in Roman Egypt, rightly paying a lot of attention to '*das Zuweisungsproblem*'.

Part four (Formen des Kultes und Stellung des Kultes in der Gesellschaft) has an article by Tiradritti in which he suggests, contrary to all current scholarship, that a distinction should be made between (1) a Pharaonic Isis that continued to be worshipped in temples all over Egypt, (2) a Ptolemaic Isis that only served a royal ideology and (3) an Alexandrine Isis that was a popularisation of the royal Ptolemaic Isis and would be transported to Rome. Although I believe that such a division has, in the end, little to do with ancient (religious) experience, as an approach it is thought provoking. Bommas looks at Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* XI to investigate what an Egyptian sanctuary looked like and should possess in terms of religious *realia*, and then applies his conclusions to the *Rote Halle* to show that it could quite possibly have been an Egyptian sanctuary. Methodologically this is a tricky affair as demonstrated by the exciting piece by Egelhaaf-Gaiser (*Exklusives Mysterium oder inszeniertes Wissen? Die ägyptischen Kulte in der Darstellung des Pausanias*). Focussing on Pausanias's description of the Iseum of Tithorea, a text largely overlooked by scholars - perhaps partly because it does not show the exotic Isis that Apuleius and others eagerly presented - she tries to show how Pausanias's text is best understood as *Bildungsostentation*. Eingartner, to conclude, makes a first important step towards a better understanding of sanctuaries for the Egyptian gods in North Africa, all of which seem to be part of the official Roman religion.

Although the book as a whole lacks coherence - something which becomes especially apparent in the last two parts, with contributions that vary greatly in scope and quality, and add very little to understanding of the *Rote Halle* - this is an important contribution to the field. The recent investigations into the 'Egyptian' sanctuaries/complexes in Pergamon, Ephesos and Priene will give an important impetus to current debates, and this is already partly evident in this volume itself. It is also a nice companion piece to the volume edited by Laurent Bricault (*Isis en Occident. Actes du IIème colloque international sur les études isiaques, Lyon III, 16-17 mai 2002*, Leiden/Boston 2004), which deals with the western part of the Roman empire.

Both volumes illustrate the still growing scholarly interest in the role of the cults of the Egyptian gods in the Roman world. The *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques* (Laurent Bricault, Paris 2001), strangely enough only used by some of the authors in the book under review, now hugely facilitates research in this domain. Important recent publications present an impressive up-to-date overview of all inscriptions dealing with the Egyptian gods, *Recueil des Inscriptions concernant les Cultes isiaques* (*RICIS*) (Laurent Bricault, Paris 2005) and a plea for a better methodological foundation by Michel Malaise, *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques* (Brussels 2005).

Miguel John Versluys

CLAUDIA SEDLARZ (ed.), *Alois Hirt. Archäologe, Historiker, Kunstkenner*. Hannover-Laatzen: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2004. (Berliner Klassik. Eine Großstadtkultur um 1800, Bd. 1). 432 pp., 40 ill.; 23 cm. – ISBN 3-932324-27-7

Of all forgotten archaeologists, Aloys Hirt (1759-1836) was one of the most famous during his own lifetime. He published eight books, more than twenty contributions for the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften, fifty articles, and numerous reviews. He was involved in scholarly debates, and can be held responsible for the foundation of the Altes Museum in Berlin. Notwithstanding all this, his name is rarely mentioned in recent publications on the history of archaeology. He had the disadvantage to have Winckelmann as twenty years his senior in Rome, and Hirt also had a far less adventurous life and death. The present volume can thus be deemed, as the introduction itself states, a 'rediscovery' of Hirt and his ideas. Its nine contributions focus on Hirt's ten-year sojourn in Rome, his aesthetic concepts, his involvement with the French removal of art from Berlin to Paris and its recovery after 1813, his art historical debate with Waagen and Rumohr, his status as archaeologist, and his contacts with Berlin artists and high society.

Aloys Hirt's career spanned the decades just before, until well after, the French revolution and Napoleon's occupation of Europe - in German historiography coined as 'Sattelzeit'. This period witnessed the change from antiquarian culture to modern academic archaeology, in which process Hirt was to play a significant role. He started out in the 1780s as *cicerone* for German nobles to Rome, where he acquired so much knowledge and contacts amongst the German nobility that he was asked in 1796 to come to Berlin as private teacher. Immediately after his arrival in the Prussian capital, Hirt was asked to teach at both the Academies of Art and Architecture, and he became *Hofrath*, a member of the royal entourage. When the Berlin university was founded in 1810, he was one of its first professors. In the meantime, he published a number of books and articles in which he laid down his ideas on archaeology and the theory of art. In particular, he concentrated on the field of architecture in Greek and Roman antiquity, and modern times.

While Hirt was living in Rome and working as a guide for wealthy travellers, his daily observations of ancient buildings and ruins constituted the basis for his later understanding of classical architecture, as the introductory essay by Adelheid Müller shows. The first product of these observations was a monograph on the Pantheon, the *Osservazioni Istorico-Architettoniche sopra il Pantheon* of 1791, based on a thorough inspection of the building as it had been preserved. For a number of German magazines, he wrote contributions of a variegated character - describing sites like Pompeii and Paestum, statues like the Laocoon, but also discussing works of artists then living in Rome. After his arrival in Berlin in 1796, his publications became more theoretical, shifting to a more systematic approach of antiquity in which textual sources (such as Vitruvius) were confronted with visual evidence. However, he cannot be deemed an academician in the modern sense of the word, as most of his writings were meant to serve not as mere historical studies, but to demonstrate what the classical and (for that reason) universal rules of architecture were. The *Osservazioni... sopra il Pantheon* was meant to show how the classical building could provide inspiration for modern edifices.

Elke Katharina Wittich points out how Hirt's theory of architecture could have served young architects. During their training at the Academy of architecture, they were explained the difference between the 'Muster' (standard) and the 'Abarten' (degenerations) of architecture (pp. 217-246), so that they might understand what the true rules were. Hirt's very choice of these two terms shows that he had an explicit moral bias in the study of architecture, whether classical or modern. It was also because of the practical aims of his learning that Hirt was asked to give his advice on building projects such as the Altes Museum and the Friedenswerdersche Kirche in Berlin. And in both cases, he considered himself competent to improve the designs of others, or even make his own proposal. However, neither of these was ever built.

Hirt was thus not an archaeologist in the modern sense of the word, and this is one of the points the present volume wants to illustrate. But the one essay on archaeology proper, by Adolf-Heinrich Borbein, falls back on modern demarcations of academic archaeology to define Hirt's achievements in this field. By doing so, Hirt continues to be considered as someone who was in some senses an old-fashioned academician, and in other respects ahead of his time. Methodologically, the latter aspect can be found in the combination of visual and literary material in his iconographic studies (pp. 178-180), and the questions he formulated with regard to the finds of prehistoric sites in northern Germany (pp. 181-182). Especially the use of botanical and biological evidence from these sites is considered progressive by Borbein. Furthermore, Hirt's identification of the Ludovisi and Capitoline Gaul, and his interpretation of the much-debated statue of the Laocoon in Rome were strikingly modern, and are in part still accepted (p. 182).

What remains to be discussed is the structure of Hirt's archaeological ideas in the light of its academic - in the 18th-century sense of the word - functionality. Borbein's essay rightly points out that comparing him to his famous contemporaries such as Schiller, Goethe and Herder is unjust; but judging Hirt's publications from the perspective of their merits for present-day archaeology is equally unrewarding. We can only understand his archaeological writings when judged by the standards of the body of knowledge available around 1800. In that context, Borbein's characterization of Hirt's position at the newly founded Berlin university as the 'first archaeological chair in history' (p. 175) ignores the essential question. That his teaching commitment was officially described as 'Theory and history of the graphic arts' should not be taken as an old-fashioned choice of words, but as a fundamental characteristic of Hirt's own thinking about the relation between classical and modern art.

In that respect, this volume contains interesting articles such as Claudia Sedlarz' essay on the spectacle for the matrimonial celebrations of Friedrich of Prussia and Wilhelmine Louise von Anhalt, staged by Hirt in 1818 (pp. 191-216). Hirt used his iconographical and literary knowledge - documented in his *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst* of 1805 - to create a fairytale ballet about Psyche falling in love with Eros Uranios, in which many mythological figures appeared. The characters were all impersonated by courtiers. Immediately afterwards, Hirt was attacked for his 'poetic interpretation' of the Hierodules - according to a anonymous newspaper article, these were not simply servants of priests, but 'Lust- und Freudemädchen' (p. 206). In other words, Hierodules were prostitutes affiliated to temple complexes. The appearance of ladies-in-waiting in these costumes were for that reason deemed an offence to good taste. Obviously, Hirt's free use of antiquarian motifs did no longer match the new academic standards of history, and Hirt was judged as old-fashioned by his own contemporaries.

Trying to prove that he was not merely an old-fashioned thinker, as Borbein does by pointing out how modern some of his archaeological ideas were, is a noble attempt at re-evaluation, but also misses the mark. Most of the other contributions in this volume have rightfully brought Hirt's importance during a time of change to our attention again. *Alois Hirt. Archäologe, Historiker, Kunstkenner* points out that the denominations of archaeologist and historian, as used in the title, were determined by Hirt's competences as connoisseur. Hirt's thinking constituted an essential step in dissolving the antiquarian dilemma of the late eighteenth century, but did not yet provide modern answers to new archaeological questions.

Arnold A. Witte

TONY J. WILKINSON (with contributions by NAOMI F. MILLER, CLEMENS D. REICHEL and DONALD WHITCOMB), *Excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat, Syria*, Volume I. *On the Margins of the Euphrates: Settlement and Land Use at Tell es-Sweyhat, and in the Upper Lake Tabqa, Syria*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2004. 266 pp., 16 pl., 95 figs., 24 tab., 31 cm (Oriental Institute Publications 124). – ISBN 1-885923-29-5.

Landscape archaeology in all its aspects has received considerable attention over the past years. Publications deal with topics ranging from survey publications to human-environment interactions to landscape phenomenology. The present study can be regarded within this context. It presents the first final report of Thomas A. Holland's archaeological rescue expedition to Tell es-Sweyhat. The second report, by Holland, deals with the excavated finds from the main site. As outlined in the introduction, the study under review forms part of Tony Wilkinson's long-term research strategy that aims at examining the growth of towns, rural settlements, and the rural landscape over much of the last ten thousand years. The emphasis is upon the retrieval of information from a series of surface surveys which were conducted in 1974, 1991 and 1992 in an area of 60 sq. km of land around Tell es-Sweyhat in the Lake Assad area in northern Syria, and thirty sites therein on the east bank of the Euphrates river. The study furthermore consists of the integration of the survey data in a larger context of studies of cultural change with regard to both the local environmental context and long-term environmental change.

The introduction starts with providing background information of the survey activities as they have taken place in the various seasons, and places these surveys in the context of the history of the geographical area under study. This is followed by a discussion of prehistoric habitation patterns in relation to the physical environment. This exercise places Tell es-Sweyhat on a central wadi-system, but also draws attention to the effect of taphonomic processes such as erosion and sedimentation, which have left many sites invisible, resulting in an only partial view of the settlement history of the region. The next chapter deals with the use of the land and the agricultural economy. Tell es-Sweyhat appears to have relied primarily on rain-fed cultivation, but other ecological zones, such as the Euphrates floodplain, the cultivable steppe and the upland beyond, might have offered additional possibilities for subsistence. These included the exploitation of irrigation systems as well as nomadic pastoralism.

The following chapters deal with the archaeological landscapes as they have emerged from the various data collected and encountered during the surveys. An overview of the employed methodology of the survey and sampling activities is given, followed by an assessment of the interpretation of the collected sherd scatters. Another chapter discusses archaeological features in the field, with special attention to wine presses, quarries, tombs and linear hollows. The surveyed sites are subsequently regarded in chronological order, with a chapter about the chronology of pottery assemblages and one about the evolution of the settlement pattern in the area of Tell es-Sweyhat. Although the surveys differed in intensity, and although it is moreover difficult to derive short-term events such as drought or social unrest from survey data, the surveys have resulted in an image of alternating colonization and desertion of the region. Aspects of the ancient agricultural economy are further examined in chapter eight, in which plant and animal remains, and the use and significance of these ingredients for the local economies are discussed.

The final chapter discusses the regional context of Tell es-Sweyhat in terms of occupation and use of the land, the development of settlement patterns, environmental changes and economic relations. Detailed attention is given to the socio-cultural aspects of the various components of the mixed economy, which consisted of sedentary intensive cultivation, (agro-) pastoral activities and hunting. Sedentary and pastoral populations inhabited the landscape in different ways, and the relations between them are manifold. Climatic conditions and different modes of production led to a complicated socio-economic system that aimed at maintaining a balance between scarcity and reserves. The systems of trade and exchange in which this, as argued, resulted, were connected to larger socio-political conditions. The book is then completed with three appendices which provide detailed information of the sites.

In his attempt to examine the use and habitation of the landscape on the long term, Tony Wilkinson and his co-contributors have successfully produced a book that bridges the gap between micro scale survey data reflecting small communities and macro scale environmental changes. Although the insights provided can be interpreted within a larger framework of studies on the archaeology of the landscapes of the Near East, the data presented, especially those concerning previously less-studied periods in the area as well as the data on off-site archaeology, will be a welcome addition to the existing record for many. Furthermore, the employed methodology, and the interpretation of the data in terms of local and regional settlement developments and socio-political and economic relations, provides a useful example of how to tackle an abundant and varied amount of data.

Dianne van de Zande

ZOFIA H. ARCHIBALD, JOHN K. DAVIES & VINCENT GABRIELSEN (eds), *Making, Moving and Managing. The New World of Ancient Economies, 323-31 BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005. 288 pp., 1 pl., 60 figs., 37 tab.; 25 cm. – ISBN 1-84217-157-7.

This book contains thirteen papers which were presented at a colloquium held in 2002 at the University of Liverpool, on the economies of the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean. The theme of 'making, moving, and managing' is meant to direct focus to the economics of artefacts, institutions and exchange patterns in order to avoid economic analyses and theoretic discourses on a more general level. It is thus the materiality of objects, a concept that has recently gained increasing popularity and attention, that is central in this book. Indeed, apart from the first chapter, which offers a historiography and a useful exercise in the very nature of ancient economics, the contributors focus on a particular material subset of the Hellenistic economy. In chapter two, G.G. Aperghis discusses the building programme of the Seleukids, arguing that the primary motive for city development was financial, instead of the more generally perceived political or military grounds. The Seleukid urban programme led to the development of a monetary economy, which produced enough resources in silver to meet the military expenses, enabling the Seleukid kings to consolidate their positions. Aperghis' discussion of the choice of location, sizes and populations of cities offers a welcome addition to the existing publications.

The concept of a monetary system is continued in the next two chapters, where Alain Bresson explores the relation between economic activity and money supply, and François de Callataÿ discusses recent methodological developments in the study of Hellenistic coinage. Bresson suggests that most coinage was minted to serve the immediate needs of the state, to be used for public expenses such as war, and not, as one might presume, trade. De Callataÿ discusses the potential of quantitative studies of numismatic material, and methods to reach realistic estimates of the average productivity. He uses publications on the didrachms of Taras and Rhodes to come to a comparable study of their monetary activity.

Also considering methodology, Angelos Chaniotis, in chapter five, discusses the study of the circulation of inscribed goods (*instrumenta domestica*), and draws attention to the influence of scholarly interests on research developments. Using the island of Crete as an example, where much attention has often been directed towards the Bronze Age causing other periods to receive less attention, Chaniotis' comparison between the inscribed goods of Hellenistic and Roman Crete suggests a dramatic change in the island's economy.

In chapter six, attention turns to royal activities again, when John Davies addresses the economic impact of the construction of Hellenistic palaces. Though he compares his evidence with that of the 16th-century Palace of Nonsuch, in Surrey, England, it remains difficult to estimate different kinds of costs and with it the extent of the drain that the construction and presence of a palace posed on its neighbourhood. From the prices of palaces, Vincent Gabrielsen continues with the general availability of credits. After discussing types of loans and banking systems, using data from the island of Delos as case-study material, he takes the story to the entrepreneurs, the sanctuaries and the cities, who each of them developed their own way into the credit market. The image that arises is that of an increasingly complicated banking system with various credit suppliers that answered to a growing demand of credits in a thriving economy.

The three following chapters all use pottery to shed light on different aspects of the Hellenistic economy. Lise Hannestad concentrates on the presence of various types of pottery found in a building complex in the chora of Chersonesos in the Crimea. Pottery of local, regional and long-distance origin illustrates the importance of regional contacts, but also an increasing difficulty of acquiring 'long-distance' pottery. Mark Lawall focuses on the use of stamps on amphorae handles as evidence of (economic) relations between cities and states. His real contribution however lies in his argument that an academic over-interest in stamps has led to an under-evaluation of the amphorae themselves, which in turn has had its effect on the interpretation of the data. The Eastern Sigillata A industry in the Eastern Mediterranean is the focus of the next chapter, where John Lund introduces the emergence, production and distribution of this widespread type of red gloss table ware. This industry, he argues, should be seen as part of the agriculturally-determined economy, but also as an important economic force in itself.

Shifting to another industry, Gary Reger discusses the manufacture and distribution of perfume in the Hellenistic world. Dealing with different aspects of the economics of this luxury item, not only production, cost-estimates, sale and trade are discussed, but also ingredients, information of which is found in textual sources as well as various contexts of use. Returning to the Crimea, Vladimir Stolba uses the oath of Chersonesos, an inscription which has been interpreted as indication of civil unrest, and which contains a paragraph narrating of grain transport and a restriction on the sale of grain. Stolba argues that the current discussion of the Chersonesean economy remains too undifferentiated, and he offers a number of additional factors to be taken into account. Last but not least, Peter van Alfen aims to disentangle the different types of coins and counterfeit coins, with their respective contexts, social and economic values. He provides a conceptual scheme which will be useful for future research.

The studies presented in this book all treat identifiable sub-systems of the Hellenistic economy. Although the details of some presentations will partly be interesting for mainly specialists, the book approaches the ancient economies in a way that is neither too general nor too detailed. At the end of the first chapter, Zofia Archibald on behalf of all the editors expresses the wish to come to a new dialogue. Although no further editorial suggestions are put forward in this direction, the methodological propositions made in several chapters are an important contribution to achieve just that.

Dianne van de Zande

JOSÉ MARÍA BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Trajano*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2003. 312 pp., 3 figs. in the text; 22.5 cm. – ISBN 84-344-6700-3.

The main purpose of this book is to offer a monograph on Trajan, the first provincial who became emperor of the Roman Empire. José María Blázquez and his colleagues have analysed different aspects and regions related to the period of Trajan, which provide reliable information on the issue, focussing on archaeological sources, contemporaneous and modern literary sources. Those analyses have resulted in a very detailed and broad description of the political, economical, social and military aspects of the period before Trajan became emperor, and during the Trajan period itself (98-117 AD). The book was written in the collaboration with many scholars from the Universidad Autonóma de Madrid, and the Universidad de Alicante. The book is divided in 13 chapters.

The book starts with the prologue, in which the author gives the names of the scholars that have collaborated. In the introduction Blázquez presents a short overview of the relevant political events that occurred before Trajan became emperor. This outline gives a short impression of the circumstances in which Trajan started his reign and is an excellent opening for the reader to start understanding the political situation of the period.

In Chapter 1, the author offers an overview of the literary sources that deal with the emperor Trajan. Those literary sources are contemporaneous as well as modern. The author explains in which manner the contemporaneous literary sources offer an image of Trajan in his own period. The general view these sources give is that of an excellent and honest emperor. In chapter 2, a detailed description of the political and social situation before the reign of Trajan is illustrated. Here the reader finds the general political agenda of Nerva, Trajan's predecessor; the way in which Trajan rose to power; the political implications related with the change of power; the political situation in which Trajan started his reign. While Blázquez depicts these elements, he also introduces the scientific discussion on the subject, and gives his own opinion. Chapter 3 is an analysis of the family relations of Trajan. It also treats the question concerning his origins and the scientific polemic whether Trajan has to be seen as Hispanic or not. The author presents arguments in favour of the Hispanic origin.

Chapter 4 presents the period and place (the city of Mogontiacum) in which Trajan formed himself in a military way. In the year 96 he was named the governor of Germania Superior. Chapter 5 illustrates the situation directly after the death of Nerva and the first political measures Trajan launched. Chapter 6 is an overview of the first military campaigns of Trajan in the context of expansion. The author uses relevant archaeological sources to refer to this military campaigns. In this chapter the reader will find a detailed description of the composition of the army in the provinces of Germania and the military armament in the Trajanic era. Chapter 7 follows with a short explanation of the politics of Trajan in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

In Chapter 8, Blázquez describes urban centres in central Europe, which have been reformed by Trajan. He uses the example of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten) and he describes in a very elaborate way several constructions and aspects of urban-life. Other examples are *Augusta Dacica* and *Sarmizegetusa*. In Chapter 9, the contents of the political program of the rule of Trajan, established on the *Arco di Traiano*, are explained. A short overview of the internal politics has been carved into the stone. Also an impression and description is given on important buildings constructed in and outside Rome during Trajan's reign. This is followed by a description of the sculptures and mosaics in several places within the Roman Empire. At the end, the construction of the infrastructure is being illustrated by giving examples of roads constructed in this era. A point of criticism is the complete lack of any illustration of archaeological remains named in this chapter. In chapter 10 Trajan's stance towards the provinces is presented. The author shows the events of this period per province and finally explains the administrative situation in the periphery of the empire.

In Chapter 11 the political economy is portrayed. The author starts giving an description of the monetary typology, and he explains the importance of coins as a mode of propaganda in the Trajan period. He also treats the theme of *alimenta*, alimentary institutions, and the way in which Trajan operates this system. Later he describes the agricultural economy, the exploitation of mineral sources and mines, and trade in a very detailed and vivid way. The reader has the possibility to gain a broad impression of the economical situation during the Trajan period.

In Chapter 12 the relation between Trajan and religion is illustrated. It is concluded in this chapter that Trajan has tried to avoid two religious extremes (superstition and atheism) in an attempt to consolidate the empire.

In the last chapter, 13, an overview is given of several important historians and literary men who lived in the Trajan period. Every individual is presented by a short synopsis of his life and works.

In the conclusion, the author gives a short summary of the aspects that characterise the Trajan period. The author tries to reconstruct the personality of the emperor, and concludes that Trajan must have been a person of a very humane character, and an excellent ruler.

The author shows his skills explaining the context of important events in the life of Trajan. He easily creates an elaborate and logical illustration of the Trajan period, the preceding period and the manner in which these two eras are related. Within this vividly written account he also includes the scientific discussion on several themes. This book is ideal for the person that searches for a detailed description of the Trajan period, Trajan himself, and the concerning scientific views.

Estefania Pampin Zuidmeer

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